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**THE**

**AMERICAN**

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**VOL. IV.**

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**SEPTEMBER & DECEMBER, 1828.**

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47.  
Dr. S. A. Jones

## CONTENTS OF No. VII.

ART.	PAGE
I. BROWN'S PHILOSOPHY, - - - - -	1
Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, by the late Thomas Brown, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.	
H. EGYPTIAN HISTORY, - - - - -	27
Aperçu des Résultats Historiques de la découverte de l'alphabet Hieroglyphique Egyptien, par M. Champollion le Jeune.	
Description de l'Egypte.	
III. JURISPRUDENCE OF LOUISIANA, - - - - -	53
La Coutume de Paris.	
Digest of the Civil Laws now in force in the Territory of Orleans.	
Las Siete Partidas—Translated by L. M. Lisat and H. Carleton, Esquires.	
Civil Code of Louisiana.	
Louisiana Term Reports.	
IV. WARD'S MEXICO, - - - - -	85
Mexico in 1827. By H. G. Ward, Esq. His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in that Country, during the years 1825, 1826, and part of 1827.	
V. BISHOP HEBER'S INDIA, - - - - -	115
Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824—1825, (with Notes upon Ceylon,) an account of a Journey to Madras and the southern Provinces, 1826, and Letters written in India. By the late Right Rev. Reginald Heber, D. D. Lord Bishop of Calcutta.	
VI. GERMAN LITERATURE, - - - - -	157
Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie und Beredsamkeit, von Friedrich Bouterwek. History of German Poetry and Eloquence, from the end of the thirteenth century, by Frederick Bouterwek.	
Andenken an Deutsche Historiker aus den letzten fünfzig Jahren. Notices relating to German Historians of the last fifty years. By A. H. L. Heeren.	
Franz Horns Umriss, &c. Sketches of the History and Criticism of the Literature of Germany, from 1790 to 1818. By Francis Horn.	

# CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
VII. ENGLISH ORTHOEPEY, - - - - -	191
Johnson's English Dictionary, as improved by Todd, and abridged by Chalmers; with Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary combined: To which is added, Walker's Key to the Classical Pronunciation of Greek, Latin and Scripture Proper Names. Edited by Joseph E. Worcester.	
VIII. FRANKLIN'S SECOND EXPEDITION, - - - - -	215
Narrative of a Second Expedition to the shores of the Polar Sea; in the years 1825, 1826, and 1827. By Captain Franklin, R. N., F. R. S., &c. Commander; and Dr. Richardson, F. R. S., &c.; Surgeon and Naturalist to the Expedition. Published by authority of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs.	
IX. SAXE-WEIMAR'S TRAVELS, - - - - -	244
Reise Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, durch Nord-Amerika, in den Jahren 1825 und 1826. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Luden. Travels of his Highness Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, through North-America, in the years 1825 and 1826. Edited by Henry Luden.	
X. CONTROVERSY RESPECTING THE PRETENSIONS OF MARCUS BULL TO THE RUMFORD PREMIUM, - - - - -	266
Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge.—Vol. iii. part 1; new series—Containing—"Experiments to determine the comparative quantities of heat evolved in the combustion of the principal varieties of wood and coal used in the United States for fuel; and, also, to determine the comparative quantities of heat lost by the ordinary apparatus made use of for their combustion."—By Marcus Bull.	
A Defence of the Experiments to determine the comparative value of the principal varieties of Fuel used in the United States, and also in Europe; containing a correspondence with a committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences: their Report and Remarks thereon; and animadversions on the manner in which the trust confided to the Academy, by Count Rumford, has been managed. By Marcus Bull, Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c.	
A short reply to a Pamphlet published at Philadelphia; entitled, "A defence of the Experiments," &c. By one of the Committee of the American Academy.	
An Answer to "A short reply," &c. &c. &c. By Marcus Bull, M. A. P. S., &c. &c. &c.	

## CONTENTS OF No. VIII.

---

ART.		PAGE
I.	HEBER'S PALESTINE, - - - - -	271
	Palestine and other Poems. By the late Reginald Heber, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Now first collected. With a Memoir of his Life.	
II.	MALARIA, - - - - -	286
	An Essay on the Production and Propagation of this Poison, and on the Nature and Localities of the places by which it is produced. By John McCulloch, M. D. F. R. S. Physician in ordinary to his Royal Highness Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourgh.	
III.	EARLY SPANISH DRAMA, - - - - -	308
	Seleccion de Obras maestras dramaticas por Calderon de la Barca, Lope de Vega, y Moreto. Por F. Sales, Instructor en la Universidad de Harvard, en Cambridge. Selections from the dramatic master-pieces of Calderon de la Barca, Lope de Vega, and Moreto. By F. Sales, Teacher in the University of Harvard, Cambridge.	
IV.	MARITIME EXPEDITIONS OF THE NORMANS, -	350
	Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands, et de leur établissement en France au dixième siècle ; par C. P. Depping. Ouvrage couronné en 1822 par l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. History of the Maritime Expeditions of the Normans, and of their establishment in France in the tenth century ; by C. P. Depping. A work which obtained the palm in 1822 from the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.	
V.	NIEBUHR'S ROMAN HISTORY, - - - - -	367
	The History of Rome, by B. G. Niebuhr. Translated by Julius Charles Hare, M. A. and Connop Thirlwall, M. A., Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.	
VI.	AFRICAN COLONIZATION, - - - - -	395
	The Eleventh Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, with an Appendix.	



# CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
VII. ANIMAL MAGNETISM, - - - - -	426
<p>Du Magnétisme animal, considéré dans ses rapports avec diverses branches de la Physique générale. Par A. M. J. De Chastenet, Ms. de Puységur.</p> <p>Histoire critique du Magnétisme animal. Par J. P. F. Deleuze.</p> <p>Instruction pratique sur le Magnétisme animal. Par J. P. F. Deleuze.</p> <p>Du Magnétisme animal en France, &amp;c. Par A. Bertrand.</p> <p>Expériences publiques sur le Magnétisme animal, faites à l'hôtel Dieu de Paris, &amp;c. Par J. Dupotet.</p> <p>Le Propagateur du Magnétisme animal. Par une Société de Médecins.</p>	
VIII. SIAM AND COCHIN-CHINA, - - - - -	448
<p>Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India, to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China; exhibiting a View of the Actual State of those Kingdoms: by John Crawford, Esq., late Envoy, &amp;c.</p>	
IX. NEW MARITIME ARTILLERY, - - - - -	480
<p>Nouvelle Force Maritime et Application de cette force à quelques parties du Service de l'Armée de Terre; ou Essai sur l'état actuel des Moyens de la force Maritime; sur une espèce nouvelle d'Artillerie de mer, qui détruirait promptement les Vaisseaux de haut-bord; sur la Construction de Navires à voile et à vapeur, de grandeur modérée, qui, armés de cette artillerie, donneraient une Marine moins Couteuse et plus puissante que celles existantes; Et sur la force que le système de bouches-à-feu proposé offrirait à terre, pour les batteries de siège, de place, de côtes et de campagne. Par H. I. Paixhans. Ancien élève de l'Ecole Polytechnique; Chef de bataillon au Corps Royal de l'Artillerie; Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis; Officier de l'Ordre Royal de la Legion-d'Honneur.</p> <p>New Maritime Force, and the application of it to certain parts of the Land Service; or an Essay on the actual System of Maritime Force; on a new species of Marine Artillery, which would promptly destroy ships of the line; on the construction of both sailing and steam vessels, of moderate size, which, being armed with this New Artillery, would furnish a less costly and more powerful force than the present marine; and on the advantages which the New System of Artillery would offer by its employment on shore, either in battering or field pieces, or in the defence of Towns and Coasts. By H. I. Paixhans, Pupil of the Polytechnic School; Chef de Bataillon of the Royal Artillery; Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis; and Member of the Legion of Honour.</p>	
X. TRAVELS TO RUSSIA, - - - - -	507
<p>St. Petersburg. A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital; through Flanders, the Rhenish Provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, the Federated States of Germany, and France. By A. B. Granville, M. D. F. R. S. F. L. S. M. R. A. F. S. S. &amp; M. R. A. S.</p>	

# AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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SEPTEMBER, 1828.

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ART. I.—*Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, by the late THOMAS BROWN, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.* 2 vols. 8vo. Boston. 1826. Stereotyped.

“KNOWLEDGE is Power.” It may seem superfluous to insist on this truth at the present day, when every department of material science is crowded with new discoveries, and when the beneficial and splendid results of this vast accession of knowledge are so apparent. And yet there is one department of science, the philosophy of mind, which it might be thought would be regarded as the most important, still believed by many to be incapable of furnishing any results which could have a practical bearing on our present or future interests, but on the contrary, is supposed to have a tendency to mislead us from more useful paths of knowledge. The cause of this prejudice is to be sought, not less in the history of philosophy, than in the nature of the science itself.

That the science is far behind all others that have engaged the attention of mankind, cannot be denied; but this is no proof that the study is not highly interesting and important. That knowledge which is requisite for the support and improvement of the animal and social principles, has been of necessity the first object of pursuit; while those studies which tend to the development and gratification of the intellectual powers, though equally essential to the perfection of our whole nature, are the last to obtain attention. The reason of this order is so obvious, that it needs not to be pointed out. And yet the fact, has given

some plausibility to the opinion that the study of our mental powers is visionary and useless. If society, it is said, has existed for so long a time, and made such progress in arts and refinement, without the aid of intellectual science, where is the proof that the cultivation of this science will be of advantage? But are there no improvements yet to be made in politics, in education, or in morals? and is it not to the philosophy of mind that we must look for these improvements?

Other circumstances have contributed to bring the science into disrepute, and to divert from its use, that practical sense and calm judgment which are more important in this, than in any other inquiry, because its objects are subtle and abstract, and its language vague and figurative. One of the most influential of these causes has been, the maxims and systems received from the ancients. That turn for intellectual pursuits which distinguished the Greeks above every other people of antiquity, was in a great measure directed to metaphysical inquiries; but in consequence of a false method of philosophizing, error instead of truth was often the result of their efforts. When we reflect on the high endowments and vast labour, which have been wasted by them, as well as by later philosophers, in vain speculations, we are ready to pardon those who regard the philosophy of the human mind as a fruitless study. "Zeno," says Dr. Reid, "endeavoured to demonstrate the impossibility of motion; Hobbes, that there was no difference between right and wrong; and Hume, that no credit is to be given to our senses, to our memory, or even to demonstration."

The ancient philosophers mistook not less in the object of their study, than in the method of its investigation. Their inquiries were directed to the nature and essence of mind, and the mode of its union with matter, rather than to the laws of its operation and influence, as exhibited in the human constitution. On this subject, the most they could effect, was the invention of hypotheses which appeared plausible to their finite apprehension, but which could not, from the very limited nature of the human understanding, have approached the truth. Adopting these hypotheses as axioms, because nothing which appeared nearer the truth had been devised, they raised on this foundation vast systems of philosophy, which, set off by the eloquence of Plato, and the acuteness of the Stagirite, absorbed in vain speculation some of the rarest geniuses of ancient and even modern times.

"Could half the zeal, and even half the genius, (says Brown,) which were during so many ages employed in attempting things impossible, have been directed to investigations adapted to our limited faculties, there are many names which we now regard

only with ridicule or pity, which could have been placed by the side of Bacon or Newton, or even before them."

The high admiration felt for these great minds was associated with their works, and forbade all doubts or inquiry as to the truth of their principles. A very slight examination of the subject would show, how great a portion of the difficulties, which have in modern times obstructed the progress of intellectual philosophy, may be traced to the influence of ancient systems.

"The conquests of Alexander live only in books of history, but a few phrases achieved for Aristotle a far more extensive and lasting conquest; and are perhaps even now exerting no small sway over minds, which smile at them with scorn."

To this source may be traced the vain disputations of the schools, which almost put a stop to the progress of the human mind for centuries. While men believed they discovered a new truth, in announcing one already known in different terms; while they admitted that the most absurd conclusion, if arrived at according to a prescribed process of reasoning, stood on as fair, or even better ground, than those elementary principles which all men admit without any reasoning at all, little advancement could be expected in intellectual knowledge, and still less improvement in that faculty by whose exercise all knowledge must be obtained.

The absurdities to which a blind devotion to the ancient systems had led the learned, roused the genius of modern times. This, and the spirit of inquiry to which the Reformation had given birth, prepared the way for Bacon, to whose matchless genius it is not too much to say we owe the rapid advancement which is now making in every department of science.

"The rules which Bacon gives are rules of physical investigation; but they are drawn from juster views of the laws of the mind, than had before his time prevailed; and the erroneous opinions which preceded them, were founded on false theories of intellect. It was the temple of the mind, and not the temple of nature, which he purified of its idols, before truth would deign to unveil herself to adoration."

It is not surprising, even after Bacon *had* shown the true method of philosophizing, that the ancient errors should still cling to the study of metaphysics, and that while the physical sciences were proceeding by fair and copious induction to collect truths, as the materials for their systems, the philosophy of the human mind should yet abide by its hypothetical method. The inductive method is more easily applied to the phenomena of the material world, and its advantage more immediately apparent, than in inquiries concerning the mind; and that same prominence and importance in our every-day concerns, which entitled these stu-

dies to priority in cultivation, also caused them to be the first to catch the light of a truer philosophy.

The maxim, that nothing is to be believed which cannot be proved, that is, logically proved, (a relic of ancient philosophy,) has occasioned a deplorable waste of intellect, even in our own times. It brought confusion into the reasonings of so sound an understanding as that of Locke; e. g. he thought it necessary to adduce reasons for believing in personal identity, and could find no better foundation for this great truth, than consciousness; but consciousness would become responsible only for the present moment; the burden was laid upon memory; and as this of all our imperfect powers is the one oftenest liable to fail, we are thus left without security on a point of all others most interesting to ourselves. To this cause may also be ascribed in no small degree, the sceptical conclusions of Berkeley and Hume. The acute reasonings of these writers, had they been deduced from true principles, might have furnished results of lasting benefit to mankind. Minds of such high endowments are scattered thinly along the course of ages, and it is indeed disheartening to find their labours and talents rendered useless, and worse than useless, to the myriads of humble minds they were formed to enlighten and direct. If it be admitted, that philosophical errors of more than two thousand years' standing, have, during the course of these successive ages, usurped the place of truth; have retarded the natural progress of improvement, and directed the efforts of the great and learned, to inquiries at best visionary, but often detrimental, it must be allowed that a just system of intellectual philosophy, would be of inestimable value to mankind.

The objects of this science are so illusive, we can hardly expect that any thing like the certainty which belongs to the material sciences should ever be attained; but, as Brown has remarked, "attention will be turned to the subject, and systems will be formed." We see from the injurious and lasting influence of ancient philosophy, how important it is that these systems should not be founded in error, that the true limits of the human understanding should be recognised, and that a method of investigation, even more cautious than that now introduced into the material sciences, should be pursued. If we could obtain an arrangement and analysis of mental phenomena, which should do no more than guard us against metaphysical errors, (and perhaps this is all that can be expected,) it would be the means of removing no slight impediments to improvement.

Besides the obstructions to the progress of intellectual philosophy, which the errors received from the ancients have placed in the way, there are some difficulties arising from the nature of the subject itself. The metaphysician cannot, like the chemist

or mineralogist, collect a cabinet of specimens which are true and complete representatives of the objects of his science, and which the learned may consult at leisure. The subjects to which he would direct the attention are evanescent, and can be preserved only in description. The terms which have become technical in this science, savour so much of ancient systems, that it is difficult to use them without receiving some little bias of error. This circumstance induces each writer to make a new selection of terms, and he is guided in his choice by those analogies which his own associations have suggested. Thus no fixed nomenclature has as yet been adopted; but, on the contrary, the same terms are used in different senses, by different authors. But it must not be thought that the labours of so many learned men, who have treated on the human mind, are wholly useless; sublime speculations, and just views, particularly of our moral nature, are found in the works of the ancients.

The writings of later authors are still more valuable; and those of our own times, have done more for the science, than all the rest. Among these, the Scotch philosophers are distinguished. Dr. Reid is a writer of great force and simplicity. He clearly discerned the causes which had impeded the progress of intellectual philosophy, and felt that no advance could be made, till these causes were removed. He cleared away much of the rubbish with which ancient systems had clogged the study, and presented it, in comparative simplicity, to the attention of the learned. The works of Dugald Stewart form another valuable accession to the science; he has been very successful in showing the importance of accuracy in language, and the errors to which the metaphysician is peculiarly liable, from the analogical nature of the terms which he is obliged to employ. He has also enforced the importance of the inductive method in intellectual investigation, and fully illustrated this by his own success in its use.

Besides these writers, many other authors of note might be enumerated, who have each done something towards lessening the obscurity by which truth has been concealed from our view. Could all that is just and clear in these works be collected, and separated from what is erroneous and ill digested, we should already find ourselves in possession of a valuable mass of intellectual knowledge. But the relation of the philosophy of the human mind to the common pursuits of life, is not obvious to any but the philosopher. Its extensive bearing on almost all the departments of knowledge, is hardly recognised at the present day; and, in the prejudice which practical minds have imbibed against it, the errors of metaphysicians are confounded with the science itself.

The lectures of Professor Brown on the philosophy of the human mind, will, we trust, avail much in the removal of this

prejudice. If we may judge from his writings, he must have possessed a mind most happily suited to this study. Formed to habits of nice investigation, and not wanting in that sensibility which would secure him from a dry and speculative mode of treating it ; with the refined analysis, and deep research, essential in so abstract and intricate a subject, he has constantly preserved that reference to the real business, and the great ends of life, which alone could render his inquiries of practical advantage ; and he has adorned these profound investigations with all the beauties of taste and feeling. A striking feature in Brown's philosophy, is its religious character. It is in fact a work of natural theology, no less than Paley's. His nice arrangement and analysis of our intellectual powers and capacities, his apt and beautiful illustrations, seem all designed as a preparation, for showing forth the true end of all knowledge, a contemplation and love of the Great Being, who formed these capacities for happiness and improvement, and so nicely adapted man to the varied scene in which he is placed. The illustrations in this work have as much, perhaps to many they have more merit, than the reasonings. They are splendid passages, distinguished no less by force and accuracy of thought, than by richness and delicacy of fancy. In a mind of sensibility and imagination, metaphysical inquiries, when not exclusively pursued, impart to its productions that truth of character, and delicacy of finish, which are marked by the touches of a master.

Another excellence of this work is its method ; which is entirely his own, and possesses the essential characters of a scientific arrangement, simplicity and comprehension. The progress of intellectual as well as material philosophy, has been retarded by the want of an arrangement, in which all the learned would agree. Indeed, since the time of the ten categories, it has been an object with philosophers, not so much to investigate and explain the laws and the relations of the phenomena of nature, as to arrange these according to a method better suited to their own views, than the method of preceding writers. The arrangement which Brown has adopted, is so simple and complete, that we hope succeeding writers may be induced to make it the groundwork of their own inquiries. If this, or any arrangement, could be universally adopted, we should soon obtain a fixed nomenclature ; and something of that permanence and certainty, which have not till lately been attained in the material sciences, might be given to the science of mind.

Our object is to give a brief account of Brown's philosophy, as nearly as possible in the words of the author, with now and then a few remarks of our own, and occasional extracts. We hope, in doing this, to convey an idea of a book so justly celebrated, to some, who may not have leisure to go through the

whole, and also to refresh the memories of others who have studied the original.

The introductory lectures are employed in showing the importance and the *practicability* of the philosophy of the human mind. Of its importance, it would be unnecessary to speak, if a prejudice did not, (as we have already said,) exist against it in many judicious minds. We recommend a perusal of the four first lectures, which contain an able and eloquent defence of this science, and a just view of its relation to the arts and sciences generally, and to morality.

With respect to the question of practicability, Brown says, "the Physics of mind are like those of matter, only an analysis and arrangement of its phenomena." This is more difficult in mind than in matter; but these difficulties are by no means insurmountable. The phenomena of mind may be arranged according to their succession, no less than those of matter. Professor Brown has, in a former work, given a very simple exposition of the notion we are to form of cause and effect. He has introduced his theory into these lectures. According to him, all we can learn of the phenomena of either matter or mind, is their invariable succession; that is, the order in which they invariably precede each other. This is to know their causes and effects. It is not merely all that our faculties are capable of discerning; it is all that actually exists. When, upon a more exact examination, we become better acquainted with the phenomena immediately preceding any result, than we were before, we flatter ourselves we have learnt what we call the cause of this effect, when the fact is, we have only become acquainted with one or more circumstances, in that invariable order of events, which terminates in the result. The degree of our knowledge is increased, but its nature is the same. Thus the term cause, is only an abstraction of the mind, and means nothing which exists in nature distinct from the phenomena themselves.

Although this view of the subject may not appear satisfactory to those who are unaccustomed to nice investigation, it will, on examination, be found to be strictly accurate. However refined our observation of nature may be, still we can only add to the knowledge already possessed, an acquaintance with phenomena which a less careful observation had passed by, but which were not the less truly a part of the series. There is no mysterious agent undiscoverable by our faculties which links these phenomena together, other than the Maker which establishes their invariable order. Power or cause cannot be any thing separate from the phenomena themselves, any more than figure can exist without something figured. They are both abstractions of the mind, and belong to that class of universals once regarded as the only



true objects of science, but now justly given up as having no existence beyond the mind that conceives them.

The mind has a tendency to regard its abstractions as real existences independent of itself; and it was this tendency that gave rise to the doctrine of universals. The notion that form was any thing more than a mere abstraction of the mind, has been long exploded. The same arguments which reduced form to a mere abstraction, are equally applicable to causation, but it was left for Brown to make the application.\* To us it is surprising, that having gone so far, he did not reduce to its true place another abstraction of the mind, which still claims to be regarded as having a separate existence. This is substance or essence, of which, distinct from qualities or properties, there is no better evidence than of the existence of form or causation. Brown has almost expressed this very idea in several instances, without appearing to be aware of the important bearing of his remarks. In defending the propriety of an attempt to analyse the mind, which is in itself a simple homogeneous substance, he says, "What constitutes the mind but its thoughts and feelings?" It may indeed with propriety be asked, is there any thing else which we can know of it, or by which it can be defined? and if not, what evidence can we have that any thing else exists? It is observed in the ninth lecture, "that those philosophers who have had the wisdom to perceive that man can discover nothing more than the phenomena of nature and the order of their succession, still believe that occult causes exist, but cannot be discerned by us, and therefore that it is useless for us to aim at their discovery. Whereas their advice is sound, not because these causes are undiscoverable by man, but because they do not exist. The same remarks may with equal propriety be applied to substance or essence, as distinct from qualities. Yet Brown has in lecture eleventh, this passage, "One important circumstance of agreement between the sciences of mind and matter, is, that their phenomena are all that we can truly know. Their *essence* cannot be discovered by us."

"The laws of mental inquiry," says Brown, "are the same as those in the material sciences: we can only analyse what is complex, or observe and arrange the sequence of phenomena as antecedent and consequent." "As we can know nothing of matter but its qualities and the phenomena it exhibits, so we can know nothing of mind but our sensations, and the phenomena *they* exhibit, their relations and order of sequence. For it

\* Hume, in his argument on necessary connexion, advanced the idea, that physical causes and effects are merely as antecedents and consequents; but having adopted a false theory of the origin of our knowledge, this simple and just conception of the relation of cause and effect, led him to sceptical conclusions as to the foundations of human belief.

would be absurd to suppose that we could know that which is independent of our perception and consciousness ; and were we in possession of a greater number of senses, still we should know nothing of matter or mind but their phenomena ; we should not know their essence."

Here we cannot forbear repeating, that, if there is nothing more to be known of matter but its qualities and their phenomena, or of mind but its feelings or thoughts, what proof is there of any essence distinct from these? Do not the terms essence, substance, or substratum, mean an abstraction of the mind, which it has formed, and to which it has given a name, because it considers as one, a collection of qualities which are found existing together in nature, but which we can separate in our own thoughts? Hardness cannot exist without extension, or extension without form in nature ; but we can think of them, and reason about them, separately, in consequence of possessing the power of abstraction. Having thus separated in our minds, what nature has combined, when we go to unite them again in thought, we require some common centre to which to attach them, because we have a common term *matter*, which expresses them all united. But when we have abstracted all the qualities of matter, what is there remaining, to which we can with propriety apply that or any other name? Is not the belief of the independent existence of essence a philosophical error, like the belief in universals, with which philosophers have puzzled themselves so long, in their attempts to explain the nature of general terms? We are perfectly aware now, that individuals only have a real existence, and that there is nothing general but the relation of resemblance, which the mind perceives, and which it invents a term to express. We now admit form and causation to be abstractions of the mind ; and, although essence or substratum is still believed to have a separate existence, independent of all qualities, to be none of these qualities, but something beyond our comprehension and detection, will it not, one day, be added to the list of these abstractions?

If we attend to the process by which the mind arrives at the notion of essence, we shall the more readily admit that notion to be all that actually exists. It is evident, that terms expressing objects as they exist in nature, will be first invented, that the qualities of which we subsequently form a notion, exist separately only in the mind, and that if these qualities could be physically taken away, one by one, till all were gone, there would be no longer a subject or matter remaining. If then the notion of an essence which has no properties, is what we cannot even conceive, if we have not the least evidence of its physical existence, and if we can explain the rise of this belief of its existence, (which has, we acknowledge, been universal with the learned,)

are we not justified in consigning it, as Brown has causation, to a place among the universals of the schools?

The manner in which the mind considers apart the qualities which constitute any individual object, may be compared to the analysis of the chemist. When he examines an apparently simple body, which he believes to be compounded, with a view to ascertain the elements of which it is composed; he separates one after another these elements, from their state of combination, by the aid of chemical agents; and having ascertained and removed each one of these elements, he feels that he is acquainted with every thing which entered into the constitution of the body. He is far from supposing, that the most important part of all, the essence of the thing, has escaped his detection. The existence of these elements in combination, formed the constitution or essence of the body, and not some mysterious existence, of which his senses gave him no information.

But let us return to Brown; since, he says, we can know nothing of matter or of mind, but the phenomena they exhibit, the true object of inquiry in both these departments of science, is the analysis of what is complex, and the arrangement of what is successive, in their phenomena.

It is chiefly as it is analytical, that the science of mind admits of discovery, and opens a field almost as rich and inexhaustible as the universe without. What a variety of appearances do the rise and growth of passion assume, and can it be pretended that the ignorant can trace out all these shadowings of feeling into feelings, as well as the profound intellectual inquirer? or that an accurate analysis of passion, and the thousand and mixed sensations of which it is the result, would be of no avail in education? The mind is a chaos, and it is only the spirit of inquiry moving over it which can separate its mingled elements.

Mind then is capable of existing in a variety of states, and it is this variety of states, their complex causes and invariable antecedents, which are the object of inquiry to the intellectual philosophy, and which it is highly useful to know.

Amid all this variety of feelings, it is the same being who experiences them. This view of the subject, says Brown, involves the idea of consciousness and identity. Consciousness has been regarded as a separate faculty, whereas it is only a general term, comprehending all our sensations; for if we had but one sensation, we should not distinguish between the consciousness of the sensation and the sensation itself, nor employ more than one term to express them. The term consciousness has been invented in consequence of that belief in personal identity, which is an original principle, and must exist when we have experienced a succession of sensations, which we remember, and believe to belong to the same being. Brown considers the two principal

objections which may be made to the doctrine that personal identity is an undeniable truth, and also the opinion of several philosophers on this subject, particularly Locke's ; for these we shall refer the reader to the Lectures themselves.—11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th.

All reasoning must take for granted the truth of certain self-evident propositions ; therefore there can be no such thing as reasoning against self-evident truths generally. If there be first truths, personal identity is one of the most unquestionable. It does not depend on any series of propositions, but arises in certain circumstances from a principle of thought as essential to the mind as its power of perception or memory, or as reasoning itself. There is to be found in it every circumstance required to substantiate it as a law of intuitive belief. It is universal and irresistible. These first truths Stewart has called the elements of human reason. They are, says Brown, essential to philosophy, in all its forms, as they are physically essential to the preservation of our animal existence. The rash and unphilosophical extension of them by some philosophers, and the misapprehension of them by others, render it necessary to state with precision their reality and importance.

Having shown that the phenomena of mind may be the subject of science, no less than those of matter, and having established the necessity of admitting self-evident truths, and in particular that of personal identity, as the foundation of all reasoning, Brown enters upon the arrangement of mental phenomena. It might seem on first reflection, (he says,) a hopeless task to reduce under a few heads the almost infinite variety of thoughts and feelings. But nature has not left us without a clue in this labyrinth. The single power by which we discover resemblance and relation, is sufficient to reduce this confusion to order. Our classification of objects depends on certain relations which we discover in their phenomena. Some of these are more obvious than others, but it often happens that the least obvious afford the best ground of classification. Many divisions of mental phenomena have been made ; the most common is that of the understanding and the will. But this division, though very ancient, (says Brown,) is very illogical. As none of the classifications of mental phenomena which have yet been made are accurate or complete, he attempts a new arrangement. He begins with a caution against the supposition that any change in the arrangement of objects can alter the true nature of their phenomena ; although a misapprehension of this simple truth, has given rise to many absurdities ; for no sooner were certain affections classed together as belonging to the will, or the understanding, than they were considered as not belonging to the same substance, and each faculty was made an independent mind.

The first grand division which Brown makes of mental phenomena, is into external and internal affections of mind ; including under the first head, all those states of mind which are produced by external objects, and under the last, those immediately consequent on certain preceding affections of the mind itself. The external affections are so few and simple, that they require but little subdivision. Brown has adopted the obvious method of arranging them according to the different organs on which they depend. The second, and far more numerous and important class, internal affections, he has divided into two orders, intellectual states and emotions. Of each of these orders, he makes further subdivisions.

With respect to his own arrangement, he says : " We have sensations or perceptions of the objects that affect our bodily organs ; these I term the sensitive or external affections of the mind. We remember objects, we imagine them in new situations, we compare their relations. These mere conceptions or notions of objects and their qualities, as elements of our general knowledge, are what I have termed the intellectual states of the mind. We are moved with certain lively feelings, on the consideration of what we thus conceive or compare, with feelings, for example, of beauty, or sublimity, or astonishment, or love, or hope, or fear. These, and various other feelings, analogous to them, are our emotions. There is no portion of consciousness which does not seem to be included in one or the other of these divisions, and to know them all, is to know all the phenomena of mind."

In the class of the external affections are included many sensations not usually ascribed to the organs of sense, but as truly proceeding from them as the sensations of taste or smell. These, though they have received little attention from philosophers, become in many instances, as in the acquired perceptions of sight, the foundation of some of the most accurate judgments we form. The most important, however, in the class of the external affections, are those proceeding from the organs of sense. Brown considers each of the organs of sense separately ; the nature and uses of the information they convey ; he also gives a very refined analysis of the process by which the mind acquires this information. We shall not follow him minutely, but notice only what is peculiar in his view of the subject.

" It is impossible," he says, " for us to become acquainted with the early history of the ideas received through the organs of sense, so as accurately to distinguish such as are immediately consequent on the affection of the organ, and such as are owing to the corrections of experience ; and we ought therefore to express our opinions on this subject with diffidence." He professes to state only what appears to him, after the nicest examination

he can make, the true theory of perception. It is with some hesitation, that we attempt to comprise within the narrow limits to which we have restricted ourselves, the results of his refined and ingenious speculations on this part of his subject. It is probable, he thinks, that our belief in an external world is derived in many instances from associations transferred from sense to sense; and that the instances in which it is primary, that is, immediately consequent on our sensations, are fewer than has been supposed. The qualities of bodies, generally, supposed to be made known to us by the sense of touch, are extension, magnitude, divisibility, roughness, smoothness, hardness, figure, motion. He reduces all, except motion, to two; resistance and extension. These are not made known to us as qualities of objects without, by the sense of touch merely; this gives us the simple tactual sensation or feeling, peculiar to the organ; and this is all that rightly belongs to it, as the sensation of colour is all that rightly belongs to the organ of sight, till it has received the aid of experience and the other senses. It is by the combined action of this simple tactual sensation, the use of the muscles, (which Brown calls another sense) and experience, that we become acquainted with the primary qualities of matter. The first motion an infant makes, is accompanied with a certain feeling, which is the consequence of his willing the motion; but if, on attempting the action again, he meets with something which impedes it, he has the feeling of resistance, which he perceives was not caused, as that of motion was, by any thing in his own mind, and he thus gets the idea of something without—a cause not originating in himself; and thus, (as Brown evidently believes,) arises our notion of an external world. The repeated use of the muscles, causes a succession of feelings; and this succession suggests, that it involves the idea of time and of divisibility. Time is length, not metaphorically, but literally; therefore the idea of extension also will be obtained from this source; if the idea of resistance be added, we have, by this union, the very notion of matter; viz. that which has parts, which resists our efforts to grasp it, and which is without ourselves.

Brown is of opinion, that the senses of smell, taste, hearing, and even sight, give us, originally, no information of an external world; that we should not refer their sensations to any thing without, any more than we should the emotions of joy or grief, were it not for the aid of associations of the feelings of resistance and experience. We think this is going too far; although we may admit that the notion of resistance is obtained in the manner he has described, we do not see that it is therefore necessary to admit, that this is the sole origin of our belief in an external cause of our sensations. We think this error in Brown, (if it be one,) arises from his confounding the notion

of external causes, with our notion of resistance. Indeed, in speaking of Dr. Reid's theory of perception, he says, "there is no doubt, that the sensations of fragrance, &c. give us the idea of an external cause, but not of a fragrant *body*." This is all for which we contend; the sense of smell or taste, cannot give us the feelings which belong to the senses of sight or touch, but they convey their own appropriate information, as distinctly as these last senses, and give us a belief as certain of an external cause. But Brown evidently did not intend to admit so much; for he says again, (Lect. 27,) "we have shown, that, in all the senses except touch, though the idea of a cause of the sensation is suggested, yet that this would not be perceived to be a material body, or even a *cause, without ourselves*, were they not associated with ideas of resistance and extension; that is, of matter previously acquired in another way." In our opinion, much of the confusion in the reasonings of philosophers on this subject, is owing to the distinction which has been falsely made, between what are called primary and secondary qualities. There is not that generic difference which has been ascribed to them. The primary are, as Brown has said, (though he does not appear to realize the whole force of his observations on this subject,) "relative no less than the secondary; for all that we can know of matter is, that it is the cause of certain sensations which we experience." Now, though we have more distinct and familiar notions of primary qualities, because their sensations are more frequently repeated, yet to us it appears, that we become acquainted with the secondary qualities, in the same way as with the primary. To a being who had only the senses of taste, smell, and hearing—flavour, fragrance, and sound, would be primary qualities. "We have learned from experience," says Brown, "that all our sensations must have some cause; that is, invariable antecedents. When we experience the sensation of resistance, we can ascribe it to no cause within ourselves; and this suggests the idea of an external cause." Does not the same reasoning, we ask, apply to the sensations of taste, smell, or hearing? They are not invariably consequent on any mental affections; therefore, on this very principle of Brown's, we must ascribe them to something without; and, consequently, get the idea of external causes of our sensations. That this notion of an external cause, combined only with the feelings obtained from the organs of taste, smell, hearing, or even sight, should be called matter, we are far from demanding; for that term, as it is now used, means the sensations of resistance and extension, combined with the belief of an external cause of these sensations. We merely give it as our opinion, an opinion which we express with diffidence, (since minds far wiser than our own, have been misled by these subtle inquiries,) that, could we have been so formed,

as to have possessed only the organs of taste, smell, and hearing, these would, of themselves, have suggested the notion of an external cause.

We pass over Professor Brown's remarks on Dr. Reid's theory of perception; which, we do not think, are made with his usual candour. To us, it appears, that Dr. Reid is fairly entitled to all the merit on this subject, which has hitherto been ascribed to him. Neither have we time to speak of the various opinions of philosophers on perception, which are noticed in this work.

We come now to the second class of mental phenomena, which are denominated internal affections of mind. These are divided into two orders, intellectual states and emotions. They also often exist in combination, and these combinations form an important division in this class. There is one emotion in particular, which has so extensive a sway over human life, that it cannot fail to be combined with many of our feelings. This is desire. Brown deviates a little from the plan he has laid down, to describe the phenomena of attention, which, he says, is merely desire, combined with perception, and not a distinct faculty of the mind.

Of the class of internal affections he says, "these constitute our immortality, for even were the whole material universe annihilated, could we exist we should still possess the internal successions of thought; but did we depend for all our ideas on the presence of the external world, we should be as mortal as the mortal things around us."

"We are not merely the passive subjects of sensations which the action of a few particles of matter on our organs has caused, we are the discoverers of laws which every element of the universe obeys, the tracers of the events of ages that are passed: and while we are thus able to discover the innumerable relations of created things, we are also the discoverers of the Infinite Being who framed every thing which it is our glory to be merely capable of observing." Lect. 32.

In treating of that division of internal affections which are denominated intellectual states of mind, he reduces under two heads, many phenomena which have heretofore been classed as belonging to different faculties. From the time of Hobbes to that of Hume, the tendency in metaphysical systems was to simplify; and the French philosophers have referred all the phenomena of mind to the varied action of one power, viz. sensation, and have thus endeavoured to obtain the pure gold of truth from a single principle. The Scotch philosophers, on the other hand, have multiplied general principles unnecessarily. If we analyse our intellectual states exclusive of the emotions or sensations which may be combined with them, we shall find them to consist of two very different sets of feelings. One set of which are mere concep-



tions or images of the past, which arise one after another in our minds, according to certain laws of suggestion, and the other set are perceptions of relations, which our various conceptions bear to one another. These two divisions comprehend all our thoughts and feelings, included under the head of intellectual states. The first are called simple suggestion, the second relative suggestions. With these two capacities of suggestion, different emotions may be combined, especially that most common of all emotions, desire; and as the desire does or does not concur with them, they appear different, and by those who do not make the necessary analysis, are supposed to be indicative of different powers. They may all, however, be reduced to two classes. The laws of simple suggestion, (called primary as being of universal influence) are resemblance, contiguity, and contrast, resemblance includes analogy.

To the faculty of simple suggestion, we are indebted for memory. We can hardly conceive that we could exist without this faculty, which enables us to avail ourselves of all that we have ever known. If our ideas did not arise according to a certain order, that is, were it not for the laws of association, memory would be of little use. We are obliged for want of room to pass over the lectures on the laws of association of ideas, though we regard as important the views they exhibit. The result is, that our associations are merely simple suggestions, which succeed in a particular order according to certain relations, as those of resemblance, proximity, contrast; and that they are not linked together by some mysterious connexion, in consequence of having once existed in succession in the mind.

Conception, which has been called a distinct power of the mind, is nothing more than simple suggestion.

The phenomena of imagination have also been ascribed to a peculiar power. If we analyse the process of the mind in the exercise of the imagination, we shall find that having selected a subject, the desire to treat it keeps the attention fixed on this subject, till one after another all the images and thoughts which the mind has treasured up, rise according to the laws of spontaneous suggestion. We perceive by the exercise of judgment, that some of these images are adapted to our purpose better than others, and it is this feeling of approval which fixes the attention on these, while others pass away and give place to new suggestions. The combinations thus obtained, are called creative, because they exhibit to us results different from any we have before known.

"Thus nature is as she always has been in every age, the only true and everlasting muse. The inspirer to whom we are indebted for all that is magnificent in art, as well as for those glorious models of excellence which in the living and inanimate scene of

things, she has presented to the admiration of the genius which she inspires." Lect. 42.

Another class of phenomena, which may be analysed into modes of simple suggestion, is comprehended under the name of habit.

Besides these classes of general phenomena, which flow from the primary laws of simple suggestion, there are accidental associations, which Brown calls, secondary laws of suggestion. These modify our taste, our genius, our understanding, and our morals.

The influence of these secondary laws, is greatly modified by original constitutional differences. This influence is of two kinds; 1st, that of increasing the effect of all the primary laws of suggestion; 2d, that of rendering some more powerful than others. It is in this last modification of the suggesting principle, that the whole, or the greater part of genius consists. Some minds are influenced chiefly by associations depending on contiguity. This is the most general principle of association, and a poet whose trains of thought depended on this principle, though he might have, in consequence of more extensive reading or observation, a greater number of images than those around him, could have none that had not occurred to other minds. To minds of a higher order, images are suggested by analogy, and new and striking combinations and trains of thought will arise. The inventions of poetic genius are the suggestions of analogy; the prevailing suggestions of common minds are those of contiguity; and it is this difference of the occasion of suggestion, and not of the images suggested, which forms the distinctive superiority of original genius. It is the same in philosophy. He alone has a philosophic genius, who not only produces the same effects by the same means as others have done before, but who, in consequence of the suggestions of analogy, is enabled to produce new effects, or to produce those already known, by new and simpler means. The primary laws of association are much affected by diversities of temper. How different are the images, which the same object will suggest to a gloomy or cheerful mind? "To the cheerful, in the very darkness of the storm, the cloud which hides the sunshine from the eyes, does not hide it from their heart; while to the gloomy, no sky is bright, no scene is fair." Lect. 37.

Those feelings of relation, which have been classed under the head of relative suggestion, are essentially different from our simple suggestions, or from any combination of these, in the groupings of fancy. There is an original tendency in the mind, by which, on perceiving together different objects, we are instantly, without the intervention of any other mental process, sensible of their relation in certain respects. The number of these relations, even of external things, is almost infinite; and

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the more numerous they are, the more necessary does some arrangement of them become. The first great division which Brown makes, is into those relations which co-exist in the mind, and those which are successive. For example, when we feel that one-half of four is to twelve, what twelve is to seventy-two, we feel this, merely by considering the numbers together, without any regard to time. When we think of the warmth and verdure of summer, and the cold and desolation of the winter which is to succeed, we feel a relation of antecedence and consequence, to which the notion of time is so essential, that, without it, the relation could not be felt. Were it not for that susceptibility of mind by which it has the feeling of relation, we could have no science. We could not know the existence of our Creator, for it is by reasoning from effects to causes, that we discover His existence.

On the relation of resemblance, is founded the pleasure we receive from the imitative arts. But the most important advantage we derive from this relation, is the power of classification, and consequently every thing that is valuable in language. It is the use of general terms, that is, of terms founded on the feeling of resemblance, which alone gives to language its power of enabling us to condense in a single term, innumerable objects, which it would be impossible for the mind to grasp individually. The invention of general terms, is as simple as any other operation of the mind, (as the invention of individual terms for instance,) though it has been so much clouded by philosophers, in their attempts to explain it. What, says Brown, can be more conceivable than this process; the perception of objects, the feeling of their resemblance, and the invention of a name, to express these circumstances of felt resemblance. And yet on this process, apparently so simple, has been founded all those disputes between the Realists and Nominalists, which so long agitated the learned.

Under the head of the relations of comprehension, comes the process of reasoning; the most important of all our mental processes. The explanation of this process, given by Brown, is simple and beautiful; and it appears so obvious, now it is stated, that we can hardly account for the mystery with which it has been invested by logicians. According to him, we conceive of objects as composed of parts, either such as may be mechanically separated, or such as may be mentally separated. But, in stating that one of these parts is comprehended in the whole, there is in either case no difference in the kind of proposition. We merely state, that these parts are comprehended in the whole complex notion. We decompose our thoughts in a manner as different from that of the chemist, as matter is different from mind, but with the same feeling of agreement or identity. Reasoning is a continued series of analytical propositions, develop-

ing the elements of thought. When we say man is fallible, we state one of the many imperfections included in our complex notion of man. If we add, therefore he may err, we state a quality included in the notion of fallibility. If we go on and say, therefore he must not expect others to think like himself, even when he believes himself to be right, we state that which is involved in the notion that he and others can err. In this reasoning, though composed of several propositions, there is only a progressive analysis, with a feeling at every step, of relation of the parts to the whole. In every such case of reasoning, it is impossible for us not to feel, when we have arrived at the conclusion, that the last proposition is as truly contained in the first, as any of the intermediate ones. The truths thus presented to us by reasoning, are not so much new truths added, as evolved from some primary truth.

The second order comprises the relations of succession. These are either casual or invariable. The casual are chiefly useful as helps to memory; but the relations of invariable antecedence and sequence, embrace all that we denominate cause and effect; and, from the power of discerning these, all science is derived. Many different names have been given to this power, according to the objects on which it is exercised. But Brown reduces all these supposed faculties to the power of discerning the relations of succession. What has been called the faculty of abstraction, is simply relative suggestion. Judgment is the same as the power of reasoning, for all reasoning is but a series of judgments, or feelings of relation. Thus taste,—that is, *critical taste*, is nothing more than the power of discerning the relations of cause and effect, (or of invariable succession, as Brown calls it,) between certain objects, and the emotions of beauty and sublimity; that is, their aptness to produce these emotions. The confusion which has arisen on the subject of taste, is owing to the complex meaning of the term, as involving two classes of feelings,—viz. judgments and emotions. What we call beauty, is, in the mind, an emotion; in external things, the aptitude to produce this emotion.

Thus all the phenomena of thought may be reduced to two faculties, simple and relative suggestion, or the power of conceiving of objects, and the power of feeling their relations.

The next class of feelings is not less important than the preceding, as they comprehend all the higher delights which attend the exercise of the sensitive and intellectual functions.

“By our mental functions, we are mere spectators of the machinery of the universe; by our emotions, we are admirers of nature, lovers of man, adorers of God.” Lect. 52.

In arranging our emotions, Brown does not class them according to the simple elementary feelings, but considers them

in their complex state, as they are usually found, co-existing with conceptions and other emotions, in which they have obtained names familiar to us. He arranges them according to their relation to time,—as present, or involving no notion of time whatever; as past; and as future. For example, we admire what is before us, we feel remorse for some past crime, we hope some future good. The immediate emotions, or those belonging to the present, are subdivided into such as do, and such as do not, involve any *moral feeling*.

Those lectures which treat of our emotions, contain some of the most interesting views of human nature to be found in the whole series; a philosophical spirit of discriminating delineation, together with that disposition to view every thing as the production of infinite wisdom and benevolence, which is no less philosophical than it is amiable, is here fully displayed. We must pass over this whole division of the subject, with the exception of a brief abstract of the lectures on beauty, and sublimity, and one or two extracts; earnestly recommending, however, (even to those who may have no relish for the more metaphysical parts of the work,) a perusal of these and the succeeding lectures.

There is perhaps no class of feelings, (says Brown,) in treating which so little precision has been employed, and so little certainty obtained, as those of beauty. In the first place, beauty is a pleasing emotion. It is one of the forms of joyous delight, to be ranked among those elementary feelings, to which all our emotions may be reduced. In the second place, we transfer this feeling to the object which excites it, in the same manner as we do colour, (which can only be a sensation of the eye,) to the objects around us. Beauty is therefore a pleasing emotion, which we diffuse and combine with the objects which produce it. This diffusion of the emotions of beauty is only one instance of a general law, by which the mind is led to that condensation of feeling, which gives the principal value to the objects familiar to us: the home of our infancy, the walks of our youth, the most trifling gift of friendship, which are all invested to our imaginations with the emotions they have excited. Of moral beauty, all acknowledge the charm, and it is the analogy of this beauty which lends the greatest attraction to the inanimate universe. Brown is of opinion that the emotion of beauty is an original feeling, and that certain objects are better fitted to excite it than others; but he allows that this original feeling is so much modified by association, that objects wholly unfit originally to produce it, may, by association, become beautiful to us. This modification is no argument against the originality of the principle; the same may be said of our conception of truth, which is sometimes so modified by prejudice, that it seems to be wholly lost; yet no one infers from this that truth is not something dif-

with the powers of so vast and so complicated an instrument as that of speech, and of acquiring this knowledge in circumstances the most unfavourable, we might indeed find cause to wonder at a capacity so admirable. But even at this early period, what reasonings, what observations have been formed! And nature effects all this by the simplest means, the more sure for their simplicity. The simple desire of knowledge explains a mystery which nothing else could explain." Lect. 67.

Brown concludes his view of the physiology of mind, with these remarks: "The last lecture concluded our view of the physiology of mind in all the aspects it presents to our observation; and we trust that good reasons have appeared for the new arrangement we have adopted, since every former arrangement would have been inconsistent with the results of the minuter analysis into which we have been led. In treating of the extensive order of our emotions, which comprehend all our moral feelings, we did not confine ourselves to the mere physiology of those feelings, but intermixed many discussions as to moral duty, and the relation of the benevolent author of nature to the contrivances of our moral frame. It would have been wonderful, if this connexion had escaped us, in considering the human mind. But these remarks were intentionally made, in order to connect in the mind a consideration of the wisdom and goodness of God, with the contemplation of this subject. This connexion will not render us less quick in observation, or less nice in analysis, while it will produce feelings and views far more valuable than the discovery of the greatest truths." Lect. 73.

The last part of the course is more strictly ethical. The science of ethics, (says Brown,) has relations to our affections of mind, not simply as phenomena, but as virtuous or vicious, right or wrong. In the consideration of such questions, we feel that philosophy is something more than knowledge; that it not only teaches us what virtue is, but assists us in obtaining it.

It is the opinion of Professor Brown, that the feelings of approval and blame, which we feel on the contemplation of virtuous or vicious actions, are ultimate facts in our nature, which cannot be resolved into any thing more elementary. Many mistakes have arisen, from the confused phraseology of writers on ethical subjects. Merit and obligation are not different things. If a man perform a virtuous action, he must have merit; that is, he will excite the feeling of approbation, in those who contemplate him. In thinking of virtue, we must not look for any thing self-existing, like the universals of the schools, but a felt relation, of certain actions to certain emotions, and nothing more. That there is this relation, no one will deny; but there are some who deny the *originality* of the principle, and who ascribe our approbation of one class of actions as virtuous, and



versal, *a parte rei*, like the idea of an universal man, and although it has held its place among philosophers somewhat longer than the universals, it is doomed at last to retire with them like phantoms of the night, before the advancing splendour of true science.

Of all our emotions, the prospective are the most important, from their direct influence on action. This order includes all our desires and all our fears. Desire is a vivid feeling, of a peculiar kind, and cannot be classed with mere approbation or love. It is a prospective emotion, and one of the most delightful of which the mind is susceptible. To enumerate all our desires, would be to enumerate almost every thing that exists; they are, in this work, all arranged under a few heads.

Hope, which is so important to our happiness, is not to be considered as a distinct emotion, but merely as one of the forms in which all our desires are capable of existing. It is not the less valuable on that account. "What hour of our existence is there, to which it has not given happiness and consolation? We need not speak of the credulous alacrity of our wishes in our early years. The influence of hope is felt through all the years of our existence. As soon as we have learnt what is agreeable, it delights us with the prospect of attaining it. It is our flatterer and comforter in boyhood, it is our flatterer and comforter in years that need still more to be comforted. This power which attends us, with more than consolation, through the anxieties and labours of life, does not desert us at the close of that life, which it has blessed and consoled." Lect. 65.

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tions or images of the past, which arise one after another in our minds, according to certain laws of suggestion, and the other set are perceptions of relations, which our various conceptions bear to one another. These two divisions comprehend all our thoughts and feelings, included under the head of intellectual states. The first are called simple suggestion, the second relative suggestions. With these two capacities of suggestion, different emotions may be combined, especially that most common of all emotions, desire; and as the desire does or does not concur with them, they appear different, and by those who do not make the necessary analysis, are supposed to be indicative of different powers. They may all, however, be reduced to two classes. The laws of simple suggestion, (called primary as being of universal influence) are resemblance, contiguity, and contrast, resemblance includes analogy.

To the faculty of simple suggestion, we are indebted for memory. We can hardly conceive that we could exist without this faculty, which enables us to avail ourselves of all that we have ever known. If our ideas did not arise according to a certain order, that is, were it not for the laws of association, memory would be of little use. We are obliged for want of room to pass over the lectures on the laws of association of ideas, though we regard as important the views they exhibit. The result is, that our associations are merely simple suggestions, which succeed in a particular order according to certain relations, as those of resemblance, proximity, contrast; and that they are not linked together by some mysterious connexion, in consequence of having once existed in succession in the mind.

Conception, which has been called a distinct power of the mind, is nothing more than simple suggestion.

The phenomena of imagination have also been ascribed to a peculiar power. If we analyse the process of the mind in the exercise of the imagination, we shall find that having selected a subject, the desire to treat it keeps the attention fixed on this subject, till one after another all the images and thoughts which the mind has treasured up, rise according to the laws of spontaneous suggestion. We perceive by the exercise of judgment, that some of these images are adapted to our purpose better than others, and it is this feeling of approval which fixes the attention on these, while others pass away and give place to new suggestions. The combinations thus obtained, are called creative, because they exhibit to us results different from any we have before known.

"Thus nature is as she always has been in every age, the only true and everlasting muse. The inspirer to whom we are indebted for all that is magnificent in art, as well as for those glorious models of excellence which in the living and inanimate scene of

things, she has presented to the admiration of the genius which she inspires." Lect. 42.

Another class of phenomena, which may be analysed into modes of simple suggestion, is comprehended under the name of habit.

Besides these classes of general phenomena, which flow from the primary laws of simple suggestion, there are accidental associations, which Brown calls, secondary laws of suggestion. These modify our taste, our genius, our understanding, and our morals.

The influence of these secondary laws, is greatly modified by original constitutional differences. This influence is of two kinds; 1st, that of increasing the effect of all the primary laws of suggestion; 2d, that of rendering some more powerful than others. It is in this last modification of the suggesting principle, that the whole, or the greater part of genius consists. Some minds are influenced chiefly by associations depending on contiguity. This is the most general principle of association, and a poet whose trains of thought depended on this principle, though he might have, in consequence of more extensive reading or observation, a greater number of images than those around him, could have none that had not occurred to other minds. To minds of a higher order, images are suggested by analogy, and new and striking combinations and trains of thought will arise. The inventions of poetic genius are the suggestions of analogy; the prevailing suggestions of common minds are those of contiguity; and it is this difference of the occasion of suggestion, and not of the images suggested, which forms the distinctive superiority of original genius. It is the same in philosophy. He alone has a philosophic genius, who not only produces the same effects by the same means as others have done before, but who, in consequence of the suggestions of analogy, is enabled to produce new effects, or to produce those already known, by new and simpler means. The primary laws of association are much affected by diversities of temper. How different are the images, which the same object will suggest to a gloomy or cheerful mind? "To the cheerful, in the very darkness of the storm, the cloud which hides the sunshine from the eyes, does not hide it from their heart; while to the gloomy, no sky is bright, no scene is fair." Lect. 37.

Those feelings of relation, which have been classed under the head of relative suggestion, are essentially different from our simple suggestions, or from any combination of these, in the groupings of fancy. There is an original tendency in the mind, by which, on perceiving together different objects, we are instantly, without the intervention of any other mental process, sensible of their relation in certain respects. The number of these relations, even of external things, is almost infinite; and

the more numerous they are, the more necessary does some arrangement of them become. The first great division which Brown makes, is into those relations which co-exist in the mind, and those which are successive. For example, when we feel that one-half of four is to twelve, what twelve is to seventy-two, we feel this, merely by considering the numbers together, without any regard to time. When we think of the warmth and verdure of summer, and the cold and desolation of the winter which is to succeed, we feel a relation of antecedence and consequence, to which the notion of time is so essential, that, without it, the relation could not be felt. Were it not for that susceptibility of mind by which it has the feeling of relation, we could have no science. We could not know the existence of our Creator, for it is by reasoning from effects to causes, that we discover His existence.

On the relation of resemblance, is founded the pleasure we receive from the imitative arts. But the most important advantage we derive from this relation, is the power of classification, and consequently every thing that is valuable in language. It is the use of general terms, that is, of terms founded on the feeling of resemblance, which alone gives to language its power of enabling us to condense in a single term, innumerable objects, which it would be impossible for the mind to grasp individually. The invention of general terms, is as simple as any other operation of the mind, (as the invention of individual terms for instance,) though it has been so much clouded by philosophers, in their attempts to explain it. What, says Brown, can be more conceivable than this process; the perception of objects, the feeling of their resemblance, and the invention of a name, to express these circumstances of felt resemblance. And yet on this process, apparently so simple, has been founded all those disputes between the Realists and Nominalists, which so long agitated the learned.

Under the head of the relations of comprehension, comes the process of reasoning; the most important of all our mental processes. The explanation of this process, given by Brown, is simple and beautiful; and it appears so obvious, now it is stated, that we can hardly account for the mystery with which it has been invested by logicians. According to him, we conceive of objects as composed of parts, either such as may be mechanically separated, or such as may be mentally separated. But, in stating that one of these parts is comprehended in the whole, there is in either case no difference in the kind of proposition. We merely state, that these parts are comprehended in the whole complex notion. We decompose our thoughts in a manner as different from that of the chemist, as matter is different from mind, but with the same feeling of agreement or identity. Reasoning is a continued series of analytical propositions, develop-

ing the elements of thought. When we say man is fallible, we state one of the many imperfections included in our complex notion of man. If we add, therefore he may err, we state a quality included in the notion of fallibility. If we go on and say, therefore he must not expect others to think like himself, even when he believes himself to be right, we state that which is involved in the notion that he and others can err. In this reasoning, though composed of several propositions, there is only a progressive analysis, with a feeling at every step, of relation of the parts to the whole. In every such case of reasoning, it is impossible for us not to feel, when we have arrived at the conclusion, that the last proposition is as truly contained in the first, as any of the intermediate ones. The truths thus presented to us by reasoning, are not so much new truths added, as evolved from some primary truth.

The second order comprises the relations of succession. These are either casual or invariable. The casual are chiefly useful as helps to memory; but the relations of invariable antecedence and sequence, embrace all that we denominate cause and effect; and, from the power of discerning these, all science is derived. Many different names have been given to this power, according to the objects on which it is exercised. But Brown reduces all these supposed faculties to the power of discerning the relations of succession. What has been called the faculty of abstraction, is simply relative suggestion. Judgment is the same as the power of reasoning, for all reasoning is but a series of judgments, or feelings of relation. Thus taste,—that is, *critical taste*, is nothing more than the power of discerning the relations of cause and effect, (or of invariable succession, as Brown calls it,) between certain objects, and the emotions of beauty and sublimity; that is, their aptness to produce these emotions. The confusion which has arisen on the subject of taste, is owing to the complex meaning of the term, as involving two classes of feelings,—viz. judgments and emotions. What we call beauty, is, in the mind, an emotion; in external things, the aptitude to produce this emotion.

Thus all the phenomena of thought may be reduced to two faculties, simple and relative suggestion, or the power of conceiving of objects, and the power of feeling their relations.

The next class of feelings is not less important than the preceding, as they comprehend all the higher delights which attend the exercise of the sensitive and intellectual functions.

“By our mental functions, we are mere spectators of the machinery of the universe; by our emotions, we are admirers of nature, lovers of man, adorers of God.” Lect. 52.

In arranging our emotions, Brown does not class them according to the simple elementary feelings, but considers them

in their complex state, as they are usually found, co-existing with conceptions and other emotions, in which they have obtained names familiar to us. He arranges them according to their relation to time,—as present, or involving no notion of time whatever; as past; and as future. For example, we admire what is before us, we feel remorse for some past crime, we hope some future good. The immediate emotions, or those belonging to the present, are subdivided into such as do, and such as do not, involve any *moral feeling*.

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ferent from error. The remark is also applicable to our moral feelings ; yet even in the worst of times the distinctions of right and wrong have never been wholly obliterated.

"In the very triumph of usurpation, when a single hour at Pharsalia had decided the destiny of ages, and Utica had heard the last voice of freedom, like the fading echo of some divine step, retiring from the earth ;—still slavery itself could not overcome the silent reverence of the heart for him, who had scorned to be a slave." Lect. 55.

"Her last good man dejected Rome adored,

"And honoured Cæsar's less than Cato's sword."

The emotion of beauty is not owing to a succession of harmonious images, as Allison supposes, but consists of one instantaneous absorbing feeling ; and although some objects are originally fitted to excite it rather than others, yet by association almost any object may become the occasion of this emotion. The more the mind is enriched with pleasing images, and the more of these are associated with our conceptions of beautiful objects, the more vivid and rich will be the emotions these objects will excite. From the diversity of individual association, we might expect that each one would differ in his notions of beauty ; yet we are governed by general laws in this, as in other judgments. We correct our own notions by those of others, and come to regard that only as beautiful, which not merely pleases ourselves, but which we know will generally please. Thus beauty is not any essence, which exists in every object that excites the emotion, but a general term, which we apply, as we do other general terms, to those objects which resemble each other in the power of exciting the emotion of beauty in our minds, though perhaps they agree in nothing else.

The same remarks apply to sublimity. This is a general term, expressive of the resemblance which certain objects have to each other in the power of exciting the emotion of sublimity.

We think that this account of beauty and sublimity will satisfy every one and for ever put the subject at rest. It is very elaborately stated, and beautifully illustrated in the 53d, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, and 58th lectures, and we recommend a perusal of them to those who are curious in this matter. Stewart, in his philosophical essays, was the first who showed that the terms beauty and sublimity are general terms, including a number of objects which agree in certain respects, or rather, according to him, they are terms which though originally applied to objects fitted to excite the emotion, had become generalized, that is, transferred to other objects, which had, by the aid of association, acquired the power to excite these emotions. The notion that beauty and sublimity express an *essence*, is merely another uni-



versal, *a parte rei*, like the idea of an universal man, and although it has held its place among philosophers somewhat longer than the universals, it is doomed at last to retire with them like phantoms of the night, before the advancing splendour of true science.

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our disapprobation of another class as vicious, to other principles in our nature, or to adventitious circumstances. There is no principle which is more universally displayed, than moral feeling; without it, society could not exist. There are, it must be allowed, some instances in which it is modified and even perverted by circumstances, as other principles may be. Passion may warp our moral feelings, as it would our rational judgments. Association may prevent our forming a true estimate of an action, which, if truly estimated, would excite emotions different from those, which, under the influence of such association, it does now excite. The mixed nature of human actions, may cause our feelings to vary, according as they have leaned to one or the other element, in the complex action; but still, we never approve vice, merely as vice, without any mixture of good; or refuse our approbation to virtue, when it is distinctly perceived. If any are interested to prove that *virtue* is nothing, and therefore *vice* is nothing, it is the guilty; and yet the truth of virtue cannot be shaken off, even by him to whom conviction brings only misery.

Brown examines the systems of different philosophers, who have attempted to resolve our moral feelings into others considered more general; such as the love of praise, the influence of reason, of utility, the selfish systems, (in which he includes Paley's,) and the system of Adam Smith, which refers them to sympathy. He shows that all these either deny the difference of moral feeling from all other emotions, which the consciousness of each one would disprove; or else, take for granted that very principle of moral approbation and disapprobation, for which their systems are designed to account.

Having settled the foundation of virtue, Brown proceeds to the consideration of those practical duties which virtue commands. Some philosophers have made the whole of virtue to consist in benevolence—others in justice; and the inaccuracy in these arrangements, has led to a denial of all moral distinctions.

Here, (we would remark,) may be perceived the importance of mere arrangement; which often, when inaccurate, occasions the confounding of things essentially different. We are all influenced by names; when two things are called by the same name, it is in consequence of some real or supposed resemblance. This resemblance takes our attention, and we lose sight of the distinctions which may exist, and be far more important and characteristic than the resemblance. We are then led to reason as if no such distinctions actually existed; and, our reasonings being deduced from such false premises, though apparently correct in their processes, lead to absurdities. Thus we imbibe a sceptical feeling with regard to all reasoning. Therefore, although no arrangement, however unphilosophical, can alter the actual quali-

ties of things, the effect on our minds is almost as bad as if it could do so. Was there nothing else to approve in the author before us, but his arrangement, the excellence of this, would entitle him to our warmest thanks, for the aid it must lend to the cause of true philosophy.

Brown has arranged our practical duties under three heads;—those we owe to others, those we owe to ourselves, and those we owe to God. The lectures on this department of the subject, afford lessons of morality, which could not, we think, be read by the most insensible, without new perceptions of the beauty and value of virtue, and new resolutions, (even if they remained nothing more than resolutions,) to make her paths their choice. From an analysis of them, we should obtain only familiar results; as the practical part of ethics, whatever may be the theory on which it is rested, is the same in all ages, with the exception of those refinements which the Christian religion and the progress of civilization have produced.

Brown does not lay much stress on mere metaphysical arguments, for the existence of the Deity. On the great argument of the evidence of design, which the works of nature afford, he rests the doctrine. If we could not, he says, believe that a multitude of types thrown together, would produce the principia of Newton, how can we believe that the world which he has described, is less indicative of design? In his argument for the benevolence of the Deity, he has deemed it sufficient to show, that our happiness far exceeds our misery; but, in addition to this, we find evil sometimes productive of good, especially moral good. The virtues of patience, magnanimity, and fortitude, could not have been developed, without suffering; and who is there, that would not blush to prefer the most perfect but inglorious ease and luxury, to these virtues?

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, (says Brown,) is one so congenial to our wishes, that we might be induced to adopt it on evidence less satisfactory, than would be demanded in an impartial state of the mind. The analysis and arrangement of the phenomena of mind, are independent of any views which we may form of the nature of the substance. These may be the same, whether we adopt the opinions of the materialists or immaterialists. But they cannot be indifferent, in an inquiry which relates to the *permanence* of the substance, since this must, in Brown's opinion, be admitted or rejected, nearly accordingly as we admit or reject one or the other opinion. If there be nothing distinct from the material frame—if the phenomena of mind depend on organized matter, we have reason to believe, that, when this organization is destroyed, the capacity for thought, which depends on it, should also be destroyed. If our material frame be not thought, but only something which bears a certain relation to

the principle of thought, there is no reason to conclude, that, because the particles of our frame lose their present arrangement, and their relation to the spirit is dissolved, the spirit must, on that account, become extinct. If we might trust to consciousness, we need not go far for evidence of the unity of the thinking principle, and consequently for the proof, that it is not matter. No one but the philosopher, could be made to believe, that thought and feeling were not the properties of a simple individual substance. Much of the fallacy of the arguments of the materialists, arises from a false notion of unity. What we term a body, is not a simple substance, but a congeries of particles, each of which possesses the qualities that belong to the whole; and, if matter is in its nature divisible, no arrangement of particles can confer on it the property of indivisibility. There is an ambiguity also in the term result, which has betrayed many persons into a confidence in the doctrine of materialism. An instrument of music, it is said, consists of parts; and yet the result, which is a sound, is simple. But sound is not a quality of matter—it is an affection of mind. Can spirit then, which is essentially one, indivisible, and unextended, be dependent on any arrangement of the particles of matter, which is in its nature divisible, extended, and subject to change?

Brown lays little stress on arguments merely metaphysical, in favour of the immortality of the soul; he thinks the only foundation which reason can give for a belief in this doctrine, must rest on the immateriality of the thinking principle.

The only division of the subject which remains, is the duty we owe to ourselves. The influence of the doctrine of universals, is apparent in the various theories of happiness which were formed by the ancients, as well as in every other department of their philosophy. Because, a single term, as happiness, was employed to express the various emotions which resemble each other in the circumstance of being agreeable, however different may be their degrees, or however distinct their existing causes, it was believed that happiness was one and simple; and they denied that there could be any absolute happiness, except in that particular species which they denominated the universal good. "The Epicureans believed all happiness to be ultimately resolvable into sensual delight. The Stoics, into intellectual. Both were right in what they admitted, and wrong in what they denied." "A wider and more judicious view of our being, would show that human happiness is as various as the functions of man." "Happiness is only a name for a series of agreeable feelings, and whatever is capable of exciting these feelings is a source of happiness." Lect. 100.

Brown arranges the sources of our happiness under three heads, sensitive, intellectual, and moral and religious. Conforming to

the three aspects under which he has, throughout his work, regarded man, viz: as a sensitive, an intellectual, and a moral and religious being. But having exceeded the limits which we had proposed to ourselves, we must refer the reader to the three last lectures for his remarks on these subjects.

There are some repetitions in these lectures, which, if the author had lived to prepare them himself for the press, would doubtless have been omitted. There is also a diffuseness in the style, and, in many places, an amplification of the idea, which have with justness been condemned, as not suiting the gravity and precision of science. But it should be remembered, that this is not a system of intellectual philosophy, originally designed for the public, but a course of lectures delivered to a class of young men. An important object with the lecturer, was to render an abstract and difficult subject, intelligible and interesting to his pupils. That in this he must have been eminently successful, will not be doubted, by any one acquainted with other metaphysical writings. This study, which presents as many points of general interest, as any in the whole circle of human inquiry, has, hitherto, (in consequence of the dry and often unintelligible manner of treating it,) obtained the attention only of a small number, even of the learned. The popular form in which it is presented by Professor Brown, while it takes nothing from the accuracy and profoundness of his investigations, has rendered his work attractive to every reader of philosophical taste and curiosity, and will, we think, do much towards raising this science to its just rank.

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## ART. II.—EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

- 1.—*Aperçu des Resultats Historiques de la découverte de l'alphabet Hieroglyphique Egyptienne*, par M. CHAMFOLLION LE JEUNE, from the Bulletin Universel for May and June, 1827.
- 2.—*Description de l'Egypte*.—Paris, 1821. PANCKOUCKE. *Preface Historique*.

In a former number of this journal, we have given an account of the Egyptian System of Hieroglyphic writing.\* We have, in one more recent,† attempted to fix the dates of the settlement of Egypt, and of the reign of Sesostris. This subject possesses

\* No. II. p. 438.

† No. IV. p. 509.

to us so much of interest, that, to judge from our own views, we conceive that we shall not weary our readers by again recurring to it. We shall therefore devote a few pages to the consideration of the historical results that have already been drawn from the discovery of the method of decyphering hieroglyphic writing, results which we have only partially and incidentally mentioned, in describing the hieroglyphic system, and in inquiring into the two most important dates of ancient Egyptian chronology. We shall be chiefly guided in this discussion, by Champollion's own papers, published in the *Bulletin Universel*, as quoted at the head of this article.

There is a strange and mysterious interest awakened, whenever we inquire into the history of bygone ages. Darkness and doubt enveloping their annals, serve only to render our curiosity more intense, and we eagerly catch at the most insignificant monuments or remains of people, that have passed from the face of the earth, in the hopes of being by them enabled to pierce the opaque medium which obscures their annals. As the interval of time that separates our epoch from theirs, increases, so also increases the ardour of inquiry, and thus we find ourselves more and more powerfully attracted, as we proceed step by step, to consider the mouldering tombs of the fathers of our own nation; the remains of rude art, and of savage tribes that preceded them in their occupation of this country; the mounds, the pyramids, and other traces of a more civilized race of yet earlier date; and the more perfect reliques of the power, the arts, and, we may almost venture to say, the science of the Aztecs. The old world possesses still stronger powers of allurements. No American can ever forget his first impressions on visiting the yet existing edifices of Gothic date; the long drawn aisle of the cathedral, the pale religious cloister, rich in graven brass and monumental marble; the baronial castle that still seems ready to echo the trumpets of the tournament, and from whose gates we almost expect to see the chivalric train issue to the lists, sheathed in panoply of steel. Even such impressions must fade into insignificance, on treading the masses of rubbish which cover the forum, where Tully poured the tide of eloquence, and Curtius devoted himself for his country, or the sacred way up which the conquerors of the world bore the *opima spolia* to the temple of Feretrian Jove. These feelings must be still more intense, in those who gaze upon the Parthenon, the unrivalled specimen of purity of taste, and beauty of design, rich in associations of those philosophers, poets, and orators, who have for centuries, and must, while the globe endures, serve as the models of all who pursue the same path to honour. But to us, we must confess, a greater and more powerful interest hangs around those distant tribes who first attained the rank of nations, and were the earliest in their civilization, and in the cul-

tivation of the arts; of whom scanty and uncertain notices have alone reached us through the Greek historians, and their incidental connexion with sacred writ: nations whose records and traditions were as much hidden by distance of time from those whom we call ancient, as those of the latter are from us; to whom the Greeks resorted, in those very ages when we are accustomed to look up to them with reverence, to learn their practical wisdom, and admire their greater proficiency in the arts.

The Euphrates and the Nile saw upon their banks the first formation of civil society. In the very early accumulation of mankind into communities, in the vast works they so speedily undertook, we see civilization to be the natural state of man, and law and government to be the emanations of a wisdom superior to his own. He was not left to the unassisted efforts of his own reason, to attain, in the lapse of successive generations, the knowledge and experience essential to the maintenance of well-ordered society, but we trace him by his works of art, up to a period little posterior to the last great catastrophe, of which our planet still shows traces upon its surface, and find him existing in well-ordered communities. If the first nations mentioned in history were far less enlightened in science, and inferior in skill in the useful arts, to those of modern times, they still astonish us by their vast conceptions, and the labour they bestowed upon their edifices, labour such as no modern government could command, or bring to bear even upon objects of utility. All is colossal and exaggerated in the works of these primeval nations, and in principle, recalls forcibly to our memory the periods when, as we are informed in the most ancient of histories, the life of our race extended centuries beyond its present duration, and where edifices such as we now construct for our posterity, would have mouldered into dust long before the builders felt the approach of age. The change in the duration of human life, from the longevity of the antediluvians to its present contracted limit, occupied several generations; and in the vivid recollection of the period when it was thus extended, we are to seek the cause of the almost imperishable monuments which these early nations have left us. The Birs Nimbrod, after a lapse of more than forty centuries, still stands like a mountain in the midst of the surrounding waste, and the inscriptions of Egypt, of a date little posterior, maintain their original, bold, and decided relief.

In the absence of written annals, it is to inscribed monuments that we must refer for information, in relation to the history of vanished ages. Even where the former are not wanting, we may still recur to the latter with advantage; and the Arundelian and Capitoline marbles, are considered to be better authorities for chronology than Herodotus or Livy. No nation has transmitted to our times such abundant monuments as the Egyptian. Not



only do we find the sites of their cities covered with forests of obelisks and inscribed statues, but even written records of bargain and sale, evidences of the transfer of property, have reached us, dated as long before the commencement of our era, as we are posterior to it. A key to the language and the alphabet was alone wanting, to render these memorials of use to history, and the discoveries, whose progress we have detailed on a former occasion, have at last placed this within our reach. Thus, then, the foundation of the monumental history of Egypt, is as firm as that on which the consent of critics has placed the history of Rome and Greece. Each inscription is in itself an incontestable witness, bearing record of the times at which it was delineated, and their combinations and comparison may be effected in the same way that we compare and combine those which relate to other nations. To sculptured stones, are to be added the evidence of the *papyri*; many of these exist in the collections of Europe; some of them are mere funeral rituals, but even these contain the name of the prince under whose government they were drawn up, and the year of his reign. The greater part are civil contracts, and in their preamble we read the date, described upon the same principle. Even public documents have been discovered; and in the magnificent collection made by Drovetti, and purchased by the King of Sardinia, was found a mass of mutilated *papyri*, records of the ages of Mœris and Sesostris. Champollion reached these only a little too late to preserve them from a destruction to which the greater part were condemned, from a want of proper care. Some few fragments were however preserved, and have proved of inestimable value.

It is by a comparison of these monuments and documents with the text of those few ancient authors that have treated of Egypt, that we are to gain a knowledge of the true history of that country. The present then is the era when criticism can be advantageously applied to this purpose. Discrepant in themselves, vague and meagre in their details, these histories have not acquired our confidence, and we can therefore enter into their examination free from bias of any kind. By such investigations, ancient Egypt is restored to the province of authentic history, and this restoration is effected by the aid of a mass of documentary evidence, hitherto unknown or unintelligible.

Circumstances have rendered this evidence comparatively easy of access. The results of the French expedition to Egypt have been embodied in a splendid national work, in which are to be found the most correct copies of the larger and less moveable monuments; while the researches of Salt and Drovetti have accumulated numerous remains of every possible description, with which the museums of Europe are in a manner loaded. Four magnificent public collections already exist; namely, at Turin:

in the Vatican ; in the Louvre ; and in the British Museum. The French collection has been recently opened under the superintendence of Champollion the younger, in splendid apartments, fitted up for the express purpose ; and the present King of France seeks to immortalize his name by connecting it with the foundation of this Museum. We shall translate the account of this magnificent collection from a cotemporary journal.

“The rich collection of Egyptian antiquities purchased at the expense of the king from Messrs. Drovetti, Salt, and Durand, and placed in the magnificent halls of the Museum of CHARLES X., is opened to the view of the public.”

“The first sensation we experience upon the view of these ancient remains, is the astonishment, that they have been able to exist through so long a series of centuries, almost entire, and that we are thus enabled to judge of the state of the arts at so remote a period.”

“They attest that the people, whose legacy they are, had attained, even long before the time which we style the Heroic Age of Greece, an advanced state of civilization, and we are compelled to confess, that the only merit we can at the present day boast, is that of having filled up by our industry, what Egyptian labour had first sketched out, and of having added a few new inventions to all those which we derive at second hand from that country.”

“With how high an idea of the Egyptians do these remains inspire us, which, after having resisted for forty centuries the ravages of time and the barbarian, still attest, that all that is necessary for life, nay all that can render it agreeable, was already invented and employed by them ; that they knew how to appropriate to their wants all the productions of their soil, and confine their desires to them, without seeking to extend them beyond the limits of their own territory. Truly there was no small degree of wisdom in that people, which was able, before the barbarian had extended his devastating arm over its borders, to preserve for a long succession of years the stability of its government, maintain its ancient institutions in their primitive vigour, and devote itself to the arts of peace, at an epoch, when in other parts of the world, now the most civilized, hordes still savage, were engaged in the task of mutual destruction, or contested the means of subsistence with ferocious beasts.”

“To collect and interrogate the annals of this primitive people, in order to obtain facts fitted to illustrate the history of those obscure eras, that seem to bound upon the very origin of the world, is a task worthy of the speculations of philosophy, and the researches of the learned. In the state to which the study of Egyptian antiquity has been advanced by private means, it became the duty of a government, the encourager of the arts, to unite, and expose to the inspection of an enlightened public, a nu-

merous series of inscribed monuments, and to confide them to the care of the scholar who had decyphered them. Science and literature unite in applauding this happy thought, whose performance gives rise to the most ardent hopes.”

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“Nine great halls, embellished with vast pannels of marble, and decorated with paintings, communicate by means of vast arched openings, resting on Ionic pilasters, that permit the visitor to seize at a single glance, the whole extent of the Museum of Charles X. The four first halls contain the antiquities of Egypt ; the others, a rich collection of Greek vases, of ancient statues in bronze, paintings in enamel of the 18th century, and other articles precious from their material, their workmanship, or their rarity. Allegorical paintings of the most brilliant effect, embellish all the ceilings ; the *voussoirs*, whose colours are well chosen, are covered with emblems and subjects connected with those of the ceilings ; painted imitations of *bas-reliefs* adorn the pannels.”

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“The collection of Egyptian antiquities united in these four halls, consists of objects of small size alone, with the exception of the mummies and their cases ; but it is rich from the number and the variety of the articles it contains. The civil and religious history of Egypt must draw from it invaluable illustrations.”

“It is hardly possible to appreciate the difficulty that must have been experienced, in classing, methodically, monuments so numerous, the habitual objects of so many errors, and which had for so many ages been considered as beyond the reach of explanation. No other person but Champollion the younger was worthy of being intrusted with such a task ; and his numerous discoveries in Egyptian history, and in the graphical system of that country, have furnished him with the means of performing it. In truth, nearly all the monuments of Egyptian art are accompanied by hieroglyphic inscriptions, which indicate their object and destination ; a facility rarely met with in Greek or Roman antiquities.”

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“The collection has been divided into three departments. In the first hall (called that of the *Gods*) are to be seen the images of the Egyptian deities, their emblems, the sacred animals, and the *scarabæi* that represent the divinities or their symbols. The second hall (called *Civil*) contains articles belonging to the civil class, and to the several castes of Egypt ; among these are small statues and figures of kings, of priests, and of private individuals ; instruments of worship, jewels, domestic utensils, and the products of the arts and manufactures. In the two remaining halls (called *Funereal*) are placed, human mummies, and their

coffins, funereal images, coffers and small statues in wood, funereal manuscripts, &c."

"To the admiration which the view of these precious monuments excites, is added the feeling of gratitude to the distinguished scholar who has rendered them intelligible; he who by his laborious researches, has opened to posterity annals forgotten for twenty centuries, has deserved well of the literary world, and the name of Champollion will hereafter be inseparable from that of the nation of which he has become the interpreter."

The present is a most auspicious period for forming such collections. Egypt is now accessible to civilized nations without the slightest danger; and the agents of different European powers have had free permission not only to search for smaller and more portable antiquities, but have even been allowed to cut off and remove essential parts of different buildings. This permission savours in some degree of barbarism, for it shows that the value and beauty of these magnificent ruins is not appreciated by the person whose property they now are. It was to such want of proper feeling that we have to ascribe the mutilation of the Parthenon by Lord Elgin, and a similar dilapidation has been committed by a Frenchman upon the most perfect remain of Egyptian architecture, the temple of Denderah.

It is indeed to be confessed, that the almost complete ruin of the Parthenon by the Greeks themselves, in the late defence of the Acropolis, if it be no palliation for the tasteless plundering of the Briton, may at least diminish our regret at his acts; and the unsettled and precarious state of Egypt, may sooner or later close that country to the civilized traveller, and by converting its temples into fortresses, expose them to the risks of war.

Still we cannot bring ourselves to approve of the mutilation of these venerable buildings; but it is otherwise with the removal of fragments already separated, or of separate monuments. We only regret that our own country has taken no pains to secure a portion of the rich and interesting spoil. It would be impossible at the present day to obtain any very valuable relics of Greek or Roman art. The governments of Italy know too well the value of the statues and other articles, which although becoming more and more rare are still occasionally found, to permit their being removed from the country. Greece has been again and again ransacked by Romans, Turks, Venetians, and modern travellers, but Egypt is yet an almost virgin soil for the cultivation of the antiquarian. A part of its remaining riches might be secured at small expense, were the government to appoint a commercial agent in Egypt, and allow him a moderate annual sum to prosecute the search for antiquities. That a person possessing a public character, and supported by the influence of the government,

could do much, we do not doubt, having before us several precious articles, the fruit of private and unaided curiosity.

We are however forgetting the main object of this paper, which is to inquire into the history of Egypt, and exhibit it such as it now appears, by the aid of the researches recently made in hieroglyphic writing, compared with the records and traditions that have descended to us. What the principal authorities for the history of this interesting country are, has been stated in another place:\* we shall here proceed to show in a connected form, the facts we have deduced from them, and from the papers of Champollion.

Menes, or Menas, was, by the concurrent testimony of Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus, the first king of Egypt. We have ventured to conjecture that he might have been Misraim, the son of Ham, or even Ham himself. Egypt is still, by the Arabs who now inhabit it, called the land of Mesr, and hence there can be but little or no doubt, had we not the positive evidence of scripture, that it became his apanage. We have however been led since, to search more narrowly into this subject, and inquire, whether among the descendants of Ham, actually named in the book of Genesis, there might not be one identical in appellation with this king. We believe that we have been so fortunate as to discover the name, varied so slightly as to leave no doubt of this identity. Among the sons of Misraim we find Anamim, or after removing the plural termination Anam. Those who are conversant in etymology, must see at once, that the Greeks, in euphonising this barbaric name, could not have approached more closely to it, than is done by the word Menes, or Menas.† This descendant of Ham bore the same relation to their common progenitor, as Nimrod the son of Cush, the first who assumed regal power, among that portion of the human race whose history becomes the more immediate object of the sacred volume.

The successor of Menes was Thoth, or Athothes, to whom is ascribed the invention of writing, and many other useful arts. We have in the fragments of Manetho a full list of two dynasties seated at This, at the head of the first of which we find these two names. These two dynasties include fifteen kings, and may therefore have continued about 400 years; the duration assigned to their collective reigns, in Eusebius' version of Manetho, is 554 years, but this is probably too long, as it is a sum that far exceeds what would be the result of a similar series of generations of the usual length. From the time of Menes to that of Mœris, Herodotus leaves us entirely in the dark. He states merely that the priests enumerated between them 330 kings. Diodo-

\* American Quarterly Review, No. IV., p. 520.

† Thus *Neith*, the Egyptian *Mincra*, bore in Greece the name of *Athena*.

rus counts an interval of 1400 years between Menes and Busiris, eight kings of the name of Busiris, and makes the eighth successor of the last of these, by name Uchoreus, the founder of Memphis. From Uchoreus to Mæris he reckons twelve generations.

Manetho, on the other hand, reckons between Menes and the time at which, as we shall presently see, we may consider his history as becoming authentic, sixteen dynasties, which include nearly three thousand years. The truth is, that all the time anterior to the Seventeenth Dynasty of Manetho, may be considered as the fabulous period of Egyptian history, for which no authentic materials whatever existed in the time of any of the historians we have quoted. The statues exhibited to Herodotus must have been the fabrications of some intermediate age.

In the time of a king called by Manetho, Timaos, but who does not appear among the names in his list of dynasties, a race of strangers entered from the east into Egypt.\* They overran it with the greatest ease, and having seized upon the persons of the princes of the country, destroyed the cities, reduced the inhabitants to slavery, and overthrew the temples of the gods. The destruction committed by these barbarians was most extensive, for not confined to Lower Egypt, they penetrated even to Thebes, where the marks of their violence are even at the present day to be traced. They appear at the time of their inroad to have been a collection of hordes without a regular head; but once in possession of Egypt, they chose themselves a king, who fixed his residence at Memphis. And here their dynasty was established for his reign and that of five successors. In the mean time the native race appear to have risen in the remote parts of the country, and speedily to have recovered Thebes, in which a line of warlike princes reigned contemporaneously with the Shepherd kings at Memphis, and was engaged in constant war against them. We now see how it happens that the early ages of Egyptian history are so vague and uncertain; for the whole country, without exception, had become the prey of a horde of barbarians, who waged war not only with the people, but with the monuments of art, and the shrines of religion.

Still however the tradition of so vast a number of kings and dynasties may not have been an absolute fable. The falsehood probably consists in their affiliation, and placing them in continuous succession. The early history of all countries shows us every petty town and small district governed by its own king, sometimes independent, sometimes the confederate or feudatory of his neighbours. Such was the state of Palestine in the time of Joshua; such that of Greece during the heroic ages. That

\* See extract from Manetho in Josephus.

the people of Egypt could have possessed no general government, nor even well-ordered confederation, is evident from the case with which it was overrun. It is more than probable then, that each successive swarm, as it departed from the parent hive of This to form new settlements on the banks of the main stream of the Nile, or to occupy the islands successively formed at its mouth by the alluvion of the river, remained under the separate government of its leader. No very powerful kingdom could have existed among them, or the traces of the works of its kings, must, if similar in character to those of the Pharaohs, have in part survived the ravages of the Shepherds, as the works of Mœris and Sesostris have the violence of Cambyses. So far from this, but one edifice, and that of small dimensions, has been found, which can be referred to a date prior to the invasion of the Shepherds. It is carefully adapted as a constituent part to an after construction of the kings of the 18th dynasty, and bears the name of Mandouei. A statue of the same king is in the collection at Turin, and another in the British Museum. We are not surprised that Champollion should have been extremely anxious to identify this prince with the Osymandyas of Diodorus, and in this anxiety, that he should have been insensible to the parts of the evidence which opposed this view of the subject. We have already stated our objections to this hypothesis, on the ground that Diodorus expressly attributes the plundering of this celebrated tomb to Cambyses ; it could not then have existed at the time of the invasion of the Shepherds. The authority of Herodotus, too, is express, that no king before Sesostris, carried his arms beyond the frontiers of Egypt.

The conquest of Egypt by the Shepherds dates in the year 2082, B. C.\* Their dynasty continued to rule at Memphis 260 years, and the names of the six kings were Salatis, Bœon, Apachnas, Apophis, Janias, and Asseth. The last of the six who reigned at Thebes contemporaneously with these kings, was Amosis, who drove Asseth from Lower Egypt, and shut the Shepherds up in Aouaris. Hence they departed by virtue of a capitulation entered into with his son, to whom was left the glory of completely re-establishing the independence of Egypt.

Various monuments, but all of small size, bear the dates of the reigns of these six Theban kings.† But restrained in their territory, and engaged in perpetual warfare, they are far from exhibiting the magnificence reached by the succeeding dynasty.

Innumerable inscriptions celebrate the glory of ΑΜΕΝΟΡΗΤΕΡΗ, the successor of the last of this 17th Dynasty, as equal to a god,

\* By an error in copying our authority in a former paper, it is called 2182, B. C. Am. Quar No. 4.

† Bulletin Universel, Juin 1827. p. 475 and 476.

for having delivered his country from the yoke of its oppressors. Although the son of Amosis, he is made the chief of a new Dynasty, the 18th of Manetho.

The other monarchs of this dynasty are :

2. THOUTMOSIS I., of whom there is a colossal statue in the museum at Turin.

3. THOUTMOSIS II., *Amon-mai*, whose name appears on the most ancient parts of the palace of Karnac.

4. His daughter AMENSI, who governed Egypt for the space of twenty-one years, and erected the greatest of the obelisks of Karnac. This vast monolith is erected in her name to the god Ammon, and the memory of her father.

5. THOUTMOSIS III., surnamed *Meri*, the *Mæris* of the Greeks. The remaining monuments of his reign are the pilasters and granite halls of Karnac, several temples in Nubia, the great Sphinx of the pyramids, and the colossal obelisk now in front of the Church of St. John Lateran, at Rome.

6. His successor was AMENOPH I., who was succeeded by

7. THOUTMOSIS IV. This king finished the temples of the Wady-Alfa and Amada, in Nubia, which Amenoph had begun.

8. AMENOPHIS II., whose vocal statue, of colossal size, attracted the notice of the Greeks and Romans, and still stands towering over the ruins of Thebes. The most ancient parts of the palace of Luxor, the temple of Cnophis at Elephantine, the Memnonium, and a palace at Sohled, in Nubia, are monuments of the splendour and piety of this monarch.

9. The Greek colonnade of the palace at Luxor, was the work of HORUS.

10. An inscription in the museum at Turin, commemorates Queen ACHENCHERES, or TMAU-MOT.

11. RAMSES I. built the *hypostyle* hall at Karnac, and excavated a sepulchre for himself at Beban-el-Moulouk.

12 and 13. Two brothers, MANDOUËI and OUSIREË. They have left monuments of their existence, the last in the grand obelisk now in the Piazza del Popolo, at Rome, the first in the beautiful palace at Kourna, and the splendid tomb discovered by Belzoni.

14. Their successor caused the two great obelisks at Luxor to be erected. His name was RAMSES II.

15. RAMSES III. Of this king, dedicatory inscriptions are found in the second court of the Palace of Karnac, and his tomb still exists at Thebes.

16. RAMSES IV., surnamed Mei-Amoun, built the great palace of Medinet-Abou, and a temple near the southern gate of Karnac. The magnificent sarcophagus which formerly enclosed the body of this king, has been removed from the catacombs of



Beban-el-Moulouk, and is now in the Museum of the Louvre. He was succeeded by his son,

17. RAMSES V., surnamed AMENOPHIS, who is considered as the last of this dynasty, and who was the father of Sesostris.

The acts of none of the kings of this dynasty are commemorated by the Greek Historians, with the exception of Mœris. He is celebrated by them for a variety of useful labours, and appears to have done much to promote the prosperity of Egypt, particularly by forming a lake to receive the surplus waters of the Nile, during the inundation, and to distribute them for agricultural purposes during its fall.

The connexion with sacred history is more obvious. In the eighth year of the reign of Amenoph I., Joseph came into Egypt; the oppression of the Israelites is commemorated in the tomb of Ousirei, and the last year of the reign of Ramses Amenophis is the era of the Exodus.

Thus, the application of the hieroglyphic alphabet, shows that this 18th Egyptian Dynasty, seated at Thebes, were the authors of many and vast public works and monuments. Indeed to them is to be ascribed the foundation of the greater part of the more ancient edifices, existing in all parts of Egypt. It also shows, that at a time when the rest of the ancient world was occupied by barbarous tribes, the valley of the Nile was the seat of a powerful and rich nation, that had made great progress in the arts. The memorials of the splendour and power of this great family are still extant in greater number than those of all their successors united. They consist in temples, palaces, tombs, and obelisks, colossal statues, and graven inscriptions; nay more, some of their public acts are still found, although written originally on no more durable material than Papyrus.

Vast, however, as was the glory of this line of kings, it was eclipsed by the greater reputation of the chief of the next, or 19th Dynasty, RAMSES VI., the famed Sesostris. He added to the renown of his progenitors, acquired by the exclusion of a race of oppressors, and by the encouragement of the useful and liberal arts, the more striking, if less solid reputation of a conqueror. In his long reign the arts of peace were not, however, neglected; and besides the structures at Thebes, which still bear his impress, he is stated to have embellished the new capital Memphis with many superb buildings. Throughout the whole of Egypt and Nubia, there are hardly any edifices worthy of note, that do not, in some part of their decorations, assist in commemorating the reign of this monarch.\*

This Nineteenth Dynasty consisted of six kings, all of whom

\* Bulletin Universel, Juin. p. 473.

bear, upon monuments, the name of RAMSES, with various distinguishing epithets. The last of these was cotemporary with the Trojan war, and is called Polybus, by Homer.

The Twentieth Dynasty of Manetho, also took its title from Thebes. Their names may still be read upon the temples of Egypt; but the extracts from Manetho do not give their epithets. In the failure of his testimony, Champollion Figeac has had recourse to the last given by Syncellus. The chief of this dynasty is celebrated, under the name of Remphis, or Rempsinitis, for his great riches. Herodotus gives him for successor, Cheops, the builder of the largest of the pyramids. The same authority places Cephrenes, the builder of the second pyramid, next in order; and, after him, Mycerinus, for whom is claimed the erection of the third pyramid. The researches of the two Champollions, have not yet discovered any confirmation of this statement of the father of profane history. But it is exactly in this part of Egyptian history, that we are the most in want of materials. It is more than probable, that the latter kings of the eighteenth, and all those of the nineteenth and twentieth, made Memphis their chief seat, although they did not entirely abandon the cradle of their race, the hundred-gated Thebes. But Memphis has undergone a much greater share of violence, than the other successive capitals of Egypt, or its monuments have been more easily destroyed. The pyramids almost alone remain in a state of preservation; and, if they were ever inscribed, as there is strong reason to believe, it must have been on a perishable casing, which has long since mouldered away.

The next dynasty, the twenty-first of Manetho, derived its name from Tanis, a city of Lower Egypt. It was composed of seven kings, the first of whom was the Mendes of the Greek historians, the Smendis of Manetho, whose name Champollion reads, upon the monuments of his reign, ΜΑΝΔΟΥΘΗΡΗ. He was the builder of the fabric known in antiquity by the name of the labyrinth. The other kings of this family are also commemorated.

The account which has reached us, of the building of the labyrinth, throws great light upon the state of the government of Egypt, during the reign of Mendes and his successors. It was divided into as many separate compartments, as there were *Nomes* in Egypt; and in them, at fixed periods, assembled deputations from each of these provinces, to decide upon the most important questions. Hence we may infer, that, in the change of dynasty, the Egyptians had succeeded in the establishment of a limited monarchy, controlled like the constitutional governments of Europe; if not by the immediate representatives of the people, at least by the expression of the opinion of the *notables*.

The ruins of Bubastis, in turn, present memorials of the reigns

of the Bubastite kings.\* These succeeded the First Dynasty of Tanites; and we find Egypt again immediately connected with Judea, and its history with that of the Scriptures. SESONCHIS, the head of this dynasty, was the conqueror of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, and the plunderer of the treasures of David. This king, the Sesak of the Second Book of Kings, built the great temple of Bubastis, which is described by Herodotus, and likewise the first court of the palace of Karnac, at Thebes. His son, OSORCHON, (Zoroch,) who also led an army into Syria, continued the important works commenced by his father. But their successor, TAKELLIOTHIS, is only known to us by a simple funereal picture, consecrated to the memory of one of his sons. This painting has been broken, and one half is preserved in the Vatican, while the other forms a part of the royal collection at Turin.

Various buildings are found among the ruins of Heliopolis, and still more among those of Tanis, constructed in the reigns of the Pharaohs of the Second Tanite Dynasty.† Upon these, the names of three of them have been decyphered, PETUBASTES, OSORTHOS, and PSAMMOS. Champollion considers them as having immediately preceded the great Ethiopian invasion, which gave to Egypt a race of kings from that country. Manetho, however, places Bocchoris between these two races, forming his Twenty-Fourth Dynasty of one Saite.

The yoke of these foreign conquerors, does not appear to have been oppressive, as is evident from the number of monuments that exist not only in Ethiopia, but in Egypt, bearing dedications made in the name of the kings of this race, who ruled at the same time in both countries. The names inscribed on these monuments are, SCHABAK, SEVEKOTHEPH, TAHRAK, and AMENASA, all of whom are mentioned either by Greek or sacred historians, under the names of *Sabakon*, *Sevechus*, *Tharaca*, and *Ammeris*.‡ No more than three of these kings are mentioned in the list of Manetho, as belonging to this dynasty, the last being included in that which follows.

On the departure of the Ethiopians, the affairs of Egypt appear to have fallen into great disorder. This civil discord was at last composed by PSAMMETICUS I. Memorials of his reign are found in the obelisk now on Monte-Litorio, at Rome, and in the enormous columns of the first court of the palace of Karnac, at Thebes.§ The rule of NECHAO II., is commemorated by several *stelæ* and statues. He it was who took Jerusalem, and carried

\* Bull. Univ., Juin 1827, p. 472

† Ibid. p. 472.

‡ Ibid. p. 472.

§ Ibid. p. 471.

King Jehoahaz into captivity. On the Isle of Philæ, are found buildings bearing the legend of PSAMMITICUS II., as well as of APRIES, (the Hophra of Scripture.) An obelisk of his reign also exists at Rome. The greater part of the fragments of sculpture scattered among the ruins of Saïs, bear the royal legend of the celebrated AMASIS, and a Monolith chapel, of rose granite, dedicated by him to the Egyptian Minerva, is in the Museum of the Louvre. PSAMMENITUS was the last of this Dynasty of Saïtes. Few tokens of his short reign are extant, besides the inscription of a statue in the Vatican. He was defeated and dethroned by Cambyzes; nor did he long survive his misfortune.\* With him fell the splendour of the kingdom of Egypt; and, from this date, 525 B. C., the edifices and monuments assume a character of far less importance.

Still, however, we find materials for history. Even the ferocious CAMBYSES is commemorated in an inscription on the statue of a priest of Saïs, now in the Vatican. The name of DARIUS is sculptured on the columns of the great temple of the Oasis; and, in Egypt; we still read inscriptions dated in different years of the reigns of XERXES and ARTAXERXES.† During the reigns of the last three kings, a constant struggle was kept up by the Egyptians, for their independence.‡ The Persian yoke was for a moment shaken off by AMYRTÆUS and NEPHEREUS. Two Sphinges, in the Louvre, bear the legends of NEPHEREUS, and his successor ACHORIS, who are also commemorated, by the sculptures of the temple of Elythya. In the Institute of Bologna, there is a statue of the Mendesian NEPHERITES; and the names of the two NECTANEBI, who succeeded to him, in the conduct of this national war, are still extant on several buildings of the Isle of Philæ, at Karnac, Kourna, and Saft.

DARIUS OCHUS, in spite of the valiant resistance of these last kings, again reduced Egypt to the condition of a Persian province; but his name is nowhere to be found among the remains yet discovered in Egypt.

Thus, then, the researches of Champollion have brought to our view an almost complete succession of the kings of Egypt, from the invasion of the Hykshos in 2082 B. C. to the final conquest by the Persians, whose empire fell to Alexander in 332 B. C. It tallies throughout, in a most remarkable manner, with the remains of the historian Manetho; and, by the aid of his series of dynasties, the gaps still left by hieroglyphic discoveries, may be legitimately filled up. Before the former era, all is dark and obscure; in the next part, we have little but a list of

\* Bull. Univ., Juin 1827, p. 471.

† Ibid. p. 471.

‡ Ibid. p. 470.

names; but, from the reign of Psammiticus I., ample materials exist in the histories of Diodorus and Herodotus; and, from the reign of Darius Ochus, the annals of Egypt become incorporated with those of Greece. A farther research into the subsequent monuments, becomes then rather a matter of curiosity, than of any real value, except in the few cases where their authority may be adduced to verify disputed dates, or the names of ephemeral rulers, too insignificant to be known out of Egypt. We shall, however, that we may complete the chain of historic evidence, mention in order, the inscriptions which have been deciphered, and which belong to this subsequent era.

After the death of Alexander the Great, one of his generals, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and surnamed Soter, possessed himself of Egypt.\* For some time, he acknowledged the sovereignty of the royal race of Macedon. In the interval between the death of the Macedonian conqueror, and the consummation of the usurpation of his generals, by the extinction of his family, he caused two of them to be recognised by the Egyptians as their kings. One of these, Philip Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, is commemorated at Karnac, and on the columns of the temple at Aschmouneïn. The name of the other, Alexander, the son of the Conqueror by Roxana, is engraved on the granite *propylæa* at Elephantine.

PTOLEMY SOTER, and his son, PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, have left the remembrance of their prosperous reigns, in various important works. EVERGETES I. not only ruled over Egypt, but rendered his name celebrated, by his military expeditions, both in Africa and in Asia. His titles are, therefore, not only inscribed on the edifices constructed during his reign, in Egypt, but are to be met with in Nubia, particularly on the temple of Dakkhé; and the *basso relievos*, on a triumphal gate, constructed by him at Thebes, may be admired even among the ancient relics of the magnificence of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The temple of Antæopolis, dates from the reign of PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR,† and ARSINOË his wife. In his reign, too, the ancient palaces of Karnac and Luxor, at Thebes, were repaired. PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, and his wife CLEOPATRA of Syria, dedicated one of the many temples of Philæ, as well as the temple of Edfou.

We shall content ourselves with the simple list of the remaining members of the royal race of Lagus, whose names have been found upon monuments of the Egyptian style, and inscribed in hieroglyphics. They are: PHILOMETOR, and his son EUPATOR; the latter of whom was assassinated by his uncle EVERGETES II.;

\* Bull. Univ., Juin, p. 469.

† Ibid. p. 468.

the two wives of *Euergetes*, both named *CLEOPATRA*; a *Ptolemy* not commemorated by the Greek historians, and a queen also called *Cleopatra*, and distinguished by the surname *TRYPHENE*; *PTOLEMY SOTER II.*; two of the surname of *ALEXANDER*; *PTOLEMY DIONYSIUS*; the famous *CLEOPATRA*, and her son by *Julius Cæsar*.

During the whole period included under the reigns of the *Ptolemies*, we find that the style of architecture and sculpture, and the mode of writing, usually considered as belonging to the independent and more remote ages of *Egyptian history*, prevailed throughout the country. Greek inscriptions are occasionally met with; and it has fortunately happened, that bilingual documents, not only written but sculptured, and in some cases bearing both the hieroglyphic and more popular systems of writing, have been discovered. It is to the careful study of these, that we are indebted for the key to the hieroglyphic system.

The architecture and sculptures of the date of these Grecian kings, are found to be far inferior, not only in splendour, but in taste of execution, to those of the *Egyptian races*, and particularly to those of the three great *Diopolitan Dynasties*. So far indeed were the *Egyptian arts* from having been benefited by an intercourse with the *Greeks*, that we find the decline gradual, down to the final extinction of the kingdom of *Egypt*.

Of the *Roman emperors*, we find inscribed in hieroglyphics, the names and titles of *AUGUSTUS*, *TIBERIUS*, *CALIGULA*, *CLAUDIUS*, *NERO*, *VESPASIAN*, *TITUS*, *DOMITIAN*, *NERVA*, *TRAJAN*, *ADRIAN*, *MARCUS AURELIUS*, *LUCIUS VERUS*, and *COMMODUS*. This last name, is to be read four times among the inscriptions of the temple of *Esné*; which, before this discovery, was considered as the erection of an age far more remote than is reached by any of our histories. So far from this, it is in truth, with but one exception, the most modern of all the edifices yet discovered in the *Egyptian style of architecture*. It is a century and half later than the temple of *Denderah*; the latest name upon which, is that of *Nero*. This last, as has been more than once mentioned in our previous papers on *Egypt*, was also considered of vast antiquity, although of a less age than that of *Esné*. Both these hypotheses are thus set aside, and the rudeness and want both of taste and skill, displayed at *Esné*, so far from being owing to the infancy of the art, are to be ascribed to its decline.

Thus then, as far down as the year 180 A. D. the worship of the ancient *Egyptian deities* was publicly exercised, and preserved all its external splendour; for the temples of *Denderah*, *Esné*, and others constructed under the *Roman rule*, are, for size and labour, if not for their style of art, well worthy of the ages of *Egyptian independence*. Previous to these discoveries, it had become a matter of almost universal belief, that the arts, the

writing, and even the ancient religion of Egypt, had ceased to be used from the time of the Persian conquest.

"Egypt, although deprived of its political liberty, preserved its religious institutions, as well under the sceptre of the descendants of Ptolemy Lagus, as beneath the sword of the successors of Augustus. The attachment of the people to its ancient national customs, struggled, with victorious perseverance, against the enterprises of an usurped power, which too frequently manifested itself only in violent acts or cruel extortions. Magnificent temples were built or decorated with rich sculptures, during these long years of servitude; and, although these vast erections were due entirely to the piety of the citizens, the name of the reigning sovereign was constantly engraved on all the parts of the building whose decorations were about to be completed. Even the image of the Greek king, or that of the Roman emperor, under whose government the particular portion of the temple was finished, was sculptured upon it; such had been the ancient habit of the Egyptian people, which, during the ages of its liberty, had never ceased to consider the families of its princes as branches from a celestial stem, and had always confounded its kings and its gods, as objects of the same adoration."

It is for this reason, that, in studying the basso-relievos and hieroglyphic inscriptions which embellish the monuments of Egypt, we are enabled to obtain such important illustrations of its history. Upon every one of the buildings, may be read a complete list of all the sovereigns who had successively filled the throne, from the time of its foundation, to its entire completion. It becomes, therefore, a species of historic record, of the names and the order of the reigns of the monarchs. Upon them all, are likewise traced the effigies of the same princes. Previous to the conquest by Cambyzes, these may be considered as actual portraits, faithfully representing the features, the dress, and the air of the several kings. This, however, ceases to be the case, from that date; the Cæsars and the Ptolemies are both exhibited, clothed after the manner of the Egyptians, decorated with the insignia, and honoured by the titles of the ancient dynasties. It is from the name alone, that a foreign origin is to be suspected. The accidental detection of the name of a Ptolemy, on the famous Rosetta stone, laid the foundation for the discovery of the key to the hieroglyphic alphabet; and the whole system has been derived from an analysis of the proper names of the Greek and Roman sovereigns, inscribed upon the great edifices of Egypt. From what has been said, it will appear, that Egypt had enjoyed, from very early times, down to the conquest by Cambyzes, the blessings of an enlightened government. The religion, if veiled in types and allegories, and descending at last to the worship of contemptible objects, did not cease to teach, in an effectual manner, the duties of sovereign and subject, of parent and child; and, under its influence, the rites of sepulture were refused to the unworthy.

The government was monarchical, and the sanction of religion gave weight to the authority of the kings; but they were still, for the greater part of the time, subject to the dominion of

ancient and established laws. The fine arts were cultivated, and had reached their highest development, fifteen centuries before the Christian era; but were never guided by the taste that inspired the Grecian artists, or the fancy which embellished the works of the Arabs, and of the middle ages of Europe. The sculpture was formal, but not devoid of grace; their painting limited to a few simple colours, and rather the handmaid of the former art, than aspiring to a separate existence. Their writing involved in itself a mode of poetic expression of the most refined character, which spoke to the eye, rather than to the ear. Music took its rise in Egypt; and instruments of no despicable power, are every where figured upon the walls of the temples, and the rocky enclosures of the tombs. The architecture was solemn, grand, and imposing.

These works of art, the Egyptians strove to render immortal; and ages will elapse, before they cease to present themselves to the eyes of a curious and admiring posterity. We find still extant, monuments constructed before the foundation of even the most ancient of the Grecian cities. They have seen dynasty after dynasty, and nation after nation, disappear from the surface of the earth, yet they still retain the character of permanence and durability originally impressed upon them. So long ago as the days of Plato, they bore the appellation of antiquities; and our successors will not cease to admire them, even when almost every other existing monument shall have passed away.

To the long duration of the remains of Egyptian antiquity, the climate has concurred in a degree as marked as the labour bestowed upon them; hence we find not merely statuary and architecture, but the more perishable materials of their manuscripts, the cloth that envelops their mummies, still in perfect preservation. But still we must wonder at the dexterity and skill exhibited in many of the works of this people. Masses of stone, of enormous size, have been removed from great distances, to form the embellishment of their palaces and temples; the patient labour with which they are chiseled, exceeds even that of removing them. Over the country of Egypt are spread innumerable obelisks, of single blocks of granite, brought from the quarries of Syene, and covered with the most elaborate sculpture. The removal of a single one to Rome was a proud achievement for a master of the world; and the simple elevation of an obelisk, and placing it upon its base, has been celebrated among the most difficult achievements of modern mechanics. But the size of the largest of these obelisks is trifling, in comparison with the blocks whence several of the monolith statues, either still remaining, or described by ancient authors, were cut. Such were those said to be, of Osymandyas, his wife, and daughter, at Thebes, and that of Sesostris, at Memphis. Such monuments,



however, appear, at first sight, to be dedicated to personal vanity, or mistaken piety, and ought rather to impress us with melancholy, that such vast labour should have been bestowed upon such useless objects. A closer inspection will show us that these are no more than appropriate tributes of gratitude, to public spirited monarchs, for public works of the most useful character, or offerings to the Deity for ages of continued prosperity. The glories of sculpture and architecture indeed still remain; but more glorious triumphs of art, applied to useful purposes, can be traced and detected by the aid of history. The Egyptians toiled for ages to render their territory healthy, to increase its fertility, and to enlarge its bounds, not at the expense of surrounding nations, but of the barren waste, and the impassable morass. Whole provinces were conquered from the sands and deserts of Lybia; the plains of the Delta were raised from a miry gulf; the inequality of the inundation was compensated by foresight and skill; their cities were erected on immense embankments; and not content with ornamenting the banks of the Nile with immortal monuments, they undertook to excavate the rocks that bounded their territory, and to create a subterranean country as magnificent as that inhabited by the living, to serve as the receptacle of their dead.

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The introduction of the Christian religion put a stop to the exercise of those Egyptian arts, which had gradually declined under the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman rulers. The temples were gradually abandoned, and on Christianity becoming the established faith, sacrifices were prohibited, and the public exercise of the ancient worship made penal. While paganism retained the predominance, persecution and strife wasted the wealth and the population of the country, while the religion that succeeded, Pagan and corrupted, except in name, changed only the relations of the parties, and not the principles that regulated the conduct of the ruling power.

Egypt, which the Greek emperors knew neither how to govern or to defend, fell an easy prey to the Moslem conquerors.\* The conquests of the first followers of Mahomet, were of a nature entirely different, both from the military enterprises of the Romans, and of the tumultuous invasions of the northern barbarians. The Romans did not owe their triumphs to the power of their arms alone, but a great part of their success is to be attributed to certain maxims of government, which they followed with admirable constancy. Not content with overcoming a people, they included it in their general system of policy, and caused it in a great degree to lose the traces of its own individual and

\* *Preface Historique*, pp. xxiii. et seq.

national character, by introducing their own religion, customs, language, and laws.\*

The barbarians who overran Europe, abandoning their inhospitable seats for climates more mild and cities more opulent, followed each other with no other design than pillage. As they were without fixed institutions of their own, they ended by adopting the worship, the manners, and the arts, or at least the remains of them, they found established in their new settlements. The Arabs, on the contrary, had more settled opinions and habits, and their attachment to them was strengthened by all the energy of fanaticism. Satisfied that the Koran contained all knowledge necessary or useful, they at first rejected the usages of the countries they subdued, and destroyed, from a principle of religion, the monuments of their arts. Mahomet was not enough of a prophet to foresee the wide extent which his religion was to attain ; nor had he the vast views of policy which are sometimes attributed to him. To admit either of these to the uneducated camel-driver, would be to acknowledge the claimed divinity of his mission. So far from this, he left his successors no established form or principle of government, in any way adapted to the vast regions over which they so rapidly extended their sway.† The Roman power being no longer sustained by the ancient vigour of its institutions, each of its provinces became liable to invasion and conquest by hordes almost savage, and which a few centuries before, her legions would have exterminated, ere they could have crossed her consecrated borders. Among these invaders, the Arabs performed, in their own vicinity, what was done on the other frontiers by the Goths, the Lombards, and the Gepidæ. They penetrated the parts of Asia not subject to the empire, with no less facility ; for the Persian kingdom, shaken by intestine commotions, and debilitated by foreign wars, was no better able to resist their fanatic violence. Thus, in a few years, they extended the rule of the Koran from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the banks of the Indus. But the same volume that was the first cause of their union, and the earnest of their success, finished by arresting their progress. Had the Arabs possessed, like the people who conquered the Western Empire, the inestimable advantage of receiving at the same time a religion favourable to the arts, and to useful knowledge, and which teaches the true principles of government, they might have cultivated to perfection all branches of knowledge, and prolonged their sway even to the present day, over regions restored to prosperity by one uniform and beneficent system. This people, in truth, did at first exhibit genius of the highest order,

\* *Preface Historique*, ubi supra.

† *Ibid.* p. xxv.

and speedily attained a great degree of civilization. But their religion was at variance with their improvement in the arts, and hostile to all liberal policy; the Arabs must have renounced it altogether, if they wished to avoid relapsing into the ignorance and rudeness of their ancestors.

Egypt\* suffered all the evils arising from Moslem sway. The first approach of the Arabs had swept away the accumulated literary treasures of ages; the speedy division of their empire involved it in constant wars.

The Fatimite caliphs made Egypt their residence,† until their rule was overthrown by the celebrated Salladin. This revolution was not effected in quiet, but gave rise to seditions and disturbances, quelled by the usual cruelties of an oriental despotism.

To the family of Salladin succeeded a rule of a character anomalous and dissimilar to any that ever existed in any other country. The caliphs,‡ and the princes who succeeded them, had confided the defence of their dominions, and the guard of their persons, to a body of mercenaries, recruited principally by means of a traffic in slaves. The nations in the vicinity of the Caucasus have for many ages furnished to all Mahometan countries a large supply of young persons, remarkable for the physical perfection of their persons. These are sometimes captives in war, but are as frequently disposed of by their own parents. Elevated to the highest offices of trust, the chiefs of these troops usurped the authority of their masters, and finally extinguished their lineage. Thus arose the Mameluke dynasty, that long subjected Egypt to an absolute government, yet neither hereditary nor elective.§ Birth indeed sometimes gave a right to the highest rank, but more frequently the murderer of the last prince became his successor. There were as many revolutions as there were separate reigns. At times, several different pretenders contended for the supremacy, and held separate dominions in Syria, in the Delta, and in upper Egypt. Some of the Mameluke princes governed with ability and success; conquerors of Syria, they humbled the pride of the Moguls, repulsed the Crusaders, and carried their arms into the Isle of Cyprus, into Yemen, and into Armenia. But the very nature of their institutions limited all their enterprises to objects of personal interest and ephemeral character, and thus the condition of the people and countries under their sway, became daily more debased.

In addition to the scourge of a bad government, and perpetual domestic dissensions, Egypt and the neighbouring countries became the object of formidable foreign invasions. For two centu-

\* *Preface Historique*, p. xxviii.

† *Ibid.* p. xxix.

‡ *Ibid.* p. xxviii.

§ *Ibid.* p. xxx.

ries the chivalry of Europe exhausted itself in a contest to obtain and keep possession of the Holy Land. These famous expeditions,\* although they agitated for this long period every nation of the West, produced none of the results for which they were intended, and generated, by their immediate action, incalculable disorder. But they in return excited a spirit of commerce; extended the views of the persons engaged in it; and multiplied the processes of the useful arts. They caused the downfall of the feudal system, and laid the foundation of those liberal principles of government, which are still gradually extending and developing themselves in all civilized nations.

During the crusades,† an hundred thousand Christian warriors reduced Damietta, and attempted to penetrate into the country. But, overcome by the climate, and shut up between the canals, they were compelled to capitulate. Thirty years afterwards, a similar attempt was made by St. Louis of France, and terminated even more disastrously.

At this period, the nations of Europe‡ were in almost every respect inferior to those of the East; for they had not attained the marked superiority they now possess, in consequence of the vast progress they have since made in all the arts. In none, perhaps, has this superiority of Europeans become more decided, than in the military art; and hence countries which now remain in the possession of the Moslems, merely in consequence of the mutual jealousy of Christian nations, were then able to defend themselves against the united forces of Europe, although urged on by religious zeal.

At the commencement of the 16th century, Egypt ceased to be an independent government, and was conquered by the Ottomans, about sixty-four years after the capture of Constantinople.

When Egypt§ thus received new masters, immense and unexpected changes were made in the commerce and in the political state of nations. No epoch of history is so fertile in great events. While the Ottoman power threatened Europe, various Christian nations had emancipated themselves from the sway of the Roman Church. Europe was engaged in strengthening its kingdoms by civil institutions, and the establishment of standing armies. The art of printing opposed a final barrier to the inroads of the barbarism which had at various former epochs swept away the greater part of the learning and the arts of civilized life; it at the same time extended the means of improvement to all classes of society. At the same moment, Columbus and Vasco de Gama

\* *Preface Historique*, p. xxxi.

† *Ibid.* p. xxxii.

‡ *Ibid.* p. xxxiii.

§ *Ibid.* p. xxxix.

made their great discoveries, and in following them up, Spaniards and Portuguese, departing in opposite directions from the same peninsula, were astonished at meeting each other in the extreme parts of Asia. By these discoveries, the channels of trade were changed for ever; and Egypt lost the advantages she had derived from the enlightened founder of Alexandria. The ambitious spirit of the Europeans, rapidly proceeded to establish new relations between the most distant parts of the world, in the place of the ancient bonds which had united so many cities and states, and which were now broken. Impatient to employ their new means of acquiring power, they made use of the magnet to direct their course to undiscovered lands, and gunpowder to subdue the inhabitants. They found in the mines of America the precious metals that served to extend the trade of the East, and in the inhabitants of Africa, the tools for introducing new cultures into the Western continent.

Thus, then,\* the commencement of the 16th century marks a fatal epoch in the history of Egypt, the term of the final extinction of all its former greatness. Conquered and pillaged, it was delivered to the avarice of Turkish pachas, and at last fell into the most deplorable anarchy. The rebellion of several pachas induced the Ottoman Porte to extend the power of the Mameluke beys, and these, rising from the condition of military slaves, made themselves masters of the government, and left to the pachas but the shadow of power. Struggles arose between ambitious rivals, and were attended with unbridled excesses, and the most unjust and extortionate imposts upon the agriculture, the commerce, and the industry of the inhabitants, until the cultivators of the ancient granary of the world were reduced to the miseries of famine, in the midst of their fertile and inexhaustible fields.

In this debased and deplorable condition of Egypt, it became an object of the ambition of the French republic. But the vast schemes to which the occupation of this country was calculated to give rise, were crushed in embryo by the power of England; a triumph, which in this, as in various other cases, however vaunted at first by those who fondly believed themselves the supporters of sound religion and morals, has been disastrous in its effects upon Egypt, as well as in other countries. To the anarchy of the beys has succeeded a rigid despotism, the more severe, because partially enlightened, and which, in the monopoly of the whole trade of the country, adds to the labours and hardships of the unfortunate inhabitants, without improving their condition for the present, or holding out any hopes for the future.

\* *Preface Historique*, p. xliv.

Whatever opinion we may entertain of the justice of the occupation of Egypt by the French, or of the political objects and military views it was intended directly to subserve, we must admit that the most extensive and liberal plans were entertained, and actually commenced, by which the happiness and prosperity of the country would have been in a measure restored.

In fact, the union of the arts of Europe, with a regular system of government, would speedily change the situation of Egypt.\* If agricultural industry were to be rendered secure in the possession of its products, and thus encouraged in its attempts, and its labour at the same time directed to proper objects, the results would be incalculable. The fertility of the soil is supported by the annual inundations of the Nile; and agricultural labour consists principally in the management of the irrigations, which this overflowing of the river renders practicable. At the present day, however, the distribution of the water is irregular and imperfect. The canals are traced without skill, and hence reach some districts in wasteful abundance, while others are wholly deprived of their benefits. In some places, want of knowledge leads to the weakening of the defences against the waters of the Mediterranean, which break in, and convert into sterile shores land capable of the richest productions. If the cultivated ground is inaccessible to the waters of the river, they are drawn from it by machines of the rudest description, and moved by the most expensive powers; while the want of a general system of police, permits the breaking of dykes and the diversion of the waters intended for the supply of distant districts. The inhabitants, in truth, from bad government and ignorance, cannot avail themselves of the liberality of nature, or employ their industry unless by ravishing the bounties of Providence from each other. All this might be remedied by a wise and firm government, and immense districts, now abandoned to the desert, might be restored to profitable cultivation.

Besides wheat, rice, and fruits of all descriptions, Egypt is capable of producing sugar, cotton, and coffee, and various other valuable products.† It is true, that the native plants are few in number; but this fertile land, whose mild temperature varies by insensible degrees, from the sea to the confines of Nubia, may be considered as one vast garden, fitted to receive the richest vegetable productions of the universe.

Such are the natural advantages of Egypt; and, even the long prevalence of a vicious administration, has not been able to destroy them altogether.‡ It is still capable of supporting nearly

\* *Preface Historique*, p. li.

† *Ibid.* p. liii.

‡ *Ibid.* p. liii.

three millions of inhabitants; and its capital, Cairo, is an opulent and populous city. Even the climate, so much dreaded by Europeans, was shown by the experience of the French army, to be by no means insalubrious.

The results of this famous expedition of the French, are to be found only in the vast increase which our knowledge of the ancient and modern condition of that country has received. For this, we are indebted to the Institute of Cairo; and its labours have been given to the world, in the most imposing and impressive shape, in the "*Description de l'Egypte*." This work is composed of many volumes of text, and a vast collection of plates, representing every object of interest discovered in Egypt. It includes representations of the antiquities, of the modern objects of curiosity, of the botany, the zoology, and the mineralogy of the country; and comprises a suite of correct geographical delineations. These last amount to fifty in number, and form, when united, one great general map, of such perfect execution in all its parts, that it may be truly said, that no European country has been more correctly represented.\* They comprise the whole extent of Egypt, from the cataracts to the sea, and extend from Alexandria on the west, to the position of ancient Tyre on the east.

In these plates, every ancient monument of the least importance is described and figured. Of these but few were known, even imperfectly, the greater part not at all, before the expedition of the French.† The geographical position of every remarkable monument has been ascertained, and is carefully designated on the maps; and, in addition, minute and accurate topographical surveys have been made of their vicinity; and not content with representing the present picturesque details of these magnificent ruins, in every point of view, great pains have been taken to ascertain their original state, and to represent them as they appeared in their pristine splendour. Every building has been carefully measured, as well as the dimensions of its principal and accessory parts, and exhibited by means of plans, elevations, and sections. This work does not contain the representation of a few isolated monuments, saved with difficulty from the ravages of time, but includes nearly all the principal structures of a nation, to which most others owe the origin of their institutions. That these are still extant, is owing to the climate, as well as to the nature of the buildings and materials themselves; and we find among them temples and palaces which can be at once recognised, as having been described by Hecataeus, Diodorus, and Strabo. The more ancient of these monuments were construct-

\* *Preface Historique*, p. cxxx.

† *Ibid.* p. cxxxiii.

ed, before the cities of Greece were founded; they have outlived the rise and fall of Tyre, Carthage, and Athens; and our posterity may still admire them, when most of the buildings now erecting by the present inhabitants of the globe, shall have ceased to exist.

The size of this work, and the vast number of plates it contains, render it too costly to be generally accessible. We know of no more than two copies, which have reached this country; to one of these, we have had an opportunity of referring. It owes its origin to the pride taken by Napoleon in his oriental exploits, and was supported chiefly by the patronage of his government. This patronage has been continued by the present reigning powers, who not only completed the work commenced under his reign, but have caused the publication of a second edition. It is sufficient, in order to give an idea of the vast labour which it has cost, to state, that the work commenced in Egypt, in 1798, has only been completed within the present year, and is, in its execution, as well calculated to exhibit the taste, the science, and the state of the graphic arts at the present day, as the monuments it delineates, are, to manifest the skill, the public spirit, and the vast power of the Pharaohs.

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### ART. III.—JURISPRUDENCE OF LOUISIANA.

- 1.—*La Coutume de Paris*.
- 2.—*Digest of the Civil Laws now in force in the Territory of Orleans*. 1808.
- 3.—*Las Siete Partidas*—Translated by L. M. LISAT and H. CARLETON, Esquires. New-Orleans. 1820.
- 4.—*Civil Code of Louisiana*. 1824.
- 5.—*Louisiana Term Reports*. 15 vols.

MOST of the states which compose this Union, even those which were formerly colonies of France and Spain, have retained or adopted the common law of England, as the basis of their municipal law. They have, from time to time, introduced such regulations and modifications, as were called for by their political organization, differing in particulars not very essential; but, in substance, it is the same system. There is however one great, and we may be permitted to say, eminent exception—one state, which, through every change of sovereignty, has uniformly and tenaciously adhered to the civil jurisprudence of its ancestors, originally from the continent of Europe. We mean the



state of Louisiana. We speak only of its civil jurisprudence, because in criminal matters, the modes of proceeding, and the definition of offences, have been borrowed from the common law of England, and the criminal law of the continent is entirely exploded. Although these facts are generally known to our readers, few, we believe, have taken the pains to institute a comparison between the two systems, or to examine minutely, so striking an anomaly. We have therefore thought an inquiry into the origin, the changes, and present state of the legislation of Louisiana, not unworthy of the liberal and enlightened curiosity of the day. It must necessarily be condensed, and confined to those striking peculiarities which are unknown to laws of English origin, together with those modifications which have grown out of their new political relations with a powerful federal republic.

Nothing can be imagined more discordant and bizarre, than the jurisprudence of France, at the period of the colonization of Louisiana. The different provinces, though politically united, and forming one monarchy, were governed by laws differing in many essential particulars. In some of the southern provinces, the Roman law still retains its authority, and those were therefore styled *Pays du droit écrit*; but the greater number had their local *coutumes*, and hence the designation of *Pays coutumiers*. Distinguished jurists have numbered as many as one hundred and forty different customs; and it was facetiously observed by Voltaire, in the last century, that “Un homme qui voyage dans ce pays-ci change de Loi presque autant de fois qu’il change de Chevaux de Poste. Les mesures sont aussi différentes que les coutumes; de sorte que ce qui est vrai dans le Faubourg de Montmartre devient faux dans l’Abbaye de Saint Denis.”

In their origin, they were local usages, which, by long habit and tacit consent, had acquired the force of unwritten law; and which the tribunals were directed to respect in the decision of causes, as early as the year 1248, by an ordinance of St. Louis. Subsequently, however, successive monarchs, from Charles VII. to Louis XII., caused them to be reduced to writing, in the form of local codes; and they were ever after considered as written law, although styled customary, to distinguish them from the Roman civil law, which was, *par eminence*, called the written law. The custom of Paris, which the colonists brought with them, as the law of the new colony, was first reduced to writing, by royal authority, in the year 1510, in the reign of Louis XII.; and was afterwards enlarged and amended in 1580. The *Coutume de Paris* is divided into sixteen titles, and subdivided into three hundred and sixty-two articles, and is justly referred to, as the *prima legum cunabula* of Louisiana. As such, we had prepared an abstract to lay before our readers, but we find that its length will prevent its insertion in the present article.

As a code, the Coutume de Paris is deficient in arrangement, but far from being contemptible, considering the age in which it originated. The parliament of Paris, as a court of judicature on points of doubtful construction, or in cases where no positive provision existed, was governed in its decisions by the maxims of the Roman law, which, even in those provinces where it was without legislative authority, still maintained its influence, and may be considered as the common law of France, when the Coutumes were silent.

The want of a uniform system of laws was long felt and deplored by the ablest jurists and statesmen before the Revolution, and many partial efforts were made to reform the existing legislation. The illustrious D'Aguesseau contributed three important ordinances; that of Donations, in 1731; of Testaments, in 1735; and that of Substitutions, in 1747. But these attempts to introduce the Roman law, or rather to reconcile it with the discordant customs of different provinces and towns, still left a singular medley of feudal custom and Roman jurisprudence. The laws of many of the provinces were as different from those of the capital, although resting on a common basis, as their native *Patois* from the chaste and polished dialect of the Court. The Revolution prostrated all these institutions. Out of their ruins, however, under the guidance of the master genius of the age, arose a system of laws, composed indeed of discordant elements, but admirably combined and adjusted; the result of a great compromise between the adherents of customary and Roman jurisprudence. A code adapted to the complicated wants and engagements of an intelligent and active age; a little selected from one custom, and a little from another, but cemented together by elements drawn from the inexhaustible quarry of Roman wisdom; rejecting the subtleties of the ancient schools; revealing in simple language the simple principles of right, the Tribonians of modern France, after consulting all parties; collating, weighing, and deliberating, as if they were legislating for a world and not a kingdom, produced that most splendid and durable monument of the age; almost the only enduring conquest of the Revolution, and inscribed it with the name of that extraordinary man, under whose auspices, and with whose personal co-operation, it had been accomplished. The jealousy of the restored dynasty has blotted from the title-page of the code the name of Napoleon; but if we might be permitted to anticipate the verdict of history, we would confidently predict, that this system of uniform and equitable laws will mark the epoch which gave it birth. The butcheries of the revolution; the rapid conquests of the republic; the mad scenes of the national convention; the frenzy which marked the first burst of liberty in France, will be regarded hereafter as wonders, momentary in their effects on the condi-

tion of man. The glories of Austerlitz and Jena are already becoming dim, and the fragments of the Simplon may be hereafter sought for, as the ruins of the Appian way now are, a puzzle to antiquarians; but the Code Napoleon is destined to survive them all; to confer the most lasting and substantial blessings upon France, and to redeem the character of an era stained with so many crimes of political fanaticism and mad ambition.

Louisiana, though ceded to Spain by the treaty of 1762, continued under the actual government of France, until 1769, when possession was taken by Don Alexandró O'Reilly, who was invested with extraordinary powers by the court of Madrid. His entrance into the province was marked by the execution of some of its first citizens, while others were sent prisoners to the Moro Castle, in the island of Cuba. A total change of its political organization and system of jurisprudence soon followed. The proclamation of O'Reilly, which announced these changes, bears date the 25th November, 1769. After alleging the countenance of the council in the popular insurrection, in opposition to the change of government, the proclamation goes on to say: "For these reasons, and in order to prevent a recurrence of evils of such magnitude, it is indispensable to abolish the council, and to establish in its stead that form of political government, and administration of justice, prescribed by our wise laws, and by which all the dependencies of his Majesty in America have been maintained in perfect tranquillity and subordination." This proclamation was accompanied by a set of instructions upon the modes of proceedings according to the Spanish law, drawn up by Don Manuel de Urustia, extremely imperfect, but intended as introductory to the body of the Spanish laws, which were from that period considered as having superseded the authority of French jurisprudence. The archives of Louisiana furnish no evidence of the extent of powers conferred by the court of Madrid on O'Reilly; but it has been admitted on all hands, that from the date of his proclamation, the laws of Spain became the sole guide of the tribunals in their decisions. But the transition was hardly perceptible. The two systems were very similar in their general features, and sprang from a common origin.

In giving an historical sketch of the Spanish laws, we must necessarily be very succinct; and it does not enter into our plan to give an analysis of the various and voluminous codes and compilations which have appeared from time to time, and which form a vastly complicated system. The *Fuero Viejo*, the *Fuero Juzgo*, and the *Fuero Real*, were successively adopted in the earlier periods of Spanish history. Alphonso X., commonly called the wise, or the astronomer, felt the necessity of embodying in the form of a code those general maxims of equity, and rules of positive law, which were looked for in vain in the pre-

ceding codes. He sat about compiling from the writings of the fathers, and of the ancient sages, and from existing customs, a complete system. Under his auspices, the great body of Spanish law, entitled the *Siete Partidas*, was completed as early as 1263. This work may be regarded as the Pandects of Spain; not less curious as a literary monument, than remarkable for the wisdom of many of its provisions, and infinitely superior to the cotemporary legislation of Europe. It must be remembered that the Roman law was not extensively taught at that period, and that Spain had been for centuries engaged in a struggle against the Moors, who had overrun the Peninsula. Alphonso was one of the first and most distinguished élèves of the University of Salamanca, which had been endowed and established by his father, and where he imbibed no contemptible tincture of the physical sciences, for which Spain was indebted to her Arabic conquerors. He was the author of the Alphonsine tables of Astronomy; and indeed such was his reputation as a philosopher and a monarch, that, although Spain was at that time unconnected with the politics of the continent, he was invited to become Emperor of Germany, at the time the choice fell upon Rodolph of Hapsburg. The *Partidas* were not formally and by royal authority promulgated, until 1386, by Alphonso XI., the great grandson of the legislator, as appears by an ordinance of Ferdinand and Juana, in 1505, in which is set forth the tenor of the ordinance of Alphonso XI., of the above date. The *Partidas*, as a code, are defective in the arrangement of matters, but are divided, as its title imports, into seven parts, and each part subdivided into titles and laws. It would be difficult to say, from a perusal of the work, why it was divided into seven parts, in preference to any other number. Such a division is not suggested by any natural division of the subject matter, and appears altogether arbitrary. Some have supposed that it derived that name from the number of years devoted to its composition; but it is more probable, and more consistent with the spirit of the age, to conjecture, that Alphonso, as well as Justinian, retained a certain respect for the particular number, seven; the latter having divided the fifty Books of the Pandects into seven parts, composed of unequal numbers of books, not arbitrarily, as he asserts in his preface, but with a reference to the virtues of that number. “Non perperam neque sine ratione, sed ad numerorum *naturam* et harmoniam respicientes.” But we look in vain for that natural and lucid arrangement of matter, suggested by the threefold objects of all municipal law, persons, things, and actions, which characterizes the institutes of Justinian.

Some regulations of practice in civil and criminal cases, called *Del Estilo*, had been established in 1310, and was followed by the *Ordenamiento de Alcalá*, in the reign of Alphonso XI., which

introduced some new principles relative to testaments, and some contracts and modes of proceeding. The laws of Toro, eighty in number, were promulgated in 1505, by Ferdinand and Juana. They regulate, more particularly, the forms and solemnities of wills; prohibit wives from becoming security for their husbands; establish the quantum which a father may give to one of his children, over and above the others, or the *mejora de tercio y quinto*, and the rules of succession. These laws had been preceded by the Ordonamiento Real, which was subsequently incorporated in the great compilation of Spanish written law, in the reign of Philip II., entitled the *Recopilacion de Castilla*. This work was first published in 1567, and has been amended and enlarged at different periods. It was intended to clear up the confusion created by so many previous codes and ordinances; contains few new provisions of much importance; and leaves the authority of the *Partidas* generally unimpaired. It is divided into nine books, and subdivided into laws. The laws of Toro are embraced in it.

We do not pretend to have given a full history of the legislation of Spain; much less are we disposed to enter into a minute analysis of its provisions. The *Recopilacion* is first in authority, whenever its provisions are repugnant to former enactments. But the *Partidas*, which have alone been partially translated by authority of the state, are always referred to as embodying the common law of Spain, unless changed or abrogated by the *Recopilacion*. So conclusive was its authority, that at one period it was a capital crime in Spain to cite the Roman law.

The cession of Louisiana to the United States necessarily introduced the trial by jury, in a modified form, and the writ of habeas corpus, which were unknown to the pre-existing laws. The legislative council of the territory of Orleans borrowed largely from the common law, but principally those forms of proceedings necessary to confer on the courts, organized under the authority of the Union, efficient powers. But in the adjudications of suits between individuals, the Spanish jurisprudence was the sole guide, except in commercial questions. Those laws were all written in a foreign language, and buried under an immense mass of useless matter; and although they were illustrated by numerous and able commentators, it is not extraordinary that the highest tribunal should have rendered some judgments, which, by subsequent researches, when the laws came to be better understood, were supposed to be erroneous. Feeling the necessity of some compilation of the existing laws, in English and French, the prevailing languages of the country, the legislative council, as early as 1806, by joint resolution, appointed two able jurisconsults to compile and prepare a civil code for the use of

the territory. They were directed by the same resolution, "to make the civil laws, by which this territory is now governed, the ground-work of said code." With such ample and indefinite powers, the two juriconsults prepared "the Digest of the Civil Laws now in force in the territory of Orleans, with alterations and amendments, adapted to the present system of government," and which is mentioned at the head of this article. It was reported to the legislature in 1808, and adopted. The Act by which the digest or code was established, contains the following repealing clause; "that whatever in the ancient civil laws of this territory, or in the territorial statutes, is contrary to the dispositions contained in said digest, or irreconcilable with them, is hereby repealed." In the body of the code are some express repeals; but the clause above recited was entirely nugatory; for by the most obvious rule of construction, if the dispositions of the new code were repugnant to the former law, it was tacitly repealed, and there was no necessity for such a declaration. It followed, therefore, that the code came to be considered *principally* as a declaratory law; and instead of introducing a new system to stand by itself, and to be construed by its own context, it was regarded as an imperfect index to the Spanish law; and the two were construed together as statutes in *pari materia*. Whenever the *general* principle, as applicable to a particular case, was the same in both systems, and the Spanish law recognised an exception not expressly retained by the code, nor even mentioned, the exception was considered as still existing. Prescriptions or limitations of actions not enumerated in the code, were declared still to exist by virtue of the ancient laws. The Spanish law was still considered the *unwritten*, as the code was the *written* law of Louisiana. The compilers adopted the arrangement of the Code Napoleon, and even copied entire titles, almost literally; but the rules of construction applicable to the two codes were entirely different. The Code Napoleon superseded all the pre-existing laws, ordinances, and customs, leaving none in operation, except certain local *usages*, which continued to be respected, as aiding in the construction of certain contracts; such, for example, as the notices to be given to lessees, &c. The clause of the ordinance by which the Code Napoleon was introduced, which contains the express repeal of the previous laws, is as follows: "Qu'à compter du jour où ces lois sont exécutoires, les lois Romaines, les ordonnances, les coutumes générales ou locales, les Statuts, les Réglements, cessent d'avoir force de loi générale ou particulière dans les matières qui sont l'objet des dites lois composant le présent code." It became, therefore, a text entirely unique, to which the tribunals were bound to conform. And when it is considered that the whole code is composed of only two thousand two hundred and eighty-one articles,

and that the judges are not to refuse to decide on account of the silence, obscurity, or insufficiency of the law, it must be admitted that many cases must necessarily arise, in which the courts will be guided by strong or more remote analogies, or by natural equity. Any misapplication of a particular article of the code, by inferior tribunals, is corrected by the court of cassation, which never inquires into the proper or improper construction of a contract, or into the merits of any case, as between man and man, but was organized for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the law against judicial usurpation or misrepresentation. "*La demande en cassation*," says a modern commentator, "*est un nouveau procès, bein moins entre les parties qui figuraient dans le premier, qu' entre l'arrêt et la loi.*" In Louisiana, on the contrary, the laws of Spain, except so far as they were expressly abolished, or tacitly abrogated, by a clear repugnance to the provisions of the code, or to the paramount authority of the federal constitution, still continued in full vigour. The reports of cases decided in the supreme court of the state, are full of illustrations of this position; and every year has evolved from the abyss some new provision of law, whose existence could not have been suspected, from the most careful perusal of the code by itself. The lawyers and the judges are constantly digging in this Herculeanum of legal antiquities. Their progress is marked by piles of learned rubbish, in which gleams an occasional speck of genuine ore; the ancient and the modern languages are brought into play; and it would seem, from some of the briefs, that counsel had adopted the maxim of Figaro: "*A Pédant, pédant et demi, qu'il s'avise de parler Latin, j'y suis Grec.*"

In 1819, the legislature passed an Act to encourage and authorize a translation of such parts of the *Partidas*, as were considered to have the force of law in the state. The preamble to the Act, alleges as a motive, "the great importance to the citizens of the state, not only that copies of the laws should be multiplied, but that they should have them in a language more generally understood than the Spanish." The translation has been faithfully executed, so far as we have compared it with the original, and are capable of judging of it. The publication in the United States, and in the English language, of a body of laws so celebrated as the *Partidas*, the boast of Spain, may be regarded as a singular event,<sup>9</sup> and it contributed to throw light on the jurisprudence of the state, at once obscure and heterogeneous.

We have thus far confined ourselves chiefly to historical facts, and such general remarks, as suggested themselves in our progress. We are sensible, that we can give at best but an imperfect notion of the system, by any analysis compressed within the usual limits of an article for a literary journal. In pursuing our inquiry, we must suppose our readers more or less acquaint-

ed with the prominent features of the Roman law. The Institutes of Justinian, as we have already observed, arrange into three classes, all the objects and purposes of municipal law: 1st. Persons: 2d. Things: and, 3d. Actions. The subject of things, or property, is considered however in a twofold view; 1st, as to the nature, kinds, and modifications of property; and, 2d, the modes of acquiring it—which form two books. The code of Louisiana, omitting actions or remedies as the proper subject of a distinct code regulating the practice of the court, conforms to the method of the Code Napoleon, and is divided into three books. I. Of persons: II. Of things, and the different modifications of property: and, III. Of the different modes of acquiring the property of things.

I. Of persons. The word person, is used abstractedly, to indicate the *relations* sustained in society by an individual—his relative duties, obligations, and capacities, or incapacities—arising from sex, age, marriage, or fraternity, and the like; as the relation of parent and child, master and servant, guardian and ward. The code recognises some distinctions unknown to the common law; and to these, we shall chiefly confine our attention. Children, for example, are either legitimate, natural, or bastard. Natural children are those born of an illicit union, but between whose parents there existed at the time no legal impediment to marry; and who may be either lawfully acknowledged as natural children, and entitled in some cases, as will be explained hereafter, to receive by will, or even inherit, as heirs, from their natural parents; and who may be rendered to all intents legitimate, on the subsequent intermarriage of the parents, by a dictation to that effect, in the marriage contract. Bastards are those illegitimate children, between whose parents there existed a legal impediment, either by a previous marriage of one of them, affinity within the prohibited degrees, or colour. They are incapable of being acknowledged as natural children, and of receiving any thing but mere alimony.

Minority is divided into two periods. Females until the age of twelve, and males until the age of fourteen, are incapable of any contract, and their persons and estates are protected and administered by tutors. Above that age, they pass under the charge of curators ad bona. Tutors are either natural, such as the surviving father or mother—or testamentary, when the surviving father or mother appoints a tutor by last will—or dative, such as are appointed by the judge, in default of the former. The code requires also the appointment of an under tutor, whose duty it is to represent the minor, when his interests are adverse to those of the tutor. The mother, who, in her widowhood, is the natural tutrix of her minor children, forfeits that right, by contracting a second marriage, without taking the advice of a family



meeting. Curators are appointed by the judge, who is bound to appoint the person indicated by the minor adult, if he possess the legal qualifications. Tutors represent, and act in the name of their pupils. Curators, on the contrary, only advise and assist the minor in his contracts and transactions; and the contracts of an adult minor for necessities, even without the sanction of his curators, are binding on him. Minors over the age of puberty, must appear as parties in a court of justice, by curators, *ad litem*. They may be emancipated by their father, or, if they have no father, by their mother, after attaining the age of fifteen years, by a declaration before a notary public and two witnesses. They are emancipated, *ipso facto*, by marriage. The emancipated minor is, however, incapable of alienating his real estate, or of mortgaging it without the consent of the judge, and of a family meeting, in cases of absolute necessity, or certain advantage; nor can he validly bind himself beyond the amount of one year's revenue of his estate. Emancipated minors, engaged in commerce, are considered as of full age for every thing which concerns their trade.

The practice of adoption is abolished by the code. This part of the code provides for the interdiction of insane persons, the administration of their estates, by a curator to be appointed by the judge, and it provides also for the administration of the estates of absentees, who have left no authorized agent for that purpose.

Marriage by the code is, of course, considered only as a civil contract. The legal capacity to contract, commences at the age of fourteen for males, and twelve for females. Marriages may be declared null and void, at the suit of one of the parties, when there has been a mistake as to the person, or when the consent has been extorted by violence. No causes of divorce, a *vinculo matrimonii*, are specified in the code; but the marriage is dissolved, when, after an absence of ten years without news, the party thus deserted contracts a second marriage, on furnishing proof of the fact, and obtaining permission of the judge. Separation from bed and board, may be decreed for the following causes. The husband may claim it, in case of adultery on the part of his wife; the wife for adultery on the part of the husband, only when he maintains his *concubine in their common dwelling*. It may be reciprocally claimed for abandonment, excesses, cruel treatment, or outrages of such a nature as to render their living together insupportable—for public defamation of one against the other—for an attempt of one upon the life of the other. The wife is incapable of entering into any contract, without the husband's consent, or of appearing as party in a court of justice; but if his consent be arbitrarily and unjustly withheld, the judge may give permission.

This part of the code treats of corporations or communities, which are considered as political persons, and mere creatures of the law.

II. The code next proceeds, in the Second Book, to treat of things, as the objects of property, and of the different modifications of that property. The term *things*, embraces every object in which a right of property may be acquired, not only visible and tangible in a physical sense, but the service or labour of individuals, which we may have a right to enforce or require. Some things however are considered as *common*, which belong to nobody, and in which no permanent right of property can be acquired; but which are for the common use of mankind—such as air, running water, the sea and its shores. These are considered as *hors de commerce*. Others are considered as *public*, the property of which belongs to the community or nation—such as seaports, roads, highways, harbours, and navigable rivers and their beds while covered with water. The use of the banks of navigable rivers are regarded as public; but the right of soil, as vested in the riparian proprietor. Among public things are classed such as belong to cities and corporations—such as walls, ditches, the streets and public squares.

The second distinction of things, susceptible of private property, is that of corporeal and incorporeal, which require no definition; a third distinction is that of moveable and immoveable.

Some things are considered as immoveable by their nature—others by destination, and others by the object to which they apply. Of the first class are lands and edifices, ungathered crops, and fruits, and pipes used for conducting water to houses. Things which the owner has placed on an estate, for its service and amelioration, are immoveable by *destination*—such as cattle intended for cultivation, implements of husbandry, seeds, plants, fodder and manure, and pigeons in a pigeon-house—bee-hives, mills, kettles, alembics, tubs and casks, and other machinery for carrying on works; and, in general, whatever is attached to the immoveable permanently, whether for use or ornament. Immoveables, by the *object* to which they apply, are the *usufruct* of immoveables—*servitudes* due on a tract of land, and the right of action to recover an immoveable. Slaves are declared immoveables, whatever may be the employment to which they are destined.

The term moveables, requires no definition. Some things, however, are considered as moveables by disposition of law—such as actions and obligations for the payment of money, stock in banks and other joint companies, together with perpetual rents and annuities.

After these simple and obvious distinctions, the code passes to the consideration of the different degrees and modifications of

property. The full and entire property in a thing, consists in the right of using and enjoying it, the right of disposing of it without restraint, and the right of preventing others from interfering in its enjoyment or disposition. In the *restriction* of this full right, consists the only modification of property recognised by the code. One may be the proprietor of the thing, another may have the temporary enjoyment of it, and a third the right to exercise certain acts of ownership, or rather to restrict the full enjoyment of the owner, to his exclusion. Instead therefore of freeholds, copyholds, remainders, and reversions, and the complicated distinctions of the common law, the different estates are extremely simple. There are but three kinds of limited property—to wit, *usufruct, use and habitation, and servitudes*.

1st. Usufruct is the right of using and enjoying a thing, the property of which is vested in another, and of deriving from it all the advantages of which it is susceptible, without altering its substance. Usufruct is a real right, (*jus in re*,) which cannot be defeated by any alienation. Although the usufructuary has a right to all the fruits, whether natural or civil, yet crops or fruits ungathered, when the right expires, belong to the owner of the property. The young of cattle belong to the usufructuary. The right of usufruct is essentially transferrable, may be sold, leased, or given away, and may be seized by the creditors of the usufructuary. Unless expressly exempted by the title which confers the right, and except also in cases of usufruct of children's property, by the father or mother, the usufructuary is bound to give security to enjoy the property like a prudent father of a family. If there be an imperfect usufruct of things, liable to be consumed in use, the usufructuary is only bound to restore the same amount. The young of slaves, subject to usufruct, belong to the owner in full right. The usufructuary is bound to make only such repairs, as may be necessary to keep the property in such a state as it was in, at the time he entered on the enjoyment of it; and he can make no changes in the destination of the property.

The right is generally limited to the lifetime of the usufructuary; but it may have a different limitation, and may depend on a contingency. A corporation cannot be constituted usufructuary, for a longer time than thirty years. The usufructuary forfeits his right, who commits waste, or who suffers the estate to go to decay, for want of those repairs which it was his duty to make; but the proprietor who re-enters for these causes, may be compelled to pay an annual sum, to be fixed by the courts.

2d. Use and habitation (*occupation*) are still more restricted rights, and are essentially *personal*, and not alienable. Use is the right of enjoying gratuitously, for one's daily wants, the thing, or the fruits of a thing, belonging to another, without prejudice to the right of property; and *habitation* is the right of dwelling

gratuitously in another house. He who has the use only, can take such fruits alone as are necessary for his own use and that of his family. He is liable for the annual charges on the property, and for casual repairs.

3d. Servitudes or services of land, embrace what are termed, we believe, at common law, easements. They are, perhaps, inaccurately defined by the code, to be a charge on one estate for the utility of another estate belonging to a different proprietary. The right of passing over a neighbour's land, which is an example, implies the obligation on the part of the owner to suffer it, and that obligation constitutes the servitude or service. It is a restriction of the right of full and exclusive enjoyment of his property. Servitudes either result from the natural situation of contiguous estates, are imposed by obligation of law, or are created by agreements. The land situated below is subjected to the burden of receiving the water which runs naturally from one more elevated; and this service can neither be rendered more onerous by the superior proprietor, nor can it be impeded by embankments below. The owner may use a running stream within the limits of his land, but he is bound to return it to its accustomed channel. This title, among the most minute and curious of the Roman law, embraces the right of way, of drain, of prospect, and an infinity of others, regulating the intercourse of a crowded population, of which it is not our intention to attempt an enumeration.

III. The third book treats minutely of the different modes of acquiring property, and is by far the most interesting and important part of the system of which we are attempting a sketch. English jurists reduce all the modes of acquiring property to two, descent and purchase. Such a division is evidently obscure and imperfect. The Code of Louisiana enumerates seven. The rules applicable to each and all its subdivisions embrace the principles of hereditary succession; every species of contract or agreement, by which property may be affected or transferred; all the complicated rights and interests of the citizens, growing out of their mutual dealings or intercourse; testaments, donations, the reservations in favour of forced heirs, the rights of married women, and the ample guards provided for the protection of their property, the matrimonial partnership of gains, together with rules for construing as well as proving contracts and agreements; all these matters are treated of, under the seven following heads, which are considered as distinct modes of acquiring property:

1st. By paternal power.

2d. By successions.

3d. By obligations resulting from contracts and covenants.

4th. By obligations which result from the mere act of the person, without covenant, such as quasi contracts and quasi offences.

5th. By accession or incorporation.

6th. By occupancy and prescription.

7th. Judgment and seizure.

1st. The property acquired by what is called the paternal power, is merely the income of fruits of the property belonging to children, which the father and mother acquire during marriage, as usufructuaries, until the age of majority, or the emancipation of their childhood, and out of which they are bound to provide support and education according to their means. If a separation from bed and board take place, the right of usufruct accrues exclusively to the party at whose suit it was pronounced. It does not extend to property acquired by the children, by their own industry, while living separately from their parents.

2d. Succession, considered as a manner of acquiring property, is the act of succeeding to the rights and property of the deceased. The 118th novel of Justinian forms the basis of the law of hereditary succession by the code; with the exception, that by the novel, brothers and sisters of the full blood of the deceased, concurred with his ascendants, and the estate was equally divided between them, and that in the succession of brothers of the half blood, no distinction was made as to the origin of the property left by the intestate.

The code recognises three orders of heirs, to wit: descendants, ascendants, and collaterals. If the intestate have left legitimate children, they all inherit equally, without regard to son, or primogeniture, or to the nature and origin of the property. Children of deceased children concur with their uncles and aunts, *jure representationis*, and by roots. If there remains only grandchildren, they succeed equally, *per capita*, and so of more remote descendants.

If the deceased have left no legitimate descendants, his estate goes to his father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, or other ascendants, to the entire exclusion of brothers and sisters, or other collaterals. In the ascending line, the nearest in degree excludes the more remote; if there be two in the same degree, they inherit equally. If there be a grandfather and grandmother in one line, and only one grand parent in the other line, the ascendant who is alone on one side, receives one half, and the other two the half between them. Representation does not take place in the ascending line.

In default of descendants and ascendants, the estate devolves on the collateral relations of the deceased. When he has left only brothers or sisters of the full blood, they inherit to the exclusion of other collaterals; but if there be brothers, and the children of other brothers deceased, also of the full blood, such children come in by representation, and the estate is divided *per stirpes*. The same rules apply, when only brothers of the half blood survive; but if the deceased has left both brothers of the full and

of the half blood, the former exclude the latter. This prerogative of the full blood exists only in favour of brothers and their children, to the exclusion of half brothers, and their children. The more remote descendants of the whole blood will not exclude those of the half blood. When the intestate has left no brothers of the full blood, but half brothers both on the paternal and maternal side, such brothers and their children exclude all other collateral kindred, as representing *their* deceased father and mother; and the brothers on the paternal side inherit the property which came through the father, and those on the mother's side, that which was derived from her; and the property acquired by himself by any other title is equally divided between the two branches. Nephews and nieces are preferred to uncles and aunts, although in the same degree. Among other collaterals, the nearer exclude the more remote, and the distribution is made *per capita*.

Irregular successions are those, in which the surviving husband or wife, or natural children, *duly acknowledged*, are called to the inheritance. The rule in relation to natural children is variant. They are called to the inheritance of their mother, when she has left no legitimate descendants, even to the exclusion of her father and mother, or other descendants; but they inherit as heirs from their father, only in default of other relatives, either ascendant, descendant, or collateral, or surviving wife, and only to the exclusion of the state. But natural children, even thus admitted as heirs, do not take by representation what their fathers or mothers might have been entitled to, as heirs of their lawful relations. The estates of natural children themselves are inherited by their surviving fathers or mothers, or in default of them, by their natural brothers and sisters.

The surviving wife succeeds to her husband's estate, when not separated from bed and board, if he has left neither legitimate descendants, ascendants, nor collateral relations, and to the exclusion of natural children; but the natural children of the wife are preferred to the surviving husband, who inherits from her only in preference to the state. But these irregular heirs do not succeed of full right; they are bound to give security on taking possession, to restore to an heir, if one should appear, having a better right. When no heir presents himself, the estate is considered as vacant, is administered by a curator, and the proceeds, after paying the debts, are paid into the state treasury.

Presumptive heirs may be excluded from the inheritance at the suit of the next in order, for unworthiness, which is defined by the code. Those who are convicted of having killed or attempted to kill the deceased, unless justifiable or excusable, those who have instituted any accusation, declared to be calumnious, and those who being accused of the murder of the de-

ceased, have not denounced it to justice, are declared unworthy and incapable of inheriting.

We will not enter into the administration of estates, which appears to have been lamely provided for by the code, nor into all the minute steps relating to the liabilities of the heirs, and the partition of the estate. It will be sufficient to observe, that each heir is bound only for his proportion of the debts; and that, in the distribution, the most rigid exactness is observed in making the portion of each equal. Children coming to the succession of their father, are obliged to collate, or bring back, either in nature or value, all the donations or advantages they have received in the lifetime of the father; and the whole is made into a mass, unless such donation were expressly declared to be an extra portion. The rules relative to collation among co-heirs, are founded on the principles of justice, and on the most perfect equality.

The next title of the code treats of the gratuitous disposition of property by donation, to take effect in the lifetime of the donor, (*inter vivos*;) or after his decease, (*mortis causâ*.) It embraces the important matter of testaments, and their solemnities, the restriction on the disinherison of forced heirs, the portions to such heirs, and the quantum which may be disposed of to their prejudice. We will endeavour to give a short view of those peculiar features of the system under examination, even at the risk of being tedious to our readers.

The first and highest natural duty of a man, in society, is to provide for those to whom he gives existence, and next for those to whom he owes it. This is the basis of the whole law of succession and donation, as established by the civil law, and sanctioned by the Code of Louisiana. Parents and children are considered as forced heirs; and they cannot, by any evasion, be deprived of a certain portion of the property of those, from whom the law entitles them to inherit the whole, except for certain causes specified in the code. Thus the law endeavours to a certain extent to enforce the natural obligation; and every man is constituted, as it were, the trustee of that class of his presumptive heirs, and he is under a legal incapacity to defeat their right. This portion is called the *legitime*. The reserved portion or *legitime* of legitimate descendants, is four-fifths of the property of the parent, and he can dispose gratuitously of only one-fifth. That of ascendants coming to the succession of their children, is two-thirds, leaving one-third as the disposable portion. If there be no forced heirs, there exists no restriction, except in relation to natural children, who, if incestuous or adulterous, cannot receive more than bare alimony; and, if duly acknowledged, are capable of receiving either by testament or donation, *inter vivos*, one-third of the property of the natural parent, if he has left any legitimate ascend-

ants—one-half, if he leaves only brothers and sisters; and three-fourths, if only more remote collaterals. In such cases, they are less favoured than strangers. Donations which exceed the disposable portion, in any of these cases, are not void for the whole, but only reducible; and may be declared valid, as far as the disposable portion; and, in case of several successive donations, the last must be first attached. Every species of substitution (entail) is abolished.

Donations, *inter vivos*, are irrevocable, except for ingratitude on the part of the donee—for non-performance of conditions; and in consequence of the subsequent birth of a child to the donor. Ingratitude is evinced, by an attempt on the part of the donee to take the life of the donor—by cruel treatment, crimes, or grievous injuries towards him, and by refusing him food when in distress; but the action of revocation must be instituted within one year after the act of ingratitude complained of. The subsequent birth of a child, or even the legitimation by marriage, of a natural child, born after the donation, revokes the donation, *ipso jure*; nor is it restored by the death of the child.

Donations, *mortis causâ*, can only be made by testament, except those by marriage contract; which is regarded by the law with peculiar favour. The code has provided a variety of forms of testaments, and leaves it to the citizen to choose what form he pleases; but the solemnities required for each class of testaments are of strict law, and a deviation from them is fatal. Testaments are either *nuncupative*, *mystic*, or *olographic*. Nuncupative wills are either by public act, or under private signature; and the first requires a notary public and three witnesses, residing in the place; or five, if not residing in the place. It must be signed by the testator, and written by the notary, as dictated—it must be read to the testator in presence of the witnesses, and express mention must be made of all these formalities. The second may be written by any one, but requires the presence of five witnesses of the place, and seven if otherwise, or it will suffice if the testator produce the will already written, and declare it to be his testament in the presence of the same number of witnesses. The mystic will, *testamentum in scriptis* of the Roman law, must be signed by the testator. The paper containing it is sealed up, or covered with a sealed envelope, and presented by the testator to the notary and seven witnesses, to whom he declares, that the paper contains his testament. The notary then draws up a superscription on the same paper, or the envelope, certifying the act of presentation, and the declaration of the testator; which is signed by the testator, notary, and witnesses. The olographic form of testament is the most simple and most safe—no other formality is required, than that it should be



entirely written, signed, and dated in the proper handwriting of the testator.

It is only by testament, that a forced heir either in the descending or ascending line can be disinherited, and that by name, and expressly and for a just cause specifically set forth in the will. The causes for which a child may be disinherited, are twelve in number; 1st, striking the parent, or raising the hand to strike; 2d, cruelty—a crime or grievous injury towards the parent; 3d, an attempt to take his life; 4th, accusing the parent of a capital crime, except treason; 5th, refusing him sustenance, having the means to furnish it; 6th, neglecting to take care of a parent become insane; 7th, refusing to ransom him from captivity; 8th, using coercion to prevent a parent from making a will; 9th, incestuous commerce with the father's wife; 10th, refusing to bail a parent out of prison; 11th, marrying without parent's consent, while a minor; 12th, a daughter refusing a suitable establishment in marriage, to lead a life of prostitution. The first ten of the above causes, justify the disinherison of grandchildren. The causes for which ascendants may be validly disinherited by their descendants, are equally precise, and are eight in number. 1st, if the parent has accused the child of a capital crime, except treason; 2d, an attempt to take his life; 3d, using violence to prevent a child from making a will; 4th, refusing sustenance; 5th, neglecting to take care of a child insane; 6th, neglecting to ransom him from captivity; 7th, if one of the ascendants has attempted another's life, he may be disinherited by the descendant; 8th, incestuous commerce with the son's wife.

The same title contains the restrictions on the liberality of husband and wife towards each other, by marriage settlement or otherwise. It also maintains the principles of the "*Edit des secondes nœces*" in France, the work of the Chancellor De l'Hôpital, which forbids a man or woman who contracts a second marriage, having children by a previous one, from giving to the second husband or wife, more than the least child's portion, and that only in usufruct; and in no case can the donation exceed one-fifth of the donor's estate.

3d. The code proceeds to the third means of acquiring property—to wit, by the effect of obligations, resulting from contracts. But, before entering in detail into the minute consideration of the vast variety of agreements and contracts, and the rules peculiar to each, it developes those principles in the abstract, which are equally applicable to all the engagements, which may be formed by the agreements of parties. It is an epitome of the Roman law of contracts, divested of some of its refinements and subtleties. It is that part of Roman jurisprudence, which displays in the greatest perfection profound wisdom and equity, and that acute logic which have made it to

be considered as among the most perfect forms of written reason. Whoever has studied the character of Rome, only in the history of her military achievements, in her monuments, and her political organization, has not formed a full and adequate conception of her real greatness as an intellectual people. Her provinces were conquered by barbarians; her political power has long since ceased to exist; vast improvements have been made in political science; new nations, springing from her ruins, have attained a higher state of civilization than Rome ever knew; and yet the Roman law still maintains its supremacy—its spirit is infused into all the civil institutions of Southern Europe. Rome, through the medium of her jurisprudence, is still the great mistress of human affairs, in every thing which relates to the rights, duties, and obligations of men in the social state; and her influence is felt in regions where her victorious eagles never flew. Indeed, it may be affirmed, that if every other monument of her power and greatness were destroyed—if nothing had survived of her eloquence and poetry, enough would still remain in the body of her laws, and the writings of her jurisconsults, to give us the highest idea of her moral grandeur as a nation. It is by no means our intention to analyse this part of the Code of Louisiana. We shall content ourselves with referring to the writings of Pothier, and particularly his treatise on Obligations, as the guide of the compilers of the code. Nor would we be understood as speaking disparagingly of the common law, nor in terms of unqualified praise of the Roman jurisprudence. In relation to some contracts, the common law perhaps, furnishes rules more broad and applicable in the practical affairs of life; and, it must be admitted, that the civilians sometimes push their distinctions and inductions to a very metaphysical nicety, and leave the line between ethics and jurisprudence—that line which separates the empire of conscience from that of the civil power, exceedingly shadowy and undefined.

Among the most important contracts treated of in this part of the code, is that which regulates the pecuniary rights and interests of married persons, in relation to strangers, and between themselves. It may be remarked, that by the civil law marriage was not originally a means of acquiring property; that the husband, so far from acquiring even the personal effects of his wife, was not entitled to the administration of her property; but the community of gains, as established by the customary law in France, transferred to the husband substantially the personal or moveable property of the wife. In Louisiana, whenever a marriage is contracted without any special stipulations on the subject, a community of gains takes place, by operation of law, in relation to their future acquisitions, but the property previously owned by the wife, of whatever nature it may be, does not

compose a part of the *stock in trade*. It is composed only of the *profits* of the property of which the husband has the administration, of the produce of their reciprocal industry, and of all the property acquired during the marriage, by both or either, except donations made to one of the parties, or an inheritance falling to either. By the Code Napoleon, the moveable effects of the wife and husband before marriage, fall into the community, and their *moveable* debts are equally a charge on it; *moveable* property, acquired by inheritance during the marriage, also, by the law of France, enters into the community. In Louisiana, it is otherwise; and each is only liable for his own debts contracted before marriage. The husband, in relation to the common acquisitions, is the absolute master and head of the partnership; he may dispose of the whole without the wife's consent. But at the dissolution of the marriage, she, or her heirs, may exonerate herself from the payment of any of the debts, by renouncing the community; but if she accepts, or intermeddles, she is liable for one half of the debts, and is entitled to one half of the property which remains. On renouncing, she is entitled to take back what she brought into marriage. It is obvious that the wife has no vested right in the property acquired as above stated, until the dissolution of the marriage; that her right is altogether eventual, and depends upon her own option. She is allowed time to deliberate whether she will accept or renounce; and on accepting, either tacitly or expressly, she becomes irrevocably liable for one half of the debts contracted during marriage, out of her own private fortune.

But the parties have a right, by previous contract, to regulate their pecuniary interests otherwise, and as they please, provided their agreement do not tend to alter the legal order of descents, nor to derogate from the legitimate authority of the husband, as the head of the family, and contain nothing contrary to good morals. They may stipulate that their future acquisitions shall be regulated by the laws of any state of the Union, and renounce the laws of Louisiana in that particular, that there shall exist no community of property, or a modified one. We have already seen what donations they are capable of making to each other, in consideration of marriage, and under what modifications.

The most usual convention by marriage contract, is the settlement of dowry. By dowry, is meant that property which the wife brings to the husband to aid in supporting the charges of matrimony. Whatever is settled on her by the contract, either by herself or parents, or even strangers, whether in money or otherwise, constitutes her dowry. It can neither be settled nor augmented during marriage. The husband alone has the administration, and he cannot be deprived of it, except on a separation of property when it is in danger from the dissipation and extra-

vagance of the husband. If it consist of moveable effects, estimated by the contract, they become the property of the husband, and the estimated value which he owes her, constitutes the dowry, and its restitution is secured by a tacit mortgage on all the immoveables of the husband and of the community. But immoveables settled as dowry, even with an estimation, remain the property of the wife, unless expressly declared otherwise. The dowry is inalienable, even with the consent of both husband and wife, unless express authority be given to the purpose by the marriage contract, except for the establishment of the wife's children by a former marriage with the husband's consent; and if he refuse them, with the authorization of the judge, provided in the last case, the husband cannot be deprived of the enjoyment of the dowry. They may also give the dotal effects for the establishment of their common children. They may likewise cause the dotal effects to be sold at public auction, with the authority of the judge, after advertisements, either for the purpose of liberating the husband or wife from jail; of supplying the family with food; of paying the debts of the wife, or of the person who settled the dowry, of a *date certain*, anterior to the marriage; or for the purpose of making heavy repairs, indispensably necessary for preserving the immoveables; or for the purpose of partition of the same with a co-proprietor. The husband in the administration of the dowry, is bound by the obligations of an usufructuary.

That property of the wife which is not settled as dowry, is called paraphernal, or extra-dotal. Her husband has not necessarily the administration of it, but she cannot alienate it without his consent. The husband's estate, when he has the administration by her consent, is tacitly mortgaged for the performance of the obligations of an usufructuary.

The code makes ample provision for the surviving husband or wife, in cases of great disparity of fortune, whenever provision has not been made adequately, either by testament or otherwise, by what is termed the marital portion. Where either party dies rich, leaving the survivor in necessitous circumstances, such survivor has a right to take out of the estate in full property one fourth, if there be no children; the same in usufruct, if there be but three, or a smaller number of children; and if more than three children, then only a child's portion in usufruct, and is liable to account for any legacy in his or her favour.

The contract of sale is next treated of by the code. We should hardly be pardoned an analysis of the rules of this contract. We cannot avoid noticing, however, a few particulars, in which the civil differs in some respects from the common law. The code distinguishes those circumstances which constitute the *essence*, from those which are only of the *nature* of a sale. Only three things

constitute its essence, to wit : a thing sold ; a price ; and the consent of parties legally expressed. It follows that, as between the parties, a sale is complete, and the property is transferred by the mere consent of parties ; but in relation to third persons, it is necessary there should be actual delivery of moveables, and as respects immoveables, that the written contract should be recorded. By the Roman law, the property vested only by delivery. "*Traditionibus non nudis conventionibus dominia verum transferuntur.*" That which is only of the *nature* of a sale, may be dispensed with by agreement, and yet the contract remain perfect. Warranty is that of nature. He who sells by a necessary implication, warrants the thing sold, if the parties be silent on the subject ; but they may stipulate that the vendor does not warrant, or that the warranty shall only be a modified one. The extreme simplicity of conveyances may be inferred from these principles. In case of eviction, the vendor is liable to restore the price paid, to refund the revenues, or fruits, or mean profits, when the purchaser has been ordered to pay them to the party evicting him, together with the costs of suit, and other incidental damages ; and he is bound to pay, or cause to be paid, the *useful* improvements made by him. And if the thing has risen in value, he is bound to pay the increased value, at the time of the eviction. If the vendor sold in bad faith, he is even liable to pay expenses laid out in mere embellishments.

The principles of the contract of sale apply to the assignment of debts and incorporeal rights, other than papers governed by the *lex mercatoria*, or choses in action. The transfer is complete by the consent of parties, and surrendering the evidence of the claim. But so far as third persons are concerned, the assignment is incomplete, until notice has been given to the debtor. This notice is equivalent to the delivery of moveables, and until it has been given, the debt assigned, is liable to be attached in the hands of the debtor, by the creditor of the original creditor, or assignor. He who sells a debt, warrants its existence, but not the solvency of the debtor, unless specially stipulated. The assignor parts with his whole interest, and suit cannot be maintained in his name for the use of the assignee, as at common law. He against whom a litigious right has been sold, has a right to exonerate himself, on paying only what the assignee has given for it, together with interest. No claim is considered as litigious, unless a suit has already been brought in relation to it.

It is not our purpose to follow the code through the full and clear development of the principles, which govern the contracts of exchange, letting and hiring, partnership, loan for consumption, (*mutuum*,) loan for use, (*commodatum*,) deposit and mandate, or commission ; and that class called aleatory. We content ourselves with referring to those elementary writers, who were

the guides of the legislators, particularly the works of Pothier. We cannot forbear, however, making a single remark on the subject of interest, as regulated by the code. It is considered either as constitutional or legal. It is lawful to stipulate an interest at ten per cent., but the agreement must be in writing; and the proof of it, by witnesses, is not permitted. When no interest is agreed on by the parties, the rate established by law is five per cent.; but it does not begin to run from the day the debt falls due, as at common law, but from the commencement of a suit for its recovery—except when the debt is due for the price of immoveables or slaves, or their property, which yields revenues or fruits.

We next pass to the important title of mortgages and privileges, which presents peculiarities worthy of a more ample notice than we have room to give it. Mortgage, the *hypotheca* of the Roman law, is a real right in an immoveable belonging to a debtor, tending to secure the performance of an obligation, by means of the preference which it gives to the creditor or mortgagee over other creditors. It gives only a lien, without transferring either the title or possession of the thing subject to it. The failure to pay the debt or perform the obligation, which it is intended to secure, does not vest the title in the mortgagee. It gives him only the right to have the property sold, and to be paid out of its price, in preference to other creditors of the mortgagor; and his right adheres to the property itself, into whose-soever hands it may pass. Mortgages are of three classes: 1st. That which results from an express agreement in writing between the debtor and creditor, and is called the *conventional mortgage*: 2d. Judicial, which results from a judgment rendered against a debtor, from the day of its rendition: and, 3d. Tacit or legal mortgages, which exist by virtue of the law alone. Conventional and judicial mortgages have no effect against third persons, until recorded or registered in the office of the register of mortgages. Tacit or legal mortgages exist without any agreement, on all the property of the debtor. The minor has such a mortgage on all the property of his tutor, which dates and takes effect, from the day of his appointment—the wife on her husband's estate, for the restitution of her dowry and dotal effects, alienated by her husband, which she brought into marriage—for the restitution of similar effects accrued to her during marriage—to indemnify her against debts contracted by her jointly with him, and to replace her hereditary property alienated for his benefit. Numerous other tacit mortgages, in similar cases, are enumerated by the code, which create such a confusion of incumbrances, that it is dangerous to deal with a man whose situation in the general relations of society is not well understood. No public notice by registry, is required to give legal mortgages effect against third persons, and those secret liens attach to all

the immoveables, present and future, of the debtor. This evil was partially remedied by an Act of the legislature, in 1813. Mortgages are either general or special—general when they affect all the immoveables of the debtor, present and future; and special when only specific property is affected. Moveables are not subject to mortgage.

On the failure of payment of the sum secured by mortgage, the remedy of the mortgage creditor varies according to the evidence of his right, and according to the situation of the property. If the contract be evidenced by an authentic act, that is an act passed before a notary public and two witnesses, it is considered as importing a confession of judgment; and, if the property be still in possession of the debtor, the creditor may, on making oath that the debt is due, obtain from a judge in chambers, a summary order of seizure and sale; and the property is sold as under an ordinary *fieri facias*. But if the title be not authentic, judgment must be obtained in the ordinary way. And if the property has been alienated, even when the title is authentic, a judgment must be first obtained, and its seizure may then be ordered, on producing a copy of the mortgage, and a copy of the judgment, supported by the oath of the creditor, that the amount is due and unpaid, and that the property is in possession of a third person; but it cannot be seized, until after ten days' notice to the third possessor, who has a right within that delay, either to pay the debt, or abandon the property to be sold, or make any legal opposition to the sale—grounded on a want of registry, payment, or that there is other property yet in possession of the debtor, subject to the same mortgage, and which ought to be first sold.

Privileges are a species of mortgage of a higher order, which derive their force and preference, not from their priority of date or registry, but from the nature and consideration of the debt, whose payment they are intended to secure; and which alone, without any record, gives them a preference over other creditors, even hypothecary. The whole doctrine of mortgages and privileges, rests on the fundamental principle, that all the property of a debtor forms the common pledge of his creditors, and that each would be entitled to be paid in equal proportion out of its proceeds, were it not for the preference allowed by the law in favour of particular creditors, a preference created either by previous contract, or by mere operation of law, as in mortgages of different kinds, or resulting from the nature of the debt itself, as in cases of privileges. Moveables as well as immoveables, are subject to privileges. There are three classes of privileges: 1st. Those which exist at the same time on all the immoveables and moveables of the debtor: 2d. Those which exist only on parti-

cular moveables: and, 3d. Those which exist only on particular immoveables.

The first class embraces funeral charges, law charges, medical attendance during the last sickness, wages of domestics for the last or current year, the price of provisions furnished the family during the last six months by butchers, bakers, and the like; and during the last year, by boarding houses and taverns—creditors of this class are entitled to be paid out of the whole mass, in the order mentioned, in preference to all others, even those having special or legal mortgages of an anterior date.

The second class embraces wages of overseers for the last or current year, on the crop of the year—landlords for the rent of lands or houses, or the hire of slaves engaged in farming on the crop, and furniture in the house or farm, and on every thing which serves for working the farm—the debt secured by special pledge, on the thing pledged—for money expended in preserving the thing—the price due for moveables, when they remain in the purchaser's possession—tavern bills on the effects of the traveller left with the innkeeper—charges of carriers on the thing carried, and debts arising from abuses and peculation of public officers, on the amount of their official bonds.

The third class includes the privilege of the vendor of an immoveable on the immoveable itself, for the payment of the price, whether sold on a credit or not, and whether any special mortgage be reserved or not, provided there has been no novation of the debt; the privilege of architects and other undertakers, bricklayers and other workmen employed in constructing or repairing houses or other edifices, on the buildings constructed or repaired by them.

Prescription, which the code, it will be recollected, ranks among the modes of acquiring property, is, in effect, nothing but a limitation of actions. The law, by fixing the period within which a suit must be brought, virtually exonerates a debtor from the payment of his debt, on the presumption arising from the mere lapse of time, that it has been paid, or confirms a defective title to land possessed by him, by barring the action of the legitimate proprietor.

The longest prescription is that of thirty years; after that period, all personal and real actions are for ever barred. The naked possessor of an immoveable, after thirty years uninterrupted and public possession, without any title, cannot be disturbed.

He who possesses an immoveable by virtue of a *just title*, that is, a title capable from its nature of transferring the property, such as sale, legacy, donation, or the like, which causes him to be considered as holding, *animo domini*, during ten consecutive years, when the adverse claimant lives in the state, or twenty when he lives abroad, acquires a perfect right by prescription.



But a title defective in legal form, cannot form the basis of the ten years' prescription. By defect in form, is not meant either a want of title in the grantor, or a deviation from any set words of conveyance, but a nullity arising from the legal incapacity of the grantors—for example, a sale of minor's property by a tutor, without pursuing the formalities required by law.

After ten years also, architects or undertakers are released from all responsibility, on account of brick or stone buildings erected by them; and, after five years, on account of frame buildings, or frames filled with brick.

Moveables are prescribed for, after a public and notorious possession of three years, if the adverse claimant live in the state, unless the thing has been stolen.

Claims of teachers, for lessons given by the month by teachers, are prescribed in one year, unless a settlement has taken place, and a note given. The same rule applies to the charges of keepers of taverns, inns, and boarding houses, for boarding and lodging—to day labourers for their work and materials furnished, and domestics who let their services by the year.

Arrears due on life annuities, alimony, the rent of houses, and rural estates, interest of money, and every thing generally payable by the year, may be prescribed against after five years.

Prescription does not run against minors, and persons interdicted, nor generally against married women. “*Contra non valentem agere, non currit proscriptio.*”

We have omitted to mention several modes of acquiring property, recognised by the code, such as by accession, by occupancy, by the effects of quasi contracts, and torts, nor will we detain our readers by any remarks on the last title, which treats of seizure and sale. It was our design only to call the public attention to a system of laws existing among us, presenting peculiar features, to point out some of those peculiarities, and to inquire into the aptitude of that system to a popular government. To go into a minute analysis, would require more space than we can devote to the subject. Before we proceed to make any remarks on the new code, promulgated in 1824, which is also mentioned at the head of this article, we will simply observe, that the digest of the civil law which we have been examining, has generally been denominated a code; with what propriety, we leave it to our readers to decide. If by code be meant an entire, regular system of enactment, to serve as the conclusive guide of the courts, in matters of which it treats, to be construed without reference to other enactments, then it does not deserve that appellation. It seems to us, as we have before intimated, rather a *synopsis* of the jurisprudence of Spain, and bears the same relation to the great body of her laws, that the Institutes of Justinian do to the Pandects, the Code, and the Novels; a

mere introduction to the study of the Roman law, and embracing only the first elements of legal science. It continued in operation for fourteen years, without any material innovation. During that period, the supreme court of the state, composed of judges of varied learning and deep research, rendered a series of decisions, which disclosed the real character of the code, and proved the danger of being governed by laws, for the most part locked up in a foreign language, and only promulgated for the information of the people at large, by the very adjudications which revealed them, and which were decided by them. In the mean time, a system of kindred features in France had been in operation; a long train of decisions by the court of cassation, had fixed in a great measure its just interpretation; it had been illustrated article by article, by almost numberless commentators, of the first order of genius and legal acquirements, whose writings had become the manuals of the profession in Louisiana. All these formed the most ample and splendid materials for the collaboration of a reformed code, which was much wanted. In March 1822, the legislature by a joint resolution declared, that "three jurisconsults be appointed, by joint ballot of both houses of the general assembly, to revise the civil code, by amending the same in such a manner as they shall deem advisable, and by adding under each book, title and chapter of said work, such of the laws as are still in force, and not included therein, in order that the whole may be submitted to the legislature, at its first session, or as soon as said work has been completed." They were authorized to add a system of commercial law, and a code of practice. In pursuance of this resolution, Messrs. Derbigny, Livingston, and Moreau Lislet, all distinguished for their profound knowledge of the laws, and eminently qualified, were selected to accomplish the difficult and delicate task of giving this last finish to the legislation of the state. We proceed to examine the result of their labours, which was submitted in due time to the legislature, and after various modifications proposed during its discussion, was finally adopted and promulgated in 1824, under the title of "the Civil Code of the State of Louisiana."

Before noticing the important changes which it has introduced, we will call the attention of our readers to the studied and cautious ambiguity of the general repealing clause, from which the character of the code, either as cumulative to previous enactments, or as constituting an original and unique system, is to be ascertained. It declares that "from and after the promulgation of this code, the Spanish, Roman, and French laws, which were in force when Louisiana was ceded to the United States, and the Acts of the legislative council of the legislature of the territory of Orleans, and of the legislature of the state of Louisiana, be and are hereby repealed, in every case for which it has been specially provided in

this code, and that they shall not be invoked as laws, even under the pretext that their provisions are not contrary or repugnant to this code." It would seem that where the code is silent on a particular matter, any pre-existing law on that subject, whether of French or Spanish origin, or of native growth, would be considered as still in force; and we believe it has been already decided, that the title of seizure and sale, contained in the old code, and not expressly re-enacted in the new, is yet in operation. But where the new code enacts a general rule on a given subject, and a Spanish law on the same subject contains an exception not specially provided for in the code, does the exception yet exist? Can the Spanish law be invoked at all as a statute in *pari materia*? and will such be considered as "*a case for which it has been specially provided?*" These are questions which we are not prepared to answer; and indeed, we fear that the admirers of codification will be disappointed, if they expect to find the new code that perfect guide which carries its own light with it, which requires no aid in its construction and application, from the wisdom of the past, and from the pre-existing legislation of the country. The truth is, that no code ever provided specially for *cases*, in the literal signification of the word. The most that can be done, is to establish general principles, and leave their application to *cases* as they arise, to the appropriate department of the government. Undoubtedly that is the best system, which by a full, simple, and unambiguous enunciation of elementary principles, leaves the least room to judicial discretion, as he is the best judge who takes the least upon himself, and who considers in the language of Cicero, the law as but the silent magistrate, and the magistrate as but speaking law. But there will always grow up by the side of the most faultless human legislation, a species of secondary legislation; a *jurisprudence des arrêts*, which consists, not of new principles ingrafted into the system by the courts, but of the development of the system itself, in its practical application to particular cases, as they arise in the complex transactions of society, not distinctly anticipated by the legislator; but in the last analysis they will be found to be mere corollaries, precisely as the most complicated calculations of the mathematician, resolve themselves into a few simple and obvious elements.

The new code, independently of the great changes which it has introduced, to some of which we shall advert by and by, is much more full and explicit in the doctrinal parts, than the former digest. The theory of obligations particularly deserves to be mentioned, as comprising in a condensed, and even elegant form, the most satisfactory enunciation of general principles. The jurisconsults appear to have profited greatly by the great work of Toullier, entitled "*Le Droit Civil Français*," recently published in France, and often referred to in the reports before us. It is

indeed a work of rare excellence, at once profound, lucid, and eloquent. Many of the decisions of the supreme court have been incorporated into the code. The general arrangement of matter is the same; the same division into books, titles, and chapters, and subdivision into articles, except that the articles are numbered from the beginning through the code, which renders it much more convenient for reference. It contains 3522 articles, and a title has been added to fix the signification of words used in the work.

The most striking and material changes introduced by the new code, relate to the rules of succession, and the enlarged liberty of disposing of property by last will, by curtailing the portions which must be reserved for forced heirs. No change has been made in the succession of descendants. It will be recollected, that by the former system, ascendants, however remote, excluded all collaterals, even brothers and sisters; but by the new code, when the deceased has left no descendants, having father and mother, brothers and sisters, or the descendants of the latter, the estate is divided into two equal portions, of which one half goes to the parents to be equally divided between them, and the other half to the brothers and sisters, or their representatives; but if only one parent survive, then the portion which he or she would have inherited, goes to the brothers and sisters, thus giving them three-fourths, and the surviving parent one-fourth of the estate. But if the deceased has left neither father nor mother, nor brother nor sister, nor descendants of the latter, but only more remote descendants, they inherit the whole, to the exclusion of other collaterals. If there be ascendants in the same degree, in both paternal and maternal lines, the estate is equally divided between the two lines, whether the number of ascendants be equal or not in each line, and they inherit per capita; but if there be in the nearest degree only one ascendant in the two lines, he excludes the more remote. Ascendants inherit exclusively the real estate, and slaves given by them to their children, or other descendants, if the objects themselves exist in the succession; and if they have been alienated; and a part or the whole of the price unpaid, they are entitled to receive it, and they also succeed to the right of redeeming the property thus alienated, if sold under such a condition. They also take back from the estate of a child deceased without issue, the dower settled by them in money.

Brothers and sisters, or their descendants, exclude more remote ascendants than father and mother, and inherit in concurrence with the latter, as above stated. The partition among brothers and sisters is made in equal portions, if they are all of the same marriage; but if there be some full brothers, and others of the half blood, the estate which they are to inherit, is divided

into two portions, of which the full brothers together take one half, and come in for their proportion of the other half, in concurrence with the half brothers, according to the number of all the brothers taken together.

The new code regulates the disposable portion and the reserved portion, or *legitime*, as follows: Ascendants can dispose of two-thirds of their estate, if they have but one descendant; if two, they may dispose of one half only; and one-third, if they have more than two children. More remote ascendants are no longer considered as forced heirs; their descendants may dispose of the whole of their property without reservation in their favour.

The natural father may give by donation *inter vivos*, or *mortis causâ*, to a natural child, duly acknowledged, one-fourth of his property, if he leave legitimate ascendants, or brothers, or sisters, or their descendants, reserving three-fourths for them; and he may give one-third to the prejudice of more remote collaterals, and in both cases he can give no part of the residue to strangers.

The forms of testaments remain as before, except that two kinds of less formal wills are recognised. The one is what is called the military testament, which may be made by persons employed in armies in the field, or on a military expedition, and may be received by a commissioned officer, in presence of two witnesses. It may be, in certain cases, received by the surgeon; but becomes null six months after the return of the testator to a place where he has an opportunity of employing the usual forms. Testaments made during a voyage at sea, may be received by the captain or master in presence of three witnesses, taken by preference from among the passengers; in default of them, from among the crew: but it is not valid, unless the testator dies at sea, or within three months after arriving where he is able to employ the usual forms.

Some of the clauses of disinheritance, recognised by the old code, have been expressly abrogated, to wit: in relation to descendants, the ninth and twelfth above enumerated, and in relation to ascendants, the eighth; leaving the rest in force. Testaments made abroad, are considered as valid, in relation to property in the state, if formal, according to the laws of the place where they are made. Another feature of great liberality has ever marked this system; that aliens are permitted to inherit, and transmit by inheritance, any species of property in the state.

The new order of succession conforms to that established in France by the Code Napoleon, and will be found to be copied almost precisely from the 118th novel of Justinian, from which the Spanish rules of descent had deviated in some essential particulars. The law, in preferring brothers and sisters to a

grandfather or grandmother, or even more remote ancestors, has wisely consulted the probable wishes, as well as the natural duty of the intestate, and makes such a disposition of his estate as he probably would have done, had he made a will. Natural children, duly acknowledged, in France, are entitled *by law* to the same portion of their father and mother's estate as they are *capable of receiving* in Louisiana, by donation or testament; and here they can claim nothing except alimony, whenever they have not been expressly provided for, and never inherit as heirs, concurrently with legitimate children or ascendants.

By the former code, and the general principles of the law, a surety could not complain that the creditors had given an indulgence to the principal debtor, and could not discharge himself, unless the creditor had by his act put it out of his own power to subrogate the sureties, in all his recourse against the debtor on receiving payment from the party; but by the new code, "the prolongation of the term granted to the principal debtor, without the consent of the surety, operates the discharge of the latter."

It has struck us, also, that more satisfactory provisions have been made for the administration of estates by the new code; that creditors have a more direct and better marked cause to pursue for the attainment of their rights, and that when a succession is accepted with the benefit of an inventory, the beneficiary heir is subjected to the more immediate control of creditors. In these particulars, the system is greatly improved.

Essential changes have been made in the title of prescriptions. None now exist, which are not expressly enumerated in the code. Actions on bills of exchange and promissory notes, and on all effects transferrable by endorsement or delivery, except bank notes, are prescribed in five years, instead of thirty, as by the old code. The doctrine of mortgages and privileges remains essentially the same. In addition, however, to the legal mortgage in favour of the wife on her husband's real estate, to secure the restoration of her dowry, and other rights, she has a privilege on the moveables, which gives her, however, only a preference over simple creditors for her *dowry* alone. There still remain many secret or tacit liens on real estate, arising out of, or resulting from acts of administration, or intermeddling in the concerns of minors, which occur in the ordinary business of life, of which no adequate notice can be given to strangers by a public record. In relation to these incumbrances alone, the maxim of caveat emptor emphatically applies; but the basis of the whole system of judicial and conventional mortgages, is publicity; and he who neglects to inscribe or record his judgment or his contract, cannot avail himself of it to the prejudice of third persons, who have acquired rights in ignorance of its existence. Even a

judgment recovered in another state, and recorded in Louisiana, creates a mortgage on all the property of the debtor, from the date of its registry.

A detailed comparison of the two codes, and a minute examination of the changes which have been introduced, did not enter into our plan. We have glanced at the more prominent, and some of the most important alterations, and which have, in our opinion, rendered the system much more perfect. Such then is a general outline of the jurisprudence of Louisiana. That some parts of it are liable to serious objections, cannot be denied. The distressing revulsion of families, which might be occasioned by the effect of the matrimonial community of gains, may be imagined. A man commences his career in life with nothing—he marries a woman equally poor—by his unwearied exertions, he accumulates an easy competence. If he has the misfortune to lose his wife, and to be childless in the decline of life, her succession is opened—her heirs force a participation of all the property in his possession, and one-half of his earnings is torn from him to enrich strangers. If he has children who have already attained the age of majority, or are married, it aggravates his calamity to be stripped by perhaps spendthrift sons, or sons-in-law, who become entitled to one-half in right of their mother. On the other hand, he has minor children—he liquidates the succession, and holds one-half as tutor of his children, and his property is tacitly mortgaged towards them, for the amount. He dashes into commerce, involves himself with those who are ignorant of his domestic engagements—he fails, and his children come forward and sweep the whole of his remaining property from the grasp of his just creditors. At the same time, the ample guards provided for the protection of the property of the wife, which was hers before marriage, when properly understood and administered, are but just and proper; for why should marriage be means of acquiring property? Or why an heiress lose at once her fortune, her name, and her legal identity, by contracting an engagement of that character with a man, who perhaps aims at nothing but her fortune? It is enough that he is permitted to use and enjoy it, without having the power to leave her a beggar, by his extravagance and folly. That the name of a wife is often used under such a system, to frustrate the rights of creditors, cannot be denied; but this is an evil not inherent in the system itself, when well understood, but growing out of its abuse and perversion to purposes of fraud.

It has also been alleged as a glaring defect, that a man is not permitted to dispose of his whole property by last will as he pleases—that he is under the tutelage of his presumptive heirs—that parental authority is weakened, and by rendering children independent, they become disobedient, and the harmony and

subordination of families are endangered. On the other hand, it may be answered, that some general rule of succession is indispensable—that no man should be permitted, without just cause, to derogate from that established order of descent; and that children succeed by natural, rather than positive right, as every man who becomes a father, is bound by the law of nature to provide for his offspring. The law therefore makes such a disposition of his estate at his decease, as he ought to make of it himself, and as it is presumed he would have done, with a proper sense of his natural and moral obligations; and he is therefore restrained from capriciously and wantonly disposing of his whole estate, to the prejudice of those whom it is his duty to support and to protect. If the disobedience of children, occasioned by a knowledge of eventual rights, be sometimes to be feared, it appears to us, that the sordid submission inspired by a fear of being disinherited, is not a very precious virtue.

To conclude. The system of jurisprudence, which prevails in Louisiana, is of venerable antiquity, and unites with those admirable provisions for the protection of personal liberty, which it has borrowed from the common law of England, in return for the many important maxims which the latter had so largely imbibed from it, is one at once elegant in theory, and adequate in practice to all the essential purposes of social life. We trust that no rash band of innovating theorists will be laid upon it—that it will be permitted to receive its full development in its operation. It rests upon a solid foundation—the *written reason* of Rome. Those nations of modern times, where it has always prevailed with some modifications, as they emerged from barbarism, found it already reduced to the regularity of a moral science, and Rome still surviving and immortal in her laws. It has been illustrated by the ablest writers of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain. It rests on no loose, floating, and traditional maxims—no fictitious statutes worn out by time; and its substratum is of *primitive formation*, and not composed of successive deposits—the mere alluvion of judicial dicta.

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ART. IV.—*Mexico in 1827.* By H. G. WARD, Esq. *His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in that Country, during the years 1825, 1826, and part of 1827.* London, 1828. 2 vols. 8vo.

OUR neighbours of Mexico have hitherto had little reason to be proud of the notice of the literary world. With as many incentives to rational curiosity, and as many worthy objects of in-



spection and observation, physical as well as moral, as any country on the globe, Mexico seems to have afforded no sufficient attraction to the book-making voyager, and, in what may be called peculiarly the age of travelling, to have been the object of singular neglect. Every other portion of the western world has been explored. Colombia and Peru have been the subjects of elaborate description; we have had our Fearons and our Fauces; and yet Mexico, flooded as it has been by adventurers of all ranks and pursuits, has been the theme of not more than half a dozen works; and those, with a single exception, of less than ordinary merit. Presuming that they are little known to our readers, we feel the less hesitation in referring to one or two of the most distinguished.

The first in the series, is Mr. Bullock's *Six Months in Mexico*; which was ushered into notice, with every possible inducement to admiration and good will, under the auspices, if we mistake not, of fashion and of wealth, and with all the attractions which the English press could afford. Of this work, the production of a good-natured and well-meaning, though not very profound or well-informed individual, we are unwilling to speak harshly; but really such disappointment as is common, we believe, with every other reader, we experienced on closing the thick octavo, is not easily borne; and we have not yet forgotten the pre-eminent dulness of Mr. Bullock's vapid panegyrics and egotistical details, in the course of which, no fact worth remembrance occurs to afford relief; his recital of personal accidents and mishaps, of narrow escapes and perilous exposures, and last, not least, his ridiculous specimens of barbarous Spanish, all of which have combined to raise his itinerary to a most ludicrous distinction. A fact may be mentioned in connexion with this book, which is interesting as serving to illustrate the extreme credulity which at one time distinguished the speculators in England. Mr. Bullock, whilst on a visit to the mining district of Temascaltepec, conceived, for what reason it is not easy to say, that he had discovered a valuable metallic vein, which had hitherto escaped all observation, and which, if worked with energy, would yield most abundant returns. The miners in the neighbourhood gave him no encouragement; the records of the district afforded him no ground for hope. But Mr. Bullock's enthusiasm blinded him to all discouragement; and, in 1823, after taking possession of the mine, on condition of working it, or to use the technical phrase, after *denouncing* it, he returned to England and published his book in which all his gay anticipations were set forth, and the praises of the mine reiterated. A company was formed, and stock subscribed—Mr. Baring being the principal patron of the scheme, and Mr. Bullock returned to Mexico to superintend the operations, with a salary of seven

hundred sterling per annum. After erecting expensive works to effect the drainage, and having built not only very excellent accommodations for the family of the director, but a large and costly house for the amalgamation and preparation of the undiscovered ores, he ascertained within two years, that the mine was utterly worthless; and the company was dissolved, after sustaining at a moderate estimate, a loss of 20,000 pounds sterling. The ruined or rather unfinished works of Dal Vado, now remain to attest the fallacy of all the theories contained in the Six Months in Mexico in relation to mining operations, and of the culpable facility with which the most experienced commercial men in Great Britain lent the authority of their names to schemes so utterly futile.\*

The Notes on Mexico, from the pen of one of our distinguished fellow-citizens, aspired to little more than a brief itinerary of a rapid tour through the country, and was intended not as giving an adequate account even of its physical resources and appearance, but as a sketch of the general character of a region whither public attention had recently been directed. Mr. Poinsett passed altogether less than two months in the country, and, in that time, travelled at least three hundred leagues. Such expedition was not compatible with minute or accurate observation; and, while we readily acknowledge the well known talent of the author, we say nothing that is by any construction unkind or disrespectful, when we repeat, that it was not such a work as we wished to see, and that it does not supply the deficiency of which we have complained. A residence of several years in the capital of the republic, with every opportunity of acquiring information, and of forming a true estimate of the moral and intellectual capacity of the people, has since enabled the gentleman to whom we have referred to supply the defect. The public has indeed a right to expect that, so soon as those connexions are at an end, which now render silence a matter both of delicacy and duty, he will give us the result of his experience and observation in a more expanded form. Such a production would bear the stamp of high authority, and must be entitled to great consideration and respect.

Captain Lyon, of the British Navy, already advantageously

\* We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of paying a merited compliment to Professor W. H. Keating of Philadelphia, now Director of the Baltimore Mining Company at Temascaltepec. With his professional merit and distinguished ability as a man of science the public are well acquainted. The sacrifice of personal convenience and enjoyment which he has made during his residence in Mexico, and the rigid and disinterested economy with which he has administered the funds of his employers, stand in strong contrast to the wasteful extravagance of a majority of the English agents. If talent and integrity on the part of the agent be alone required to ensure the success of the speculation, our fellow-citizens have every reason to be sanguine.

known to the public as the author of a spirited account of one of the polar expeditions, has recently published the journal of his residence in different parts of Mexico, though like most of his predecessors, in a very meagre and unsatisfactory form. The circumstances attending his visit were of a peculiarly favourable character. They were such as to increase our regret that the result of his inquiries and observations should be so little valuable. In the year 1826, the Real del Monte and Bolaños Mining Companies in London, feeling some anxiety as to their prospects, and, we have reason to believe, distrusting the ability, and, in a degree, the fidelity of their directors in Mexico, thought fit to send to that country commissioners, who, with other ostensible objects, were to examine into the condition of the works and give to their constituents such information as would enable them to estimate the merits of their agents, and rectify any abuses which might exist. In the choice of these commissioners, the greatest circumspection was used, and a successful effort made to select individuals who, by their experience and scientific acquisitions, should do justice to the objects of the mission. Captain Lyon was placed at the head of it; and we are to presume, from what is known of the ability of that gentleman and his colleagues, that the expectations of their employers were not disappointed. The public, however, who judge by the work he has laid before them, have much less reason to be satisfied. The opportunities and facilities which he enjoyed were so great as not unreasonably to encourage the hope, that much new and valuable information, more particularly connected with mining operations, would have been laid before the world. Such hopes not being gratified, the belief naturally intrudes itself, that Captain Lyon possessed more materials than he was willing to display, and that he discovered a scene of gross abuse, which it was the interest of the corporations he represented, and by whose directions he was governed, carefully to hide from public view. With the exception of occasional essays in the *English Reviews*, no attempt has hitherto been made to lay open the various schemes, which, under the name of mining speculations, were put in motion in Great Britain. The complicated machinery is still concealed, which acted so powerfully, and produced results so calamitous and disreputable. The mystery which has ever enveloped these peculiar stock-jobs, is as dark and impenetrable as ever. We therefore the more regret, when a competent individual either slurs over the business of inquiry, or is compelled to keep silence by circumstances beyond his control. Without apprehending *now* any danger to our countrymen from the contagion of such operations, we would, as a matter of mere curiosity, desire to know all the incidents to the foreign mining schemes, to see all the active springs, and trace the progress of the distinguishing pro-

ject of the age, from the period of its birth to the condition of gasping vitality in which it now is; to watch it from the gay era of its creation, from the glittering inducements of the first proposals, with all the array of certificates and the authority of names, to the flat recital of a weekly price current,\* where in the whole catalogue of mining shares all are quoted at a discount. It is, however, almost too soon to expect such a disclosure. If Captain Lyon has not satisfied our expectation on this score, we must do him the justice to say, he has given an agreeable history of his adventures, while wandering over a most peculiar region, and that his book, with all its defects, is evidently the work of a man of education and a gentleman.

Mr. H. G. Ward, the late British Chargé d'Affaires in New Spain, and who recently returned to England, after paying a short visit to the United States, has, within the last few months, published an elaborate work, under the title of *Mexico in 1827*. With this publication, as one possessing more than ordinary merit, and as being the only work of authority which has appeared since Humboldt we wish to make our readers acquainted. We scarcely hesitate to say, aware at the time that we may be suspected of a disposition to bestow excessive praise, that from the agreeable manner in which its materials are put together and the attractive form in which it is presented, the tedium of statistical detail being qualified by the interest of personal narrative, in popular estimation, *Mexico in 1827* will supersede the *Political Essay*.

Mr. Ward's opportunities were excellent. He appears too, to have uniformly availed himself of all means of increasing them, and by his inquisitive and active turn of mind, in all instances, in the prosecution of useful inquiry, to have gone far beyond the letter of his instructions. In the year 1823, a commission was despatched by the British government to Mexico, composed of four individuals of whom Mr. Ward was one, corresponding in its objects to the mission sent by Mr. Monroe to Buenos Ayres, in 1818, intended as a measure of precaution and calculated to prevent the ill effects of a premature recognition of independence. In less than two months the business of the commission was so far concluded as to enable Mr. Ward to return to England, which he did in February 1824. On the recognition by Great Britain, Mr. Ward received the appointment of Chargé to Mexico, in which capacity he returned to that country in 1825, a short time subsequent to the arrival of our diplomatic representative, and there remained until the middle of the last year. Two such visits, made under circumstances so peculiar, enabled our author not merely to acquire accurate information, but to institute the most interesting comparisons, and thence to calculate the probable improvement which was to be anticipat-

ed. In the year of his first arrival, the storm of war had not ceased and a heavy swell, the dangerous sequel to the recent political tempest, still agitated the community and prevented the newly formed institutions from settling on secure foundations. The castle at Vera Cruz was held by the Spanish troops, and an active unremitting warfare was maintained with the batteries of the town, which afforded little hope that the strength of the oppressors was exhausted, or that they were so far dispirited as to neglect to seize any opportunity which might occur of restoring their power. The channels of trade were not yet cleared; intestine commotion not yet composed; and the secret influence of a party, hostile to the new system, was operating insidiously and actively. The government was administered by a temporary executive, composed of three prominent leaders of the revolutionary armies who delegated the duties to a subordinate commission. A constitution had scarcely been projected, and the aspect of every thing was in all respects decidedly revolutionary. From the period of Mr. Ward's return to Mexico, to his final departure, a different scene was presented. A constitution, formed upon the best model, had been adopted and the machine of government, once set in motion, moved actively and steadily. The work of organization was completed, and the members of the new community, inspired by the brilliant prospect before them, and with nothing to retard their advance but the influence of ancient habits, and the confusion incident to party conflicts, were earnestly co-operating to elevate their country on the scale of nations. The contrast was highly interesting, and from the conclusions drawn from it, Mr. Ward's book derives its principal value.

The work is divided into two sections, one containing the valuable information collected by the author on subjects intimately connected with the interests of the republic, and the statistical details which he has prepared. Humboldt's statements are reviewed and examined, and the tables he has given, continued to the present day. The second part consists of a personal narrative of a residence and travels in the country. In the course of the following pages we will endeavour to present to our readers a view of the result of Mr. Ward's experience, with such remarks of our own as may be necessary to illustrate our opinions, when they are at variance from his, and such additional details as an attentive consideration of the subject, and some research, have enabled us to collect.

The revolution in Mexico commenced with the deposition of the viceroy Iturrigaray, in 1808, and ended with the fall of the last Spanish fortress north of the equator, in 1825. During a period of at least twelve years, the most populous provinces of New Spain were the scenes of irregular and generally savage

contests. Plunder and extermination went hand in hand with victory ; and at the close of the war, such had been the nature of the contest, that the moral and intellectual character of the people was in no material degree improved. The conflict was one of physical forces merely ; little moral energy had been brought into action ; and while the revolutionary annals are adorned by numerous instances of heroic courage in the field, there is an utter barrenness of that modest, unobtrusive heroism which in other countries, in the cabinet and councils, has inspired deeds of romantic self-denial, and patriotic devotion. During the period of active war, the nation had properly no civil government. The contest was purely military. The few civilians who were distinguished in the insurgent ranks, such as Hidalgo, Morelos, Allende and others, were soon converted, not merely into soldiers, but into cruel, merciless soldiers who seemed disposed to drown the recollection of their ancient pacific profession in the torrents of blood they caused to flow. The influence of the press was unfelt ; no facilities existed for the diffusion of information ; and if there had at first been found even a small proportion of men of a less warlike character, who, in the intervals of repose which all wars afford, might have served their country by the exercise of civil virtues, such was the nature of the contest, as well as its duration, that the influence of these habits would have been but slightly felt. A war of fifteen years makes every man a soldier. It need not be said that our revolution exhibits a different aspect, and that its annals are as much adorned by the trials and achievements of our civilians, as our warriors. The colonial history of New Spain presents nothing analogous to the provincial assemblies of British America, since the *ayuntamientos*, to which alone the Creoles were eligible, had cognizance of little else than the municipal regulations of the towns. The occasional councils of the Mexican patriots, deliberating (if the phrase be admissible,) amid the bustle of a camp, agitated by the conflicting opinions and unbridled passions of the different chiefs, and never secure from hostile interruption, can with as little propriety be compared to the Continental Congress. With the exception of the Convention convoked by Rayon, in 1811, there was no power known or felt, and *that*, as the event proved, was short-lived amid the storm. There was between the different leaders no further concert than the necessity of the moment required and no common feeling but that of hostility to Spain. Each leader chose his district, and within its limits exercised exclusive control. The troops, composed of Indians and of the most degraded of the Creoles, supported themselves by plunder and were careless as to the regularity of their pay, as long as the presence of a powerful and relentless enemy intimidated, or the prospect of rapine inspired them. All the cities were in the pos-

session of the Spanish troops. The surface of the country is so much broken and opposes so many difficulties to regular or easy intercourse, that it was nearly impossible, in time of war, to establish a system of steady and systematic co-operation. There was no common principle of action, no efficient combination of force, and little disposition on the part of the various leaders to yield their accidental territorial authority to any power that might superintend or control them.

Of her military men, Mexico has reason to be proud. Her soldiers were gallant, patriotic, and persevering. No danger appalled them; no variety of exposure and distress exhausted them. Few nations can boast of more honourable names, as relates to military fame, than those of Morelos, Rayon, Victoria, Bravo, and Guerrero. Their deeds seem to be remembered by their fellow citizens with fervent gratitude, and their memory will be cherished by future ages, when the recollection of the errors of their course shall have failed. Besides these leaders of renown, there were in subordinate stations, many, who, had their lot been differently cast, would have been equally distinguished. On the mass of the native population, the urgent motive to rebellion was not a sense of political injury, but a kind of personal antipathy to the Spanish residents; and so fierce did this antipathy become, that it inspired the most romantic devotion and determined resolution. The civil deprivations, the commercial impediments, the long series of acts of political injustice and colonial oppression, were forgotten by the body of the people, but the personal insults which the Spaniards wantonly inflicted; the haughty insolence of a privileged order, who rejected gentleness and conciliation as the worst policy; who disdained apology for conduct however criminal and oppressive, and whose answer to all complaints, was "*eres Criollo y basta*," rankled in the bosoms of all, and were the active agents in the promotion of universal revolt. Justice would not have satisfied the Creoles, without revenge; and a deep and bloody vengeance they were at last enabled to take. Deeds of the most chivalrous heroism are recorded by the historians of the times. The humblest Indian, a being in the hour of tranquillity meek and gentle, but in the moment of excitement fierce and relentless, seemed determined to rival the white in acts of hardihood and deeds of blood. One which we have somewhere seen recorded, we will here mention. For three years the small island of Mescala, situated in the lake of Chapala, was occupied by a number of the Indians of the country, and defended against a large Spanish force, commanded by General Cruz. Though straitened by famine, and exposed to necessities of every kind, their resolution never flagged, and by their activity and unconquerable energies they not only were enabled to maintain a vigilant defence, but occasionally to attack the Spa-

nish out-posts, and spread terror and havoc among the besiegers. When at last such a force was collected by the European commander, as to render further opposition useless, a message was sent by him, that unless there was a timely surrender, no one should be spared. The Indians returned the heroic answer, "Que corra la sangre!" (Let the blood flow!) The threat was carried into execution, and after a gallant resistance, every one of the brave defenders was put to the sword.

We quote from Mr. Ward the following romantic account of the sufferings of General Victoria during a period of the war:—

"Victoria's trials did not cease with this pursuit: harassed, and worn out, by the fatigues which he had undergone, his clothes torn to pieces, and his body lacerated by the thorny underwood of the tropics, he was indeed allowed a little tranquillity; but his sufferings were still almost incredible. During the summer, he managed to subsist upon the fruits of which nature is so lavish in those climates; but in the winter he was attenuated by hunger, and I have heard him repeatedly affirm, that no repast has afforded him so much pleasure since, as he experienced, after being long deprived of food, in gnawing the bones of horses, or other animals, that he happened to find dead in the woods. By degrees, he accustomed himself to such abstinence, that he could refrain four, and even five days, without tasting any thing but water, without experiencing any serious inconvenience; but whenever he was deprived of sustenance for a longer period, his sufferings were very acute. For thirty months he never tasted bread, nor saw a human being, nor thought, at times, ever to see one again. His clothes were reduced to a single wrapper of cotton, which he found one day, when driven by hunger he had approached nearer than usual to some Indian huts, and this he regarded as an inestimable treasure.

"The mode in which Victoria, cut off, as he was, from all communication from the world, received intelligence of the revolution of 1821, is hardly less extraordinary than the fact of his having been able to support existence amidst so many hardships, during the intervening period.

"When in 1818 he was abandoned by all the rest of his men, he was asked by two Indians, who lingered with him to the last, and on whose fidelity he knew he could rely, if any change took place, where he wished them to look for him? He pointed, in reply, to a mountain at some distance, and told them that on that mountain, perhaps, they might find his bones. His only reason for selecting it, was its being particularly rugged, and inaccessible, and surrounded by forests of a vast extent.

"The Indians treasured up this hint, and as soon as the first news of Iturbide's declaration reached them, they set out in quest of Victoria; they separated on arriving at the foot of the mountain, and employed six whole weeks in examining the woods with which it was covered. During this time, they lived principally by the chase; but finding their stock of maize exhausted, and all their efforts unavailing, they were about to give up the attempt, when one of them discovered, in crossing a ravine which Victoria occasionally frequented, the print of a foot, which he immediately recognised to be that of an European. By European, I mean of European descent, and consequently accustomed to wear shoes, which always give a difference of shape to the foot, very perceptible to the eye of a native. The Indian waited two days upon the spot, but seeing nothing of Victoria, and finding his supply of provisions quite at an end, he suspended upon a tree, near the place, four tortillas, or little maize cakes, which were all he had left, and set out for his village, in order to replenish his wallets, hoping that if Victoria should pass in the mean time, the tortillas would attract his attention, and convince him that some friend was in search him.

His little plan succeeded completely: Victoria, on crossing the ravine, two days afterwards, perceived the maize cakes which the birds had fortunately not devoured. He had then been four whole days without eating, and upwards of



two years without tasting bread ; and he says himself, that he devoured the tortillas before the cravings of his appetite would allow him to reflect upon the singularity of finding them on this solitary spot, where he had never before seen any trace of a human being. He was not at a loss to determine whether they had been left there by friend or foe ; but feeling sure that whoever had left them, intended to return, he concealed himself near the place, in order to observe his motions, and to take his own measures accordingly.

"Within a short time the Indian returned. Victoria instantly recognised him, and abruptly started from his concealment, in order to welcome his faithful follower ; but the man, terrified at seeing a phantom covered with hair, emaciated, and clothed only with an old cotton wrapper, advancing upon him with a sword in his hand, from amongst the bushes, took to flight ; and it was only on hearing himself repeatedly called by his name, that he recovered his composure sufficiently to recognise his old general. He was affected beyond measure at the state in which he found him, and conducted him instantly to his village, where Victoria was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The report of his re-appearance spread like lightning through the province, where it was not credited at first, so firmly was every one convinced of his death, but as soon as it was known that Guadelupé Victoria was indeed in existence, all the old insurgents rallied round him. In an incredibly short time, he induced the whole province, with the exception of the fortified towns, to declare for independence, and then set out to join Iturbide, who was at that time preparing for the siege of Mexico. He was received with great apparent cordiality ; but his independent spirit was too little in unison with Iturbide's projects, for this good understanding to continue long. Victoria had fought for a liberal form of government, and not merely for a change of masters ; and Iturbide, unable to gain him over, drove him again into the woods, during his short-lived reign, from whence he only returned to give the signal for a general rising against the too ambitious emperor."

Vicente Guerrero, the military rival of Victoria and Bravo, and now the popular leader in Mexico, was equally distinguished for his gallantry and obstinate attachment to the cause of freedom. All accounts agree in describing this extraordinary individual as distinguished by a singular energy of character, and activity of intellect. We regret that Mr. Ward has afforded so few details of his military and political career. They would clearly illustrate the peculiarities of the revolutionary struggle in Mexico, in which General Guerrero took, perhaps, a more uniformly active part, than any one of his countrymen. His ardour was too great to admit of an inactive participation in the danger of the times ; he was always on the offensive ; always beating up some unsuspecting post, or, when his means allowed it, attacking with his characteristic energy the main force of the Spaniards. His iron frame enabled him to defy exposure, and to undergo a degree of privation and suffering scarcely credible. He was the only one of the patriot chieftains who could boast of Indian lineage ; and to this distinction may be attributed in a great measure the popular favour which he has always enjoyed. With his two illustrious cotemporaries, the present president, and late vice-president, he has been the object of the affectionate admiration of the Mexicans, and may now be regarded as the only survivor of the leading men of the revolution, whose patriotism is unsuspected, and whose popularity is undiminished.

From the peculiar locality of the contending parties in Mexi-

co, the insurgents being scattered over the country, and the Spanish authorities remaining in quiet possession of the cities, one consequence of a happy nature resulted. The great libraries which had been established under the auspices of the church, were preserved untouched; and the scientific institutions which had just sprung into existence, remained unmolested. If we mistake not, every city of consequence in the republic was transferred by capitulation; and, even when the storm of war approached their walls, the protecting arm of ecclesiastical authority was stretched forth to save the institutions which that authority had called into being. Beside the great scientific establishments in the capital, the libraries and seminaries of learning in the smaller cities, whilst they show the existence of some spirit of beneficence in the Spanish government, remain the solitary useful legacies which the colonial clergy have bequeathed. The library at Puebla, which has been preserved and guarded by the watchful care of the bishop of that state, a prelate whose talents and accomplishments all travellers join in celebrating, is a proud monument of the well exercised power of the Catholic clergy.

To the purely military character of the revolution, and to the ecclesiastical institutions, may be attributed the creation of the two great interests, which existed at the close of the war. Mexico was a nation of soldiers and of priests; and, in the struggle between the two parties, the civil character of her citizens made little progress. The age of bigoted attachment to religion having passed, and the identity of devotion to the church and to the Spanish government being established by the declaration of the Pope himself, (in the *Enciclica*, or circular of 24th September 1824,) the triumph of the military followed as a matter of course. Religious enthusiasm yielded to the paramount influence; and the clergy soon found, that the only mode of maintaining even a portion of their power, was by being contented with a subordinate station in the community. If the foremost rank was yielded to the soldier, he had no objection to the exercise of power by the spiritual father in an inferior sphere. The first fruit of the military passion of the day, was the elevation of Iturbide to the throne, and the prostration of the liberties of the country at his feet. Its permanent effects are seen in the subjection of civil to military authority, and the contamination of the new republic with the poison of a morbid admiration of military fame, and eagerness for the attainment of military distinction. To this hour, the government of Mexico is, *de facto*, military. Civil offices exist, and a regularly constituted form of government has been established; but civil office seems to be little more than the recompense for military prowess. A recurrence to a list of the public functionaries, will satisfy us of the fact. The president, vice-president.

and more than half the cabinet are military men ; several of the governors of the states, by a singular anomaly in the political system, are generals of division and military commandants under the federal government ; the diplomatic corps has its share of martial men ; and, if the inquiry be followed out, it will be found, that, from the highest to the lowest rank in the government, civil merit, an acquaintance from education and early discipline with civil duties, is little regarded. But further than this. The administration of justice to a great extent is in the same hands. In the year 1827, so great was the increase of crime in the metropolis, that it was found necessary to re-organize the martial tribunals of the war and to render all offences, above the grade of larceny, cognizable before them. Treason, murder, robbery and all the higher crimes are excluded from civil courts ; and, so late as the trial of the notorious state prisoner Arenas, the military court of Mexico warmly resented an attempt made by another body to take cognizance of the matter. The police of all the towns is administered by the soldiery. The public walks, on all festivals, are filled with gens d'armes—a sergeant's guard parades nightly in the lobbies of the theatre. The power of an officer corresponding to our constable, invested with civil authority only, is unknown. The bayonet and not the staff is the badge of authority.

The burthen of a standing army is most severely felt in Mexico and is an evil not easily removed. By the report of the Secretary at War in 1827, the army consisted of no less than 58,955 men, of whom, though but 32,000 were under arms, all were liable to be called into service, and all at one time or other had been in the receipt of pay. The expenses of the war department in the present year, were estimated at nine millions of dollars, about four-fifths of the whole expenditures of government. There are at this time eight generals of division on full pay and two on half pay, besides twenty-six brigadiers, whose joint compensation amounts annually to 150,000 dollars. Hitherto the nominal war with Spain has afforded a pretext for the continuance of a large disposable force and now renders any diminution of the army extremely difficult. Other obstacles also exist, not easily surmounted. The resources of the country have thus far been sufficient to enable the government to pay their troops, and have postponed the dangers apprehended from throwing so large a body of men suddenly out of employment. But the failure of many sources of revenue during the last year, and the shock given to the national credit by the non-payment of the interest on the foreign loans, render it probable that the period is approaching, at which the strength of the government will be ascertained, when put in opposition to the demands of a rapa-

cious and idle soldiery, and when the decisive measure of a great retrenchment of the military expenses must take place.

The effects of the martial character of the Revolution in New Spain in the undue elevation of military, and depression of civil habits, have been thus cursorily traced—not so much to discourage the hopes and expectations of those who invidiously call themselves the partisans of the new community, as to account for the slow progress which it has made, and the distressing convulsions it has experienced. We are aware that in answer to our opinions it will be urged, that a nation which so soon after a revolution could organize a government corresponding to that of Mexico, cannot be so thoroughly infected with a military spirit. We most readily reply, that at this time of day, and more particularly on this side of the Atlantic, a government military in form and not despotic cannot exist. In Mexico especially, there was no choice. The fall of Iturbide was a lesson to such of the revolutionary leaders as were alone able to establish an arbitrary sway; and their parity of merit induced a rivalry which effectually prevented the undue elevation of any one. The theory of civil government was then the only alternative. It is not, however, we will add, the form so much as the spirit of the institutions to which we have referred; the spirit, the existence of which no one with opportunities of observation can deny—the spirit which renders military distinction the object of universal ambition, and the key to popular favour; which entails on the nation the burthen of a large standing army in time of peace, which interferes with the enjoyment of civil right, which has hitherto prevented the institution of jury trials and the writ of habeas corpus; and which, if we may descend to particulars, has more than once enabled an officer of government to break into the house of a foreign merchant, and compel the payment of duties before the term of credit had expired, while at the very time the protested bills of the government were postponed or neglected, to the ruin of the individual whose immunities were thus violated.

On the expulsion of the Spanish forces and the downfall of the ephemeral empire of Iturbide, two great parties in the republic came into existence. Mr. Ward compares them to the party distinctions of our republic. We shall see in some points how true, and in others, how incorrect the analogy is. One circumstance however may be here noticed; that owing to the peculiar relations of the Mexican republic in regard to the mother country, and the strong line of distinction drawn between the different orders of society, a virulence of political feeling has been engendered far exceeding any thing on our records, and inducing acts which even a political latitudinarian, a being proverbially of pliant principles and easy conscience, would find it dif-

ficult to justify. The party distinctions were first perceptible immediately prior to the formation of the constitution in 1824, when a material diversity of opinion existed as to the most judicious form in which the new government should be cast. A number of the leading men of intelligence, wealth and consequent influence, whose republican principles were above suspicion, preferred the Central form. They thought they saw, in the rarity of population, the difficulties of regular intercourse between the different sections of the country, and the want of communion between the provinces, insuperable objections to the Federal scheme. They believed that the character and disposition of that population were such as to require the energy of a consolidated government, whether to inspire exertion or to check licentiousness; that the mass of the people being unenlightened by education and disciplined intelligence, it would be impossible to find in sufficient number individuals competent to conduct the complicated operations of general and state governments; and finally they conceived, (we believe, honestly,) that in the then disorganized condition of the finances and pecuniary resources of the country, there existed a preliminary obstacle to the formation of any but a strong government, whose simplicity of structure should be incompatible with lavish expenditure, and whose power should, in time of need, secure the collection of revenue. The instance of Colombia was cited by one party, and the more logical illustration derived from our experience triumphantly adduced by the other. The arguments of the Central party were resolutely and successfully combated, and the present constitution, Federal in all its features, excellent in many, and irregular and defective in some, was securely established. The germ of party feeling once planted, produced new and vigorous shoots. The two parties who had respectively been enrolled under the banners of Federalism and Centralism, though they no longer had as significant appellations, were distinguished by the most opposite opinions, and followed the most distinct courses. The one was composed of the great body of the Federal leaders, and was characterized by the most ultra democratic principles. Hostility not merely to Spain, but to the European residents, was its prominent feature. On the other hand, many of the most meritorious citizens of the republic, whose detestation of the Spanish government had been clearly proved, anticipated the worst consequences from the radicalism of their opponents, and believed that conciliation in regard to the natives of the mother country was by far the best policy. They not only saw, in the sacrifice of the rights of the Spaniards, a violation of solemn agreement calculated to inspire indignation in the rest of the world, but predicted disastrous effects upon the national credit and consequences unpropitious to their own security. The remnants of other

factions which once had influence, but which accident had overthrown, attached themselves to one or the other of the two leading parties, as they found their respective tenets least repulsive. The clergy, the Spaniards, and those few misguided zealots who regretted the destruction of the ancient institutions, joined the moderate party. The majority of the subordinate officers of the army, those in particular who had been devoted to Iturbide, were to be found among the federalists. Each party in this way had some taint of anti-republicanism. The institution of masonry, which, we have been taught to believe, was one of charity and benevolence, was converted into a political engine, and the orders of Scotch and York masons afforded the distinguishing appellations of the two Mexican political sects.

The contests between those dividing factions have, from the period of their formation, been continued with the utmost acrimony. In number, the democratic party, (*Yorkinos*,) there as elsewhere, has been most powerful; whilst in wealth, talents, and enlightened intelligence, their adversaries have had a decided superiority. Until very lately, it was impossible, putting out of view the general principle from which happily in every country the triumph of the popular cause is to be inferred, to conjecture which would ultimately gain the ascendancy. Congress was nearly equally divided, or rather the two houses were always in decided opposition to each other. The candidates for the presidential chair, on the retirement of the present incumbent, were men of great personal influence, independently of political connexions. The president himself seemed determined to maintain a strict neutrality, not only in the expression of opinion, but in the distribution of office. A majority of his cabinet were *Escoceses*, whilst his principal minister, (Mr. Esteva, Secretary of the Treasury,) and his confidential secretary, were *Yorkinos*. The clergy, whose influence is still great, lent their assistance to the party who seemed disposed to sustain their falling fortune. The military, on the contrary, supported the opinions which afforded them the greatest license. With this apparent equality of force, it is vain to conjecture how long the struggle would have continued, had not occurrences taken place within the last year which, by exposing the designs of some individuals of eminence in the *Escoces* party, have impaired their influence and accelerated their ruin. We have said that hostility to the Spanish residents was the characteristic of the ultra liberal party. This hostility arising from motives of a mixed character which for many reasons we shall not pretend to develop, for a long time met with but little encouragement. The Spaniards were too numerous; they were influential, not only from their numbers, but from their force of character and purity of conduct in the ordinary intercourse of life; their political friends

ed. In the year of his first arrival, the storm of war had not ceased and a heavy swell, the dangerous sequel to the recent political tempest, still agitated the community and prevented the newly formed institutions from settling on secure foundations. The castle at Vera Cruz was held by the Spanish troops, and an active unremitting warfare was maintained with the batteries of the town, which afforded little hope that the strength of the oppressors was exhausted, or that they were so far dispirited as to neglect to seize any opportunity which might occur of restoring their power. The channels of trade were not yet cleared; intestine commotion not yet composed; and the secret influence of a party, hostile to the new system, was operating insidiously and actively. The government was administered by a temporary executive, composed of three prominent leaders of the revolutionary armies who delegated the duties to a subordinate commission. A constitution had scarcely been projected, and the aspect of every thing was in all respects decidedly revolutionary. From the period of Mr. Ward's return to Mexico, to his final departure, a different scene was presented. A constitution, formed upon the best model, had been adopted and the machine of government, once set in motion, moved actively and steadily. The work of organization was completed, and the members of the new community, inspired by the brilliant prospect before them, and with nothing to retard their advance but the influence of ancient habits, and the confusion incident to party conflicts, were earnestly co-operating to elevate their country on the scale of nations. The contrast was highly interesting, and from the conclusions drawn from it, Mr. Ward's book derives its principal value.

The work is divided into two sections, one containing the valuable information collected by the author on subjects intimately connected with the interests of the republic, and the statistical details which he has prepared. Humboldt's statements are reviewed and examined, and the tables he has given, continued to the present day. The second part consists of a personal narrative of a residence and travels in the country. In the course of the following pages we will endeavour to present to our readers a view of the result of Mr. Ward's experience, with such remarks of our own as may be necessary to illustrate our opinions, when they are at variance from his, and such additional details as an attentive consideration of the subject, and some research, have enabled us to collect.

The revolution in Mexico commenced with the deposition of the viceroy Iturrigaray, in 1808, and ended with the fall of the last Spanish fortress north of the equator, in 1825. During a period of at least twelve years, the most populous provinces of New Spain were the scenes of irregular and generally savage

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contests. Plunder and extermination went hand in hand with victory ; and at the close of the war, such had been the nature of the contest, that the moral and intellectual character of the people was in no material degree improved. The conflict was one of physical forces merely ; little moral energy had been brought into action ; and while the revolutionary annals are adorned by numerous instances of heroic courage in the field, there is an utter barrenness of that modest, unobtrusive heroism which in other countries, in the cabinet and councils, has inspired deeds of romantic self-denial, and patriotic devotion. During the period of active war, the nation had properly no civil government. The contest was purely military. The few civilians who were distinguished in the insurgent ranks, such as Hidalgo, Morelos, Allende and others, were soon converted, not merely into soldiers, but into cruel, merciless soldiers who seemed disposed to drown the recollection of their ancient pacific profession in the torrents of blood they caused to flow. The influence of the press was unfelt ; no facilities existed for the diffusion of information ; and if there had at first been found even a small proportion of men of a less warlike character, who, in the intervals of repose which all wars afford, might have served their country by the exercise of civil virtues, such was the nature of the contest, as well as its duration, that the influence of these habits would have been but slightly felt. A war of fifteen years makes every man a soldier. It need not be said that our revolution exhibits a different aspect, and that its annals are as much adorned by the trials and achievements of our civilians, as our warriors. The colonial history of New Spain presents nothing analogous to the provincial assemblies of British America, since the *ayuntamientos*, to which alone the Creoles were eligible, had cognizance of little else than the municipal regulations of the towns. The occasional councils of the Mexican patriots, deliberating (if the phrase be admissible,) amid the bustle of a camp, agitated by the conflicting opinions and unbridled passions of the different chiefs, and never secure from hostile interruption, can with as little propriety be compared to the Continental Congress. With the exception of the Convention convoked by Rayon, in 1811, there was no power known or felt, and *that*, as the event proved, was short-lived amid the storm. There was between the different leaders no further concert than the necessity of the moment required and no common feeling but that of hostility to Spain. Each leader chose his district, and within its limits exercised exclusive control. The troops, composed of Indians and of the most degraded of the Creoles, supported themselves by plunder and were careless as to the regularity of their pay, as long as the presence of a powerful and relentless enemy intimidated, or the prospect of rapine inspired them. All the cities were in the pos-



session of the Spanish troops. The surface of the country is so much broken and opposes so many difficulties to regular or easy intercourse, that it was nearly impossible, in time of war, to establish a system of steady and systematic co-operation. There was no common principle of action, no efficient combination of force, and little disposition on the part of the various leaders to yield their accidental territorial authority to any power that might superintend or control them.

Of her military men, Mexico has reason to be proud. Her soldiers were gallant, patriotic, and persevering. No danger appalled them ; no variety of exposure and distress exhausted them. Few nations can boast of more honourable names, as relates to military fame, than those of Morelos, Rayon, Victoria, Bravo, and Guerrero. Their deeds seem to be remembered by their fellow citizens with fervent gratitude, and their memory will be cherished by future ages, when the recollection of the errors of their course shall have failed. Besides these leaders of renown, there were in subordinate stations, many, who, had their lot been differently cast, would have been equally distinguished. On the mass of the native population, the urgent motive to rebellion was not a sense of political injury, but a kind of personal antipathy to the Spanish residents ; and so fierce did this antipathy become, that it inspired the most romantic devotion and determined resolution. The civil deprivations, the commercial impediments, the long series of acts of political injustice and colonial oppression, were forgotten by the body of the people, but the personal insults which the Spaniards wantonly inflicted ; the haughty insolence of a privileged order, who rejected gentleness and conciliation as the worst policy ; who disdained apology for conduct however criminal and oppressive, and whose answer to all complaints, was "*eres Criollo y basta*," rankled in the bosoms of all, and were the active agents in the promotion of universal revolt. Justice would not have satisfied the Creoles, without revenge ; and a deep and bloody vengeance they were at last enabled to take. Deeds of the most chivalrous heroism are recorded by the historians of the times. The humblest Indian, a being in the hour of tranquillity meek and gentle, but in the moment of excitement fierce and relentless, seemed determined to rival the white in acts of hardihood and deeds of blood. One which we have somewhere seen recorded, we will here mention. For three years the small island of Mescala, situated in the lake of Chapala, was occupied by a number of the Indians of the country, and defended against a large Spanish force, commanded by General Cruz. Though straitened by famine, and exposed to necessities of every kind, their resolution never flagged, and by their activity and unconquerable energies they not only were enabled to maintain a vigilant defence, but occasionally to attack the Spa-

nish out-posts, and spread terror and havoc among the besiegers. When at last such a force was collected by the European commander, as to render further opposition useless, a message was sent by him, that unless there was a timely surrender, no one should be spared. The Indians returned the heroic answer, "Que corra la sangre!" (Let the blood flow!) The threat was carried into execution, and after a gallant resistance, every one of the brave defenders was put to the sword.

We quote from Mr. Ward the following romantic account of the sufferings of General Victoria during a period of the war :—

"Victoria's trials did not cease with this pursuit : harassed, and worn out, by the fatigues which he had undergone, his clothes torn to pieces, and his body lacerated by the thorny underwood of the tropics, he was indeed allowed a little tranquillity ; but his sufferings were still almost incredible. During the summer, he managed to subsist upon the fruits of which nature is so lavish in those climates ; but in the winter he was attenuated by hunger, and I have heard him repeatedly affirm, that no repast has afforded him so much pleasure since, as he experienced, after being long deprived of food, in gnawing the bones of horses, or other animals, that he happened to find dead in the woods. By degrees, he accustomed himself to such abstinence, that he could refrain four, and even five days, without tasting any thing but water, without experiencing any serious inconvenience ; but whenever he was deprived of sustenance for a longer period, his sufferings were very acute. For thirty months he never tasted bread, nor saw a human being, nor thought, at times, ever to see one again. His clothes were reduced to a single wrapper of cotton, which he found one day, when driven by hunger he had approached nearer than usual to some Indian huts, and this he regarded as an inestimable treasure.

"The mode in which Victoria, cut off, as he was, from all communication from the world, received intelligence of the revolution of 1821, is hardly less extraordinary than the fact of his having been able to support existence amidst so many hardships, during the intervening period.

"When in 1818 he was abandoned by all the rest of his men, he was asked by two Indians, who lingered with him to the last, and on whose fidelity he knew he could rely, if any change took place, where he wished them to look for him ? He pointed, in reply, to a mountain at some distance, and told them that on that mountain, perhaps, they might find his bones. His only reason for selecting it, was its being particularly rugged, and inaccessible, and surrounded by forests of a vast extent.

"The Indians treasured up this hint, and as soon as the first news of Iturbide's declaration reached them, they set out in quest of Victoria ; they separated on arriving at the foot of the mountain, and employed six whole weeks in examining the woods with which it was covered. During this time, they lived principally by the chase ; but finding their stock of maize exhausted, and all their efforts unavailing, they were about to give up the attempt, when one of them discovered, in crossing a ravine which Victoria occasionally frequented, the print of a foot, which he immediately recognised to be that of an European. By European, I mean of European descent, and consequently accustomed to wear shoes, which always give a difference of shape to the foot, very perceptible to the eye of a native. The Indian waited two days upon the spot, but seeing nothing of Victoria, and finding his supply of provisions quite at an end, he suspended upon a tree, near the place, four tortillas, or little maize cakes, which were all he had left, and set out for his village, in order to replenish his wallets, hoping that if Victoria should pass in the mean time, the tortillas would attract his attention, and convince him that some friend was in search him.

His little plan succeeded completely : Victoria, on crossing the ravine, two days afterwards, perceived the maize cakes which the birds had fortunately not devoured. He had then been four whole days without eating, and upwards of

two years without tasting bread ; and he says himself, that he devoured the tortillas before the cravings of his appetite would allow him to reflect upon the singularity of finding them on this solitary spot, where he had never before seen any trace of a human being. He was not at a loss to determine whether they had been left there by friend or foe ; but feeling sure that whoever had left them, intended to return, he concealed himself near the place, in order to observe his motions, and to take his own measures accordingly.

" Within a short time the Indian returned. Victoria instantly recognised him, and abruptly started from his concealment, in order to welcome his faithful follower ; but the man, terrified at seeing a phantom covered with hair, emaciated, and clothed only with an old cotton wrapper, advancing upon him with a sword in his hand, from amongst the bushes, took to flight ; and it was only on hearing himself repeatedly called by his name, that he recovered his composure sufficiently to recognise his old general. He was affected beyond measure at the state in which he found him, and conducted him instantly to his village, where Victoria was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The report of his re-appearance spread like lightning through the province, where it was not credited at first, so firmly was every one convinced of his death, but as soon as it was known that Guadalupe Victoria was indeed in existence, all the old insurgents rallied round him. In an incredibly short time, he induced the whole province, with the exception of the fortified towns, to declare for independence, and then set out to join Iturbide, who was at that time preparing for the siege of Mexico. He was received with great apparent cordiality ; but his independent spirit was too little in unison with Iturbide's projects, for this good understanding to continue long. Victoria had fought for a liberal form of government, and not merely for a change of masters ; and Iturbide, unable to gain him over, drove him again into the woods, during his short-lived reign, from whence he only returned to give the signal for a general rising against the too ambitious emperor."

Vicente Guerrero, the military rival of Victoria and Bravo, and now the popular leader in Mexico, was equally distinguished for his gallantry and obstinate attachment to the cause of freedom. All accounts agree in describing this extraordinary individual as distinguished by a singular energy of character, and activity of intellect. We regret that Mr. Ward has afforded so few details of his military and political career. They would clearly illustrate the peculiarities of the revolutionary struggle in Mexico, in which General Guerrero took, perhaps, a more uniformly active part, than any one of his countrymen. His ardour was too great to admit of an inactive participation in the danger of the times ; he was always on the offensive ; always beating up some unsuspecting post, or, when his means allowed it, attacking with his characteristic energy the main force of the Spaniards. His iron frame enabled him to defy exposure, and to undergo a degree of privation and suffering scarcely credible. He was the only one of the patriot chieftains who could boast of Indian lineage ; and to this distinction may be attributed in a great measure the popular favour which he has always enjoyed. With his two illustrious cotemporaries, the present president, and late vice-president, he has been the object of the affectionate admiration of the Mexicans, and may now be regarded as the only survivor of the leading men of the revolution, whose patriotism is unsuspected, and whose popularity is undiminished.

From the peculiar locality of the contending parties in Mexi-

co, the insurgents being scattered over the country, and the Spanish authorities remaining in quiet possession of the cities, one consequence of a happy nature resulted. The great libraries which had been established under the auspices of the church, were preserved untouched; and the scientific institutions which had just sprung into existence, remained unmolested. If we mistake not, every city of consequence in the republic was transferred by capitulation; and, even when the storm of war approached their walls, the protecting arm of ecclesiastical authority was stretched forth to save the institutions which that authority had called into being. Beside the great scientific establishments in the capital, the libraries and seminaries of learning in the smaller cities, whilst they show the existence of some spirit of beneficence in the Spanish government, remain the solitary useful legacies which the colonial clergy have bequeathed. The library at Puebla, which has been preserved and guarded by the watchful care of the bishop of that state, a prelate whose talents and accomplishments all travellers join in celebrating, is a proud monument of the well exercised power of the Catholic clergy.

To the purely military character of the revolution, and to the ecclesiastical institutions, may be attributed the creation of the two great interests, which existed at the close of the war. Mexico was a nation of soldiers and of priests; and, in the struggle between the two parties, the civil character of her citizens made little progress. The age of bigoted attachment to religion having passed, and the identity of devotion to the church and to the Spanish government being established by the declaration of the Pope himself, (in the *Enciclica*, or circular of 24th September 1824,) the triumph of the military followed as a matter of course. Religious enthusiasm yielded to the paramount influence; and the clergy soon found, that the only mode of maintaining even a portion of their power, was by being contented with a subordinate station in the community. If the foremost rank was yielded to the soldier, he had no objection to the exercise of power by the spiritual father in an inferior sphere. The first fruit of the military passion of the day, was the elevation of Iturbide to the throne, and the prostration of the liberties of the country at his feet. Its permanent effects are seen in the subjection of civil to military authority, and the contamination of the new republic with the poison of a morbid admiration of military fame, and eagerness for the attainment of military distinction. To this hour, the government of Mexico is, *de facto*, military. Civil offices exist, and a regularly constituted form of government has been established; but civil office seems to be little more than the recompense for military prowess. A recurrence to a list of the public functionaries, will satisfy us of the fact. The president, vice-president.

and more than half the cabinet are military men ; several of the governors of the states, by a singular anomaly in the political system, are generals of division and military commandants under the federal government ; the diplomatic corps has its share of martial men ; and, if the inquiry be followed out, it will be found, that, from the highest to the lowest rank in the government, civil merit, an acquaintance from education and early discipline with civil duties, is little regarded. But further than this. The administration of justice to a great extent is in the same hands. In the year 1827, so great was the increase of crime in the metropolis, that it was found necessary to re-organize the martial tribunals of the war and to render all offences, above the grade of larceny, cognizable before them. Treason, murder, robbery and all the higher crimes are excluded from civil courts ; and, so late as the trial of the notorious state prisoner Arenas, the military court of Mexico warmly resented an attempt made by another body to take cognizance of the matter. The police of all the towns is administered by the soldiery. The public walks, on all festivals, are filled with gens d'armes—a sergeant's guard parades nightly in the lobbies of the theatre. The power of an officer corresponding to our constable, invested with civil authority only, is unknown. The bayonet and not the staff is the badge of authority.


The burthen of a standing army is most severely felt in Mexico and is an evil not easily removed. By the report of the Secretary at War in 1827, the army consisted of no less than 58,955 men, of whom, though but 32,000 were under arms, all were liable to be called into service, and all at one time or other had been in the receipt of pay. The expenses of the war department in the present year, were estimated at nine millions of dollars, about four-fifths of the whole expenditures of government. There are at this time eight generals of division on full pay and two on half pay, besides twenty-six brigadiers, whose joint compensation amounts annually to 150,000 dollars. Hitherto the nominal war with Spain has afforded a pretext for the continuance of a large disposable force and now renders any diminution of the army extremely difficult. Other obstacles also exist, not easily surmounted. The resources of the country have thus far been sufficient to enable the government to pay their troops, and have postponed the dangers apprehended from throwing so large a body of men suddenly out of employment. But the failure of many sources of revenue during the last year, and the shock given to the national credit by the non-payment of the interest on the foreign loans, render it probable that the period is approaching, at which the strength of the government will be ascertained, when put in opposition to the demands of a rapa-

cious and idle soldiery, and when the decisive measure of a great retrenchment of the military expenses must take place.

The effects of the martial character of the Revolution in New Spain in the undue elevation of military, and depression of civil habits, have been thus cursorily traced—not so much to discourage the hopes and expectations of those who invidiously call themselves the partisans of the new community, as to account for the slow progress which it has made, and the distressing convulsions it has experienced. We are aware that in answer to our opinions it will be urged, that a nation which so soon after a revolution could organize a government corresponding to that of Mexico, cannot be so thoroughly infected with a military spirit. We most readily reply, that at this time of day, and more particularly on this side of the Atlantic, a government military in form and not despotic cannot exist. In Mexico especially, there was no choice. The fall of Iturbide was a lesson to such of the revolutionary leaders as were alone able to establish an arbitrary sway; and their parity of merit induced a rivalry which effectually prevented the undue elevation of any one. The theory of civil government was then the only alternative. It is not, however, we will add, the form so much as the spirit of the institutions to which we have referred; the spirit, the existence of which no one with opportunities of observation can deny—the spirit which renders military distinction the object of universal ambition, and the key to popular favour; which entails on the nation the burthen of a large standing army in time of peace, which interferes with the enjoyment of civil right, which has hitherto prevented the institution of jury trials and the writ of habeas corpus; and which, if we may descend to particulars, has more than once enabled an officer of government to break into the house of a foreign merchant, and compel the payment of duties before the term of credit had expired, while at the very time the protested bills of the government were postponed or neglected, to the ruin of the individual whose immunities were thus violated.

On the expulsion of the Spanish forces and the downfall of the ephemeral empire of Iturbide, two great parties in the republic came into existence. Mr. Ward compares them to the party distinctions of our republic. We shall see in some points how true, and in others, how incorrect the analogy is. One circumstance however may be here noticed; that owing to the peculiar relations of the Mexican republic in regard to the mother country, and the strong line of distinction drawn between the different orders of society, a virulence of political feeling has been engendered far exceeding any thing on our records, and inducing acts which even a political latitudinarian, a being proverbially of pliant principles and easy conscience, would find it dif-

ficult to justify. The party distinctions were first perceptible immediately prior to the formation of the constitution in 1824, when a material diversity of opinion existed as to the most judicious form in which the new government should be cast. A number of the leading men of intelligence, wealth and consequent influence, whose republican principles were above suspicion, preferred the Central form. They thought they saw, in the rarity of population, the difficulties of regular intercourse between the different sections of the country, and the want of communion between the provinces, insuperable objections to the Federal scheme. They believed that the character and disposition of that population were such as to require the energy of a consolidated government, whether to inspire exertion or to check licentiousness; that the mass of the people being unenlightened by education and disciplined intelligence, it would be impossible to find in sufficient number individuals competent to conduct the complicated operations of general and state governments; and finally they conceived, (we believe, honestly,) that in the then disorganized condition of the finances and pecuniary resources of the country, there existed a preliminary obstacle to the formation of any but a strong government, whose simplicity of structure should be incompatible with lavish expenditure, and whose power should, in time of need, secure the collection of revenue. The instance of Colombia was cited by one party, and the more logical illustration derived from our experience triumphantly adduced by the other. The arguments of the Central party were resolutely and successfully combated, and the present constitution, Federal in all its features, excellent in many, and irregular and defective in some, was securely established. The germ of party feeling once planted, produced new and vigorous shoots. The two parties who had respectively been enrolled under the banners of Federalism and Centralism, though they no longer had as significant appellations, were distinguished by the most opposite opinions, and followed the most distinct courses. The one was composed of the great body of the Federal leaders, and was characterized by the most ultra democratic principles. Hostility not merely to Spain, but to the European residents, was its prominent feature. On the other hand, many of the most meritorious citizens of the republic, whose detestation of the Spanish government had been clearly proved, anticipated the worst consequences from the radicalism of their opponents, and believed that conciliation in regard to the natives of the mother country was by far the best policy. They not only saw, in the sacrifice of the rights of the Spaniards, a violation of solemn agreement calculated to inspire indignation in the rest of the world, but predicted disastrous effects upon the national credit and consequences unpropitious to their own security. The remnants of other



factions which once had influence, but which accident had overthrown, attached themselves to one or the other of the two leading parties, as they found their respective tenets least repulsive. The clergy, the Spaniards, and those few misguided zealots who regretted the destruction of the ancient institutions, joined the moderate party. The majority of the subordinate officers of the army, those in particular who had been devoted to Iturbide, were to be found among the federalists. Each party in this way had some taint of anti-republicanism. The institution of masonry, which, we have been taught to believe, was one of charity and benevolence, was converted into a political engine, and the orders of Scotch and York masons afforded the distinguishing appellations of the two Mexican political sects.

The contests between those dividing factions have, from the period of their formation, been continued with the utmost acrimony. In number, the democratic party, (*Yorkino*,) there as elsewhere, has been most powerful; whilst in wealth, talents, and enlightened intelligence, their adversaries have had a decided superiority. Until very lately, it was impossible, putting out of view the general principle from which happily in every country the triumph of the popular cause is to be inferred, to conjecture which would ultimately gain the ascendancy. Congress was nearly equally divided, or rather the two houses were always in decided opposition to each other. The candidates for the presidential chair, on the retirement of the present incumbent, were men of great personal influence, independently of political connexions. The president himself seemed determined to maintain a strict neutrality, not only in the expression of opinion, but in the distribution of office. A majority of his cabinet were *Escoceses*, whilst his principal minister, (Mr. Esteva, Secretary of the Treasury,) and his confidential secretary, were *Yorkinos*. The clergy, whose influence is still great, lent their assistance to the party who seemed disposed to sustain their falling fortune. The military, on the contrary, supported the opinions which afforded them the greatest license. With this apparent equality of force, it is vain to conjecture how long the struggle would have continued, had not occurrences taken place within the last year which, by exposing the designs of some individuals of eminence in the *Escoces* party, have impaired their influence and accelerated their ruin. We have said that hostility to the Spanish residents was the characteristic of the ultra liberal party. This hostility arising from motives of a mixed character which for many reasons we shall not pretend to develop, for a long time met with but little encouragement. The Spaniards were too numerous; they were influential, not only from their numbers, but from their force of character and purity of conduct in the ordinary intercourse of life; their political friends



were zealous and active; the letter of the laws and treaties which secured them in the privileges of citizens, was distinct; and the obligation of those laws was not openly questioned. The torrent of prejudice, swelled by the impure streams of private animosity and jealousy which flowed in on all sides, was however too powerful, and the mounds behind which they fancied themselves secure, were in quick succession broken down. The course of their enemies was too rapid for consistency; and the measures which have been devised for the ruin and expulsion of the Spaniards, have been marked not merely by oppression and high-handed tyranny, but by timorous malevolence and injustice. The state necessity of the Mexican legislators, which was the only argument used to justify their acts, was peculiarly what Mr. Sheridan called "a quibbling, pilfering, prevaricating state necessity, skulking behind the skirts of justice, and stealing a pitiful justification from whispered accusations and fabricated rumours." If they meditated an attack upon the privileges of the Spanish citizens, it was necessary to raise the terrors of some "Popish plot," or to use the pretext afforded by some accidental disorder, and when the blow was struck, fear and remorse seemed to palsy the arm of the executioner and only served to prolong the torture of the victims. This course of policy of the Mexican general and state governments in regard to the old Spaniards, deserves and, if the result be such as we anticipate, will receive the unqualified reprobation of the rest of the world. The excuses which are offered to justify the severity of these measures, scarcely deserve notice. Perhaps we are wrong in saying that any apology has ever been offered. The apprehensions of successful foreign invasion, which no reasonable man can entertain, the dark insinuations of internal conspiracies, the details of which no one beyond the verge of the cabinet councils pretends to know, constitute the sole justification which has been offered. The late dangerous revolutionary movement would seem to have been an effect, rather than a cause of the measures which were adopted; and of the circumstances of this, further than an overt act of treason was involved in an hostile opposition to the recognised authority, the world knows nothing. At the head of it was an individual more universally popular in the republic than any other—popular, not only from the urbanity of his manners, and known benevolence of his disposition, but from the recollection of his services and sacrifices in the republican cause during the war. Untiring zeal, exhaustless activity, and unconquerable fortitude, distinguished the revolutionary career of the late vice-president of Mexico. Every member of his family had been earnestly co-operating with the patriots, and many of them had laid down their lives in the defence of liberal principles. One peculiarity of the revolutionary life of general Bravo de-

serves to be distinctly noted, as affording a solitary resting-place for the eye of mild philosophy, in the midst of the waste of such a conflict. He was uniformly merciful in his treatment of a conquered foe, and never once was betrayed, amidst the provocations to which he was exposed, into the commission of an act irreconcilable with the merciful precepts of humanity and religion. An anecdote is related by the historians of the Revolution, and repeated by Mr. Ward, which though perfectly familiar to those who are acquainted with Mexican history, may not be known to the generality of our readers. It records an act of mercy which stands in strong contrast to the inhuman massacres of Hidalgo at Guanajuato and Guadalajara, and of Padre Torres in the Baxio, under whom assassination was truly reduced to system, and deliberate murder recognised as a leading principle of policy. During the year 1812, Don Leonardo Bravo, the father of the general, who was then fighting under the banners of Morelos, was taken prisoner by the viceroy's troops, and carried in chains to Mexico. Sentence of death was passed upon him as a traitor to the Spanish crown. Before the period of his execution arrived, his son, after an obstinate combat at the Palmar, had defeated a strong detachment of Spanish troops and taken three hundred prisoners. An offer was immediately made to the viceroy by general Bravo, to exchange these prisoners for his father, which was peremptorily rejected, and the sentence of death carried into immediate execution. Retaliation on his unhappy prisoners would have been the most natural course for the afflicted son. A nobler line of conduct was pursued. He instantly ordered them to be set at liberty "wishing," as he said, "to put it out of his own power to avenge on them the death of his parent, lest, in the first moment of grief, the temptation should prove irresistible."

The consistency of his republican principles, was proved by his firm opposition to Iturbide, whose iniquitous designs he seems to have early detected, and who in vain, by all the means in his power, endeavoured to win him into his interest. On the fall of the emperor, general Bravo became the leader of the central party; and, on the formation of the constitution, he was elected vice-president, having been unsuccessful in the contest for the presidential chair. From this period he has been regarded as the leader of the opposition. In that capacity, his great personal influence and weight of character were peculiarly important to his associates, and his devoted attachment to his country and known patriotism would, it was hoped, have operated to control their violence, and sooth their irritation. Unfortunately this hope has not been realized; and we have lately seen the man who had most contributed to the emancipation of Mexico, at the head of rebellion against her lawful government. The history of the overt acts of this ill-advised and short-lived revolt, is familiar to

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We will conclude these observations on the internal political condition of the republic, with the following remarks of Mr. Ward, contained in his closing chapter, and which appear to have been added after the news of the recent movements had reached England:—

“In a country just emerging from a great political crisis, there must ever be a bitterness of feeling on political questions, which older nations can hardly comprehend; although, a century ago, our own annals might have furnished a counterpart to its violence. In Mexico this feeling has been carried very far indeed. The Yorkinos as new men, struggling to dispossess their adversaries of that power which is the real object of both, were undoubtedly the assailants; but acrimony has not been wanting on the other side; and the personalities in which, for two years, the newspapers of the two parties have indulged, prove

but too clearly, that, under similar circumstances, nature is always the same; while liberty, in her infancy, only tends to develop more rapidly those passions, which appear, in every part of the world, to be most deeply implanted in the human breast.

"The Yorkinos have made up by numbers, for what they wanted originally in individual influence. Their plans have been prosecuted with great activity, and as the desperate appeal to the country, to which their opponents have just been driven, appears to have failed entirely, if they use their victory with forbearance, the success of their candidate (general Guerrero,) at the approaching election for the presidency, seems to be certain. But upon forbearance at the present crisis, every thing depends; for of general Bravo's devotion to the cause of his country, but one opinion is entertained throughout New Spain. Should there be any attempt, therefore, to punish too severely a step, which all must deplore, although none can judge of its cause without a knowledge of the circumstances by which the passions on both sides have been excited, and the transition from political to personal hostility effected,—blood will be found to lead to blood, and a long series of calamities may still cloud the prospects of the republic.

"I trust, however, that these calamities will be averted. There are in Mexico a number of excellent men, unconnected with either of the parties, whose animosity has threatened the country with a civil war. At the head of these is general Victoria, in whose moderation and thoroughly honourable intentions, the most implicit confidence may be placed. To him, and to his friends, I look for the preservation of tranquillity. Of its necessity he is thoroughly convinced; and his influence, if properly exerted, will, I think, be found sufficient to insure it. Short as the recent struggle has been, it has already done incalculable mischief, and destroyed the fair reputation which Mexico was beginning to acquire in Europe, by the fidelity with which her engagements with foreign capitalists were at first met. Dissentions, bordering upon civil war, in whatever causes they may originate, must tend to diminish the commercial demand, and with it the general resources of the country. The customs may be regarded as the basis of the whole revenue of Mexico; not only as forming in themselves its most important branch, but as facilitating the collection of all the other branches, by giving to the executive that command of money, without which, in a new country, no system of administration can be organized, and no subordination enforced.

"What my expectations with regard to them were six months ago, I have stated in the Fourth Section of the Third Book, in which I estimated their probable produce during the present year at eight millions of dollars. There is now not the least prospect that those calculations will be found correct. I am informed that one third of the orders given by our merchants for the present season have been countermanded, in consequence of the unsettled aspect of affairs, and of the embarrassment which the expulsion of the old Spaniards has occasioned in the commercial world; and although the storm appears to have blown over, it is very questionable whether confidence will be entirely restored, until the election for the ensuing presidency, which takes place in October, be decided."

Did our limits allow, we would be glad to present to our readers a view of the character and extent of the commercial intercourse of the United States and Mexico, and of the disastrous influence of the recent commotions and alarms on the interests of our own citizens. The subject is curious and interesting in every aspect. It would illustrate the vast stake we have in the welfare and advancement of our sister republic, and at the same time show of how little worth are national sympathies, when put in competition even with national vanity. The series of flagrant injuries to our merchants, and of shameful preferences to British interests, would startle any one who is not aware of the

slight influence which our government, from its peculiarity of structure, has been able to exercise. At present we will only remark, that the trade between Mexico and this country is at the lowest ebb, and the probability is strong, that it will soon, if not cease to exist, at least be reduced to the accidental commercial intercourse, depending on occasional alterations of the market, of which, in consequence of our vicinity, we only can avail ourselves. In the year 1826, (which includes one period of active trade,) of six hundred and thirty-nine vessels which entered the ports of Mexico, three hundred and ninety-nine were American, and the great body of the cargoes consisted of cotton goods of our manufacture. We were at that time enabled, not only successfully to contend with the British manufacturers, with whose fabrics the market was glutted, but to do so under such disadvantages from the oppressive duties and difficulties of transportation, that an advance of two hundred per cent. on invoice prices was requisite to give the merchant a profit. Our traders had an inestimable advantage over the European merchants, in the proximity of our ports which enabled them to make at least two voyages to one. If Mr. Ward be correct in regarding the Mexican trade as important to Europe and particularly to Great Britain, we do not err in attaching the greatest importance to our commercial relations. The present prospect is most discouraging. By the new tariff enacted at the commencement of the current year, so great an increase of duty is imposed, that our cotton goods are now *absolutely prohibited, and no one article of American produce or manufacture can be imported at this time into Mexico*. In consequence of this exclusion, our shipments are limited to mixed cargoes of foreign goods, a profit on which in the present state of the market is matter of mere accident. At a time when much of the shipping of the United States is thrown out of employment by the operation of our own laws, so far as it depends on European trade, such a suspension of our intercourse with Mexico is peculiarly to be regretted. The tariff, as far as we have had an opportunity of examining it, seems to be founded on principles of the narrowest and most illiberal policy. It involves prohibition, and that of the worst kind and for the worst end; not to protect domestic industry, but to force a temporary increase of revenue. Nor is the practice under it less obnoxious. Instances are daily occurring of rapacity and extortion, too often countenanced by the government, which are scarcely credible. Cargoes shipped from this country immediately on the receipt of the news of the adoption of the new duties, with a view to anticipate them, and to arrive before the law went into effect, and which have accidentally been detained, have been seized and discharged by force. Large quantities of goods were lately lying in the custom houses of Vera Cruz and

Tampico, which no supercargo would have been so wild as to land, under such liabilities. There they will probably remain, until they be released by the payment of the duties, or by the seizure of the government. Such a state of things must be the subject of deep regret, not only to the general well-wishers of the new community, but to the less abstracted and more selfish observer, who regards the republics of the South as affording markets for our produce and manufactures, and an unexplored field for commercial adventure. All must join heartily in the wish expressed by Mr. Ward, that the course of improvident legislation will before long be arrested, and that the rulers of Mexico, shaking off the prejudices and errors which appear now to influence their conduct, will pursue a line of policy more conducive to the interests and creditable to the intelligence of their country.

We have endeavoured to present a correct view of the domestic politics of Mexico, as modified by the peculiar character of the revolution, and of the party contests that have recently occurred with their unhappy consequences. There are other topics connected with their political condition and materially affecting it, to which we would willingly refer, were it at this time in our power. The ecclesiastical establishment, the administration of justice, and the state of the public revenue—respecting the first and last of which Mr. Ward has collected many valuable materials—are all subjects replete with interest. In relation to religion, we are glad to have the support of an individual so well informed in the opinions expressed in a former volume. We believed then, and the belief is strengthened by every day's observation, that the influence of the clergy is rapidly declining; and that although, as is natural, the cords which bound down the thoroughly subdued frame of the human mind are not all broken, the few that remain are too weak long to control the energies which seem now for the first time to be inspired.

Mr. Ward cites many facts to confirm his views upon this point. Among others, he gives the following brief notice of the success of a request made by himself, as British Minister to the government, for permission to bury English citizens according to the rites of the Protestant church:—

"As late as May, 1825, the capital itself was not exempt from them; for, in the discussion respecting the religious article of our first treaty, some of the more devout amongst the members of the senate objected to the concession of the right of sepulture to His Majesty's subjects, as a privilege to which heretics were not in any way entitled. Nor would the point have been carried without some difficulty, had not Mr. Cañedo, (a very distinguished senator,) placed the arguments of these most conscientious persons in a proper light, by saying, that 'Although he perfectly agreed with his worthy colleagues in principle, he foresaw some practical difficulties in the accomplishment of their wishes, which would compel him, though most reluctantly, to vote against them. The melancholy influx of foreigners could not be denied, nor was it to be expected that,

amongst so many, some should not be summoned, during their residence in the republic, to receive, in another world, the penalty of their unbelief in this. What, then, was to be done with the bodies? He saw but four modes of disposing of them; namely, to bury, burn, eat, or export them. To the first, his reverend colleagues seemed to object: the second might prove inconvenient from the scarcity of fuel: in the third, he, for one, must decline any participation; and as to the fourth, dead heretics not being included amongst the exportable commodities mentioned in the tariff, he feared that such an innovation might seriously embarrass the custom-house officers upon the coast. He should, therefore, upon the whole, incline for burial, as amongst four serious evils, it appeared to him to be the least. The speech, of which the above is a literal translation, put an end to any farther discussion, and the article was carried by a large majority."

Speaking of the clergy at Guadalajara, he says:—

"Of the canons (mostly old Spaniards,) we saw nothing. Their influence is thought to be on the wane, and the liberals of the capital declare, that had they not been fettered by the decrees of the Supreme Congress, Jalisco (the state of which Guadalajara is the chief town,) would have given a memorable example to the rest of the federation, and humbled the pride of the clergy at once. Upon this subject I have already expressed my doubts. It must be admitted, however, that their authority is by no means what it was. Iturbide threw himself into the arms of the high church party, which could not prevent him from being driven from the throne; and amongst the middling classes of society, a disposition to question the authority of the church, even in spiritual matters, is daily gaining ground. In temporal affairs, we have seen, that it is rejected altogether. If you ask any young man of the present day, in Guadalajara, what his religious principles are, he will tell you that he is a 'naturalista,' that is to say, of no religion at all. Nor is it surprising that such tenets should spread, when the disgraceful mummeries are taken into consideration, by which the friars, in particular, endeavour to maintain their influence over the minds of the lower orders. At Zacatecas, we saw, on Christmas eve, a figure of our Saviour paraded through the streets, dressed in a green silk robe, with a white handkerchief fastened across the shoulders; while the Virgin followed, adorned with a fashionable French hat, put on a little on one side. These images the poor are taught to worship; the rich, or rather the well-informed, may bow the knee, but they deride in private the superstition with which they are compelled to conform; and religion itself shares in the feelings which such disgusting exhibitions are calculated to excite."

Of the revenues and financial resources of the country, we particularly regret being obliged to take but a hasty notice. Abstractedly considered, they derive a peculiar interest from the circumstances of the enjoyment of great mineral wealth by Mexico and of her total dependence on foreign commerce for the supplies by means of which that wealth is to be extracted. The mutual dependence of commerce and mining, and the complicated advantages resulting to government from their respective activity, present a curious spectacle. The extensive connexions formed between the Mexican republic and the European moneyed community, by the foreign loans, have given to the financial operations of the government no slight degree of direct interest. From an attentive examination of the materials collected by Mr. Ward, who treats the subject with considerable ability though occasionally with too great timidity and diffidence, and of the manifestos which during late years have been published with the presidential messages, we are led irresistibly to the conclusion,



ficult to justify. The party distinctions were first perceptible immediately prior to the formation of the constitution in 1824, when a material diversity of opinion existed as to the most judicious form in which the new government should be cast. A number of the leading men of intelligence, wealth and consequent influence, whose republican principles were above suspicion, preferred the Central form. They thought they saw, in the rarity of population, the difficulties of regular intercourse between the different sections of the country, and the want of communion between the provinces, insuperable objections to the Federal scheme. They believed that the character and disposition of that population were such as to require the energy of a consolidated government, whether to inspire exertion or to check licentiousness; that the mass of the people being unenlightened by education and disciplined intelligence, it would be impossible to find in sufficient number individuals competent to conduct the complicated operations of general and state governments; and finally they conceived, (we believe, honestly,) that in the then disorganized condition of the finances and pecuniary resources of the country, there existed a preliminary obstacle to the formation of any but a strong government, whose simplicity of structure should be incompatible with lavish expenditure, and whose power should, in time of need, secure the collection of revenue. The instance of Colombia was cited by one party, and the more logical illustration derived from our experience triumphantly adduced by the other. The arguments of the Central party were resolutely and successfully combated, and the present constitution, Federal in all its features, excellent in many, and irregular and defective in some, was securely established. The germ of party feeling once planted, produced new and vigorous shoots. The two parties who had respectively been enrolled under the banners of Federalism and Centralism, though they no longer had as significant appellations, were distinguished by the most opposite opinions, and followed the most distinct courses. The one was composed of the great body of the Federal leaders, and was characterized by the most ultra democratic principles. Hostility not merely to Spain, but to the European residents, was its prominent feature. On the other hand, many of the most meritorious citizens of the republic, whose detestation of the Spanish government had been clearly proved, anticipated the worst consequences from the radicalism of their opponents, and believed that conciliation in regard to the natives of the mother country was by far the best policy. They not only saw, in the sacrifice of the rights of the Spaniards, a violation of solemn agreement calculated to inspire indignation in the rest of the world, but predicted disastrous effects upon the national credit and consequences unpropitious to their own security. The remnants of other

factions which once had influence, but which accident had overthrown, attached themselves to one or the other of the two leading parties, as they found their respective tenets least repulsive. The clergy, the Spaniards, and those few misguided zealots who regretted the destruction of the ancient institutions, joined the moderate party. The majority of the subordinate officers of the army, those in particular who had been devoted to Iturbide, were to be found among the federalists. Each party in this way had some taint of anti-republicanism. The institution of masonry, which, we have been taught to believe, was one of charity and benevolence, was converted into a political engine, and the orders of Scotch and York masons afforded the distinguishing appellations of the two Mexican political sects.

The contests between those dividing factions have, from the period of their formation, been continued with the utmost acrimony. In number, the democratic party, (*Yorkino*,) there as elsewhere, has been most powerful; whilst in wealth, talents, and enlightened intelligence, their adversaries have had a decided superiority. Until very lately, it was impossible, putting out of view the general principle from which happily in every country the triumph of the popular cause is to be inferred, to conjecture which would ultimately gain the ascendancy. Congress was nearly equally divided, or rather the two houses were always in decided opposition to each other. The candidates for the presidential chair, on the retirement of the present incumbent, were men of great personal influence, independently of political connexions. The president himself seemed determined to maintain a strict neutrality, not only in the expression of opinion, but in the distribution of office. A majority of his cabinet were *Escoceses*, whilst his principal minister, (Mr. Esteva, Secretary of the Treasury,) and his confidential secretary, were *Yorkinos*. The clergy, whose influence is still great, lent their assistance to the party who seemed disposed to sustain their falling fortune. The military, on the contrary, supported the opinions which afforded them the greatest license. With this apparent equality of force, it is vain to conjecture how long the struggle would have continued, had not occurrences taken place within the last year which, by exposing the designs of some individuals of eminence in the *Escoces* party, have impaired their influence and accelerated their ruin. We have said that hostility to the Spanish residents was the characteristic of the ultra liberal party. This hostility arising from motives of a mixed character which for many reasons we shall not pretend to develop, for a long time met with but little encouragement. The Spaniards were too numerous; they were influential, not only from their numbers, but from their force of character and purity of conduct in the ordinary intercourse of life; their political friends

were zealous and active; the letter of the laws and treaties which secured them in the privileges of citizens, was distinct; and the obligation of those laws was not openly questioned. The torrent of prejudice, swelled by the impure streams of private animosity and jealousy which flowed in on all sides, was however too powerful, and the mounds behind which they fancied themselves secure, were in quick succession broken down. The course of their enemies was too rapid for consistency; and the measures which have been devised for the ruin and expulsion of the Spaniards, have been marked not merely by oppression and high-handed tyranny, but by timorous malevolence and injustice. The state necessity of the Mexican legislators, which was the only argument used to justify their acts, was peculiarly what Mr. Sheridan called "a quibbling, pilfering, prevaricating state necessity, skulking behind the skirts of justice, and stealing a pitiful justification from whispered accusations and fabricated rumours." If they meditated an attack upon the privileges of the Spanish citizens, it was necessary to raise the terrors of some "Popish plot," or to use the pretext afforded by some accidental disorder, and when the blow was struck, fear and remorse seemed to palsy the arm of the executioner and only served to prolong the torture of the victims. This course of policy of the Mexican general and state governments in regard to the old Spaniards, deserves and, if the result be such as we anticipate, will receive the unqualified reprobation of the rest of the world. The excuses which are offered to justify the severity of these measures, scarcely deserve notice. Perhaps we are wrong in saying that any apology has ever been offered. The apprehensions of successful foreign invasion, which no reasonable man can entertain, the dark insinuations of internal conspiracies, the details of which no one beyond the verge of the cabinet councils pretends to know, constitute the sole justification which has been offered. The late dangerous revolutionary movement would seem to have been an effect, rather than a cause of the measures which were adopted; and of the circumstances of this, further than an overt act of treason was involved in an hostile opposition to the recognised authority, the world knows nothing. At the head of it was an individual more universally popular in the republic than any other—popular, not only from the urbanity of his manners, and known benevolence of his disposition, but from the recollection of his services and sacrifices in the republican cause during the war. Untiring zeal, exhaustless activity, and unconquerable fortitude, distinguished the revolutionary career of the late vice-president of Mexico. Every member of his family had been earnestly co-operating with the patriots, and many of them had laid down their lives in the defence of liberal principles. One peculiarity of the revolutionary life of general Bravo de

serves to be distinctly noted, as affording a solitary resting-place for the eye of mild philosophy, in the midst of the waste of such a conflict. He was uniformly merciful in his treatment of a conquered foe, and never once was betrayed, amidst the provocations to which he was exposed, into the commission of an act irreconcilable with the merciful precepts of humanity and religion. An anecdote is related by the historians of the Revolution, and repeated by Mr. Ward, which though perfectly familiar to those who are acquainted with Mexican history, may not be known to the generality of our readers. It records an act of mercy which stands in strong contrast to the inhuman massacres of Hidalgo at Guanajuato and Guadalajara, and of Padre Torres in the Baxio, under whom assassination was truly reduced to system, and deliberate murder recognised as a leading principle of policy. During the year 1812, Don Leonardo Bravo, the father of the general, who was then fighting under the banners of Morelos, was taken prisoner by the viceroy's troops, and carried in chains to Mexico. Sentence of death was passed upon him as a traitor to the Spanish crown. Before the period of his execution arrived, his son, after an obstinate combat at the Palmar, had defeated a strong detachment of Spanish troops and taken three hundred prisoners. An offer was immediately made to the viceroy by general Bravo, to exchange these prisoners for his father, which was peremptorily rejected, and the sentence of death carried into immediate execution. Retaliation on his unhappy prisoners would have been the most natural course for the afflicted son. A nobler line of conduct was pursued. He instantly ordered them to be set at liberty "wishing," as he said, "to put it out of his own power to avenge on them the death of his parent, lest, in the first moment of grief, the temptation should prove irresistible."

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The persecution of the old Spaniards had been continued without intermission, and at the close of the last year, nothing was wanting to complete the series of unrighteous enactments but the decree of exile and confiscation. The first law passed, deprived them of an equal participation in the offices of government and provided for the dismissal of all Spaniards in the service, with a clause granting them their salaries during the pleasure of the executive. The injustice and inconsistency of the framers of this law were exposed with great success during the discussion which preceded its passage through congress. The violation of positive stipulation which it involved, and the virtual disfranchisement which it inflicted, left its victims little to hope. The fears of the Spanish residents were naturally excited, and extended to the friends who had so earnestly advocated their rights. Every one saw that their political adversaries only awaited the moment, when the public mind should be worked to a proper pitch, to strike a deadly blow, and they had too little

confidence in their generosity, to doubt that the power when acquired would be exercised. No one felt himself secure. Some left the country, whilst the great majority remained, in the hope, no doubt, that by some vigorous exertion or providential interference, they might be enabled to check the torrent. Events seemed however to be most unpropitious; the discovery of the plot of the mad priest Arenas, who is said to have been the instrument of an agent of the King of Spain, afforded a new pretext for a general denunciation, and a new cause of alarm to the excited Spaniards. We may easily suppose that the councils of individuals in so high a state of alarm, were not the most dispassionate, and that the measures which they proposed for their own security, were not always within the limits of allegiance. By those oppressed and indignant men, whose very excesses were not without apology, General Bravo was unfortunately surrounded. Admitting to the full extent the justice of their complaints, and recognising the illegality of the policy adopted towards them, it was natural to sympathize in their fears as well as their indignation, and not easy to confine that indignation within proper bounds. The succession of events in the recesses of these councils is hidden from us, and it is almost forbidden to conjecture what immediately led to the adoption of the violent measures which have resulted so calamitously as regards the individuals concerned, and so far as the suppression of disorder goes, so happily for the country. We confess, rejecting as we do emphatically the idea of a treasonable connexion with Spain, we incline to the side of charity, and while we condemn most explicitly the mode adopted of obtaining redress, are willing to believe that the actuating motive in the minds of the rebels was a settled sense of deep injustice, and the reasonable fear of further wrong. They professed to support the cause of the constitution, which they alleged to have been violated. They asserted their intention to maintain in the enjoyment of their rights a class of citizens who had been wantonly oppressed and insulted. Whether their professions were insincere, and whether beneath this mask, more sinister designs were projected, it is not for us to say.

We will conclude these observations on the internal political condition of the republic, with the following remarks of Mr. Ward, contained in his closing chapter, and which appear to have been added after the news of the recent movements had reached England:—

“In a country just emerging from a great political crisis, there must ever be a bitterness of feeling on political questions, which older nations can hardly comprehend; although, a century ago, our own annals might have furnished a counterpart to its violence. In Mexico this feeling has been carried very far indeed. The Yorkinos as new men, struggling to dispossess their adversaries of that power which is the real object of both, were undoubtedly the assailants; but acrimony has not been wanting on the other side; and the personalities in which, for two years, the newspapers of the two parties have indulged, prove

but too clearly, that, under similar circumstances, nature is always the same; while liberty, in her infancy, only tends to develop more rapidly those passions, which appear, in every part of the world, to be most deeply implanted in the human breast.

"The Yorkinos have made up by numbers, for what they wanted originally in individual influence. Their plans have been prosecuted with great activity, and as the desperate appeal to the country, to which their opponents have just been driven, appears to have failed entirely, if they use their victory with forbearance, the success of their candidate (general Guerrero,) at the approaching election for the presidency, seems to be certain. But upon forbearance at the present crisis, every thing depends; for of general Bravo's devotion to the cause of his country, but one opinion is entertained throughout New Spain. Should there be any attempt, therefore, to punish too severely a step, which all must deplore, although none can judge of its cause without a knowledge of the circumstances by which the passions on both sides have been excited, and the transition from political to personal hostility effected,—blood will be found to lead to blood, and a long series of calamities may still cloud the prospects of the republic.

"I trust, however, that these calamities will be averted. There are in Mexico a number of excellent men, unconnected with either of the parties, whose animosity has threatened the country with a civil war. At the head of these is general Victoria, in whose moderation and thoroughly honourable intentions, the most implicit confidence may be placed. To him, and to his friends, I look for the preservation of tranquillity. Of its necessity he is thoroughly convinced; and his influence, if properly exerted, will, I think, be found sufficient to insure it. Short as the recent struggle has been, it has already done incalculable mischief, and destroyed the fair reputation which Mexico was beginning to acquire in Europe, by the fidelity with which her engagements with foreign capitalists were at first met. Dissentions, bordering upon civil war, in whatever causes they may originate, must tend to diminish the commercial demand, and with it the general resources of the country. The customs may be regarded as the basis of the whole revenue of Mexico; not only as forming in themselves its most important branch, but as facilitating the collection of all the other branches, by giving to the executive that command of money, without which, in a new country, no system of administration can be organized, and no subordination enforced.

"What my expectations with regard to them were six months ago, I have stated in the Fourth Section of the Third Book, in which I estimated their probable produce during the present year at eight millions of dollars. There is now not the least prospect that those calculations will be found correct. I am informed that one third of the orders given by our merchants for the present season have been countermanded, in consequence of the unsettled aspect of affairs, and of the embarrassment which the expulsion of the old Spaniards has occasioned in the commercial world; and although the storm appears to have blown over, it is very questionable whether confidence will be entirely restored, until the election for the ensuing presidency, which takes place in October, be decided."

Did our limits allow, we would be glad to present to our readers a view of the character and extent of the commercial intercourse of the United States and Mexico, and of the disastrous influence of the recent commotions and alarms on the interests of our own citizens. The subject is curious and interesting in every aspect. It would illustrate the vast stake we have in the welfare and advancement of our sister republic, and at the same time show of how little worth are national sympathies, when put in competition even with national vanity. The series of flagrant injuries to our merchants, and of shameful preferences to British interests, would startle any one who is not aware of the

slight influence which our government, from its peculiarity of structure, has been able to exercise. At present we will only remark, that the trade between Mexico and this country is at the lowest ebb, and the probability is strong, that it will soon, if not cease to exist, at least be reduced to the accidental commercial intercourse, depending on occasional alterations of the market, of which, in consequence of our vicinity, we only can avail ourselves. In the year 1826, (which includes one period of active trade,) of six hundred and thirty-nine vessels which entered the ports of Mexico, three hundred and ninety-nine were American, and the great body of the cargoes consisted of cotton goods of our manufacture. We were at that time enabled, not only successfully to contend with the British manufacturers, with whose fabrics the market was glutted, but to do so under such disadvantages from the oppressive duties and difficulties of transportation, that an advance of two hundred per cent. on invoice prices was requisite to give the merchant a profit. Our traders had an inestimable advantage over the European merchants, in the proximity of our ports which enabled them to make at least two voyages to one. If Mr. Ward be correct in regarding the Mexican trade as important to Europe and particularly to Great Britain, we do not err in attaching the greatest importance to our commercial relations. The present prospect is most discouraging. By the new tariff enacted at the commencement of the current year, so great an increase of duty is imposed, that our cotton goods are now *absolutely prohibited, and no one article of American produce or manufacture can be imported at this time into Mexico*. In consequence of this exclusion, our shipments are limited to mixed cargoes of foreign goods, a profit on which in the present state of the market is matter of mere accident. At a time when much of the shipping of the United States is thrown out of employment by the operation of our own laws, so far as it depends on European trade, such a suspension of our intercourse with Mexico is peculiarly to be regretted. The tariff, as far as we have had an opportunity of examining it, seems to be founded on principles of the narrowest and most illiberal policy. It involves prohibition, and that of the worst kind and for the worst end; not to protect domestic industry, but to force a temporary increase of revenue. Nor is the practice under it less obnoxious. Instances are daily occurring of rapacity and extortion, too often countenanced by the government, which are scarcely credible. Cargoes shipped from this country immediately on the receipt of the news of the adoption of the new duties, with a view to anticipate them, and to arrive before the law went into effect, and which have accidentally been detained, have been seized and discharged by force. Large quantities of goods were lately lying in the custom houses of Vera Cruz and



Tampico, which no supercargo would have been so wild as to land, under such liabilities. There they will probably remain, until they be released by the payment of the duties, or by the seizure of the government. Such a state of things must be the subject of deep regret, not only to the general well-wishers of the new community, but to the less abstracted and more selfish observer, who regards the republics of the South as affording markets for our produce and manufactures, and an unexplored field for commercial adventure. All must join heartily in the wish expressed by Mr. Ward, that the course of improvident legislation will before long be arrested, and that the rulers of Mexico, shaking off the prejudices and errors which appear now to influence their conduct, will pursue a line of policy more conducive to the interests and creditable to the intelligence of their country.

We have endeavoured to present a correct view of the domestic politics of Mexico, as modified by the peculiar character of the revolution, and of the party contests that have recently occurred with their unhappy consequences. There are other topics connected with their political condition and materially affecting it, to which we would willingly refer, were it at this time in our power. The ecclesiastical establishment, the administration of justice, and the state of the public revenue—respecting the first and last of which Mr. Ward has collected many valuable materials—are all subjects replete with interest. In relation to religion, we are glad to have the support of an individual so well informed in the opinions expressed in a former volume. We believed then, and the belief is strengthened by every day's observation, that the influence of the clergy is rapidly declining; and that although, as is natural, the cords which bound down the thoroughly subdued frame of the human mind are not all broken, the few that remain are too weak long to control the energies which seem now for the first time to be inspired.

Mr. Ward cites many facts to confirm his views upon this point. Among others, he gives the following brief notice of the success of a request made by himself, as British Minister to the government, for permission to bury English citizens according to the rites of the Protestant church:—

"As late as May, 1825, the capital itself was not exempt from them; for, in the discussion respecting the religious article of our first treaty, some of the more devout amongst the members of the senate objected to the concession of the right of sepulture to His Majesty's subjects, as a privilege to which heretics were not in any way entitled. Nor would the point have been carried without some difficulty, had not Mr. Cañedo, (a very distinguished senator,) placed the arguments of these most conscientious persons in a proper light, by saying, that 'Although he perfectly agreed with his worthy colleagues in principle, he foresaw some practical difficulties in the accomplishment of their wishes, which would compel him, though most reluctantly, to vote against them. The melancholy influx of foreigners could not be denied, nor was it to be expected that,

amongst so many, some should not be summoned, during their residence in the republic, to receive, in another world, the penalty of their unbelief in this. What, then, was to be done with the bodies? He saw but four modes of disposing of them; namely, to bury, burn, eat, or export them. To the first, his reverend colleagues seemed to object: the second might prove inconvenient from the scarcity of fuel: in the third, he, for one, must decline any participation; and as to the fourth, dead heretics not being included amongst the exportable commodities mentioned in the tariff, he feared that such an innovation might seriously embarrass the custom-house officers upon the coast. He should, therefore, upon the whole, incline for burial, as amongst four serious evils, it appeared to him to be the least. The speech, of which the above is a literal translation, put an end to any farther discussion, and the article was carried by a large majority."

Speaking of the clergy at Guadalajara, he says:—

"Of the canons (mostly old Spaniards,) we saw nothing. Their influence is thought to be on the wane, and the liberals of the capital declare, that had they not been fettered by the decrees of the Supreme Congress, Jalisco (the state of which Guadalajara is the chief town,) would have given a memorable example to the rest of the federation, and humbled the pride of the clergy at once. Upon this subject I have already expressed my doubts. It must be admitted, however, that their authority is by no means what it was. Iturbide threw himself into the arms of the high church party, which could not prevent him from being driven from the throne; and amongst the middling classes of society, a disposition to question the authority of the church, even in spiritual matters, is daily gaining ground. In temporal affairs, we have seen, that it is rejected altogether. If you ask any young man of the present day, in Guadalajara, what his religious principles are, he will tell you that he is a 'naturalista,' that is to say, of no religion at all. Nor is it surprising that such tenets should spread, when the disgraceful mummeries are taken into consideration, by which the friars, in particular, endeavour to maintain their influence over the minds of the lower orders. At Zacatecas, we saw, on Christmas eve, a figure of our Saviour paraded through the streets, dressed in a green silk robe, with a white handkerchief fastened across the shoulders; while the Virgin followed, adorned with a fashionable French hat, put on a little on one side. These images the poor are taught to worship; the rich, or rather the well-informed, may bow the knee, but they deride in private the superstition with which they are compelled to conform; and religion itself shares in the feelings which such disgusting exhibitions are calculated to excite."

Of the revenues and financial resources of the country, we particularly regret being obliged to take but a hasty notice. Abstractedly considered, they derive a peculiar interest from the circumstances of the enjoyment of great mineral wealth by Mexico and of her total dependence on foreign commerce for the supplies by means of which that wealth is to be extracted. The mutual dependence of commerce and mining, and the complicated advantages resulting to government from their respective activity, present a curious spectacle. The extensive connexions formed between the Mexican republic and the European moneyed community, by the foreign loans, have given to the financial operations of the government no slight degree of direct interest. From an attentive examination of the materials collected by Mr. Ward, who treats the subject with considerable ability though occasionally with too great timidity and diffidence, and of the manifestos which during late years have been published with the presidential messages, we are led irresistibly to the conclusion,

that the resources of the country being fully adequate, if properly nursed, to enable the government to meet even extravagant expenditure, we must look either to the unskilful management of the receipts, or to the dishonesty of the subordinate agents, for the causes of the existing pecuniary embarrassments. Retrenchments too, not merely of the apparently indispensable expenditures for the support of the military establishments as now organized, but of the obviously uncalled for extravagancies to be noted on the civil list, will be found necessary. Hitherto the treasury reports have shown annually a deficit of about a million of dollars, which the Secretary, most unsuccessfully in one instance, attempted to palliate, by introducing into his table of receipts two millions on account of the foreign loans. Under these circumstances, and with the fact staring them in the face, that it is impossible to obtain further assistance from abroad, an immediate retrenchment of unnecessary expenses would seem to be a natural measure. The estimates for the year 1828, state, that the probable expenditures of the year will be no less than thirteen millions, and enumerate among the items many which are plainly superfluous. The salaries now paid to the ministers to Tacubaya, gentlemen who, whatever may be their desert, and however important their duties, are entitled to little compensation for great expenses or active service, the enormous charges of the special mission to London, nominally exceeding, (we wish to be understood to refer not to the actual receipts, of which we know nothing,) the remuneration of any republican minister in the world, the enfeebling drain of a heavy pension system, and the extravagant salaries either paid directly or indirectly by the government to the officers of the customs, are some among many items of wasteful expenditure which seem to demand reform. At this distance, and with necessarily inadequate information, we cannot pretend to judge of that peculiarity of circumstance, which doubtless affects the community and influences the administration of its pecuniary concerns. But we think no one will deny, that in this case the necessity of rigid economy is obvious. The national credit at the lowest ebb, the commerce of the nation by which that credit can only be restored, rapidly declining, the mines still barren, all these are cheerless prognostics of an important crisis, the result of which, the most earnest friends of the cause of America dread to anticipate.

The second volume of Mr. Ward's book contains the personal narrative of his travels in different parts of the country, but more particularly of an arduous journey through the internal provinces and principal mining districts to Durango. The result of his observations on the mines is far more favourable than, judging from general rumour, we had been led to expect. Whilst he admits that many egregious blunders have occurred in the course of the

ject of the age, from the period of its birth to the condition of gasping vitality in which it now is; to watch it from the gay era of its creation, from the glittering inducements of the first proposals, with all the array of certificates and the authority of names, to the flat recital of a weekly price current,\*where in the whole catalogue of mining shares all are quoted at a discount. It is, however, almost too soon to expect such a disclosure. If Captain Lyon has not satisfied our expectation on this score, we must do him the justice to say, he has given an agreeable history of his adventures, while wandering over a most peculiar region, and that his book, with all its defects, is evidently the work of a man of education and a gentleman.

Mr. H. G. Ward, the late British Chargé d'Affaires in New Spain, and who recently returned to England, after paying a short visit to the United States, has, within the last few months, published an elaborate work, under the title of *Mexico in 1827*. With this publication, as one possessing more than ordinary merit, and as being the only work of authority which has appeared since Humboldt we wish to make our readers acquainted. We scarcely hesitate to say, aware at the time that we may be suspected of a disposition to bestow excessive praise, that from the agreeable manner in which its materials are put together and the attractive form in which it is presented, the tedium of statistical detail being qualified by the interest of personal narrative, in popular estimation, *Mexico in 1827* will supersede the Political Essay.

Mr. Ward's opportunities were excellent. He appears too, to have uniformly availed himself of all means of increasing them, and by his inquisitive and active turn of mind, in all instances, in the prosecution of useful inquiry, to have gone far beyond the letter of his instructions. In the year 1823, a commission was despatched by the British government to Mexico, composed of four individuals of whom Mr. Ward was one, corresponding in its objects to the mission sent by Mr. Monroe to Buenos Ayres, in 1818, intended as a measure of precaution and calculated to prevent the ill effects of a premature recognition of independence. In less than two months the business of the commission was so far concluded as to enable Mr. Ward to return to England, which he did in February 1824. On the recognition by Great Britain, Mr. Ward received the appointment of Chargé to Mexico, in which capacity he returned to that country in 1825, a short time subsequent to the arrival of our diplomatic representative, and there remained until the middle of the last year. Two such visits, made under circumstances so peculiar, enabled our author not merely to acquire accurate information, but to institute the most interesting comparisons, and thence to calculate the probable improvement which was to be anticipat-

which, in the north, appears to be really inexhaustible. To the European manufacturer, it is a matter of indifference, whether the silver, which is transmitted to him in return for the produce of his labour, proceeds from Guanajuato or Durango, from the centre of the Table-land or the fastnesses of the Sierra Madre. The capability of the country to produce it in sufficient quantities to ensure a constant market, and an equally constant return, is the only point which it can be of importance for him to ascertain; and of this, from the moment that there is a sufficient capital in mining operations, I have no scruple in stating that there can be no doubt.

"There is, therefore, so little reason to question the producing powers of the country, that, were it necessary to adopt one of two extreme suppositions, there would rather be cause to fear a depreciation in the value of our present circulating medium, from the probability of too great an increase in the average annual produce, than to apprehend any great falling off in its amount.

"It may, and I fear it will, be said, that the chain of evidence is here incomplete, and that I am assuming a fact favourable to Mexico in the first instance, in order to draw from it my own conclusions afterwards. This is by no means my wish; but, at the same, I confess that, (in common, I believe, with all those who have had an opportunity of inquiring into the resources of New Spain,) I do regard it as so well ascertained a fact, that her mineral riches are almost unexplored, that I am willing to rest upon it my whole calculation with regard to her future importance as a country. I have not formed this opinion hastily, or without endeavouring to collect all the data respecting it, that it is possible to obtain in the present unsettled state of the country; but having formed it, (whether correctly or erroneously, time alone can determine,) I cannot lay it aside at pleasure, in an investigation, the result of which it must materially influence. I need not, however, remind my readers, that I am here only canvassing probabilities, nor again urge upon their attention, the fact, that, whatever be the capabilities of the country, their development depends upon the general course of events, which may advance or retard the moment, at which the extent of the resources of Mexico can alone be fully known."

Of Mr. Ward's work, generally, we have already expressed decided approbation; as far as relates to its execution, unqualified approbation. To some of the opinions we do not subscribe, but to all yield that deference to which the talent and experience of the author entitle them. We believe that there is occasionally a suppression of irrefragable facts in relation to the morals of the nation, which we regret; and we discern throughout a timidity or overwrought delicacy in regard to other subjects, which however excusable under the peculiar circumstances of the case, are manifest blemishes in a work professing to give an impartial account of manners and habits: Great Britain has too much reason to preserve the good will of the new republics, to permit her diplomatic agents to point out their vices freely. We may therefore not unnaturally suppose, that Mr. Ward has suppressed many unwelcome truths.

The opinions expressed in a former number of our journal, resulted from an attentive and we believe unbiassed consideration of the subject before us, and are still adhered to, from a settled conviction that they are perfectly tenable. We never wished to do injustice; on the contrary our sympathies were with the Mexicans; we had in common with the mass of our countrymen, watched their revolutionary career with solicitude, and seen its result with exultation; but the conviction derived from

the concurrent testimony of all travellers was irresistible, that now that the period of feeling had passed, unless we were resolutely to shut our eyes to the perception of defects, great and glaring blemishes were discernible. We believed that in the absence of individual morality, the essential principle of national strength is impaired: we could not be blind to the fact which no one seems to controvert, that in Mexico a high tone of moral sensibility, secured by the operation of healthy public opinion, might be said to have no existence. Believing this, we could not, in justice to ourselves, when attempting to delineate Mexican society and manners, sketch in bold relief the few good traits, and leave the rest obscured in the shade. To the justification which is found in the colonial servitude and degradation of the late Spanish dominions, and to the argument that it is too soon to expect the moral and intellectual improvement we are supposed to require, we are willing to allow all the importance which may be desired. But it is an argument with which we have nothing to do. The degraded condition of the former dependencies of Spain was never referred to, as matter of surprise. We never expected better things from them. Our object simply has been to enable our fellow-citizens to judge of the reality, and not to indicate the causes of the results we have developed; to show them Mexico as it is, and not to inquire why Mexico is as it is. To that inquiry they are fully competent.

We may be asked whether with our present opinions of the limited capacity and degraded state of our neighbours, we do not look forward to a change. We reply that we regard such a change as inevitable. The genius of free institutions, more extended intercourse with foreign nations, and an increasing liberality on the score of religion will ensure it. Seminaries of learning are springing up in different parts of the country, the direction of which has been given to foreign teachers; and, what is still more favourable, very many of the Mexican young men have been sent to Europe and this country to receive their education. Should a political calm succeed the recent confusion, we may anticipate from the operation of all these causes the most happy consequences; and the reviewer of the next generation will have to perform a far less invidious task than the one which we have executed.

Having already transgressed our proper limits, we are able to make only the following extracts, with a view to enable our readers to judge of the condition of Mexican society, and of Mr. Ward's powers of description. The first refers to the annual festival at San Augustin de las Cuevas, a village a few miles from the capital.—

“As the season was advancing, and the heat increasing daily in the Tierra Caliente, I resolved not to defer my expedition, and commenced my journey within

a very few days after returning from Chapingo. The distance from Mexico to Cuernavaca does not exceed twenty leagues, (fifty miles,) but it is difficult to perform it in a single day on account of the passage of the mountains to the south of the valley, both the ascent and descent being exceedingly rocky and precipitous; I therefore left the capital on the evening of the 25th of February, and slept at the village of San Augustin, where I was again indebted for lodgings to the hospitality of the Marquis of Vivanco. San Augustin was formerly the favourite residence of the nobility and great merchants of the capital, whose houses and gardens formed by degrees a village, which, in 1803, Humboldt describes as singularly beautiful. It was abandoned during the revolution, being exposed to the attacks of insurgent parties from the mountains, and is now only frequented during the great fair, which is held there annually in the month of May. The object of this fair being merely amusement, it is attended by every creature in Mexico that can save, beg, or borrow a dollar for the occasion. The houses at San Augustin are taken many months beforehand, and from three to five hundred dollars is frequently paid for the three days. Amongst the ladies, it is the etiquette to change their dresses four or five times in the course of the day; once for the early promenade before breakfast; again for the *cockpit*, which opens at ten o'clock; a third time for dinner; a fourth for the Calvario," (Mount Calvary, a small hill in the neighbourhood, whither in the afternoon the company repair,) "where a circle is usually formed for dancing; and a fifth for the public ball, which commences at eight o'clock, and lasts till twelve. Immense sums of money are won and lost, in the course of the day, by the men, both in betting upon their cocks, and at the monte tables, one of which is to be found in almost every house. There are silver montes for the lower classes, but at all respectable tables nothing but gold is seen, and no smaller stake than a doubloon" (worth at the time of the feast 16 dollars 50 cents,) "allowed. The bank at these varies from 1,500 to 3,000 doubloons. Fifty or sixty of these are an ordinary stake upon the turn of a card; but I have seen as many as six hundred and twenty, (about ten thousand dollars,) risked and won. There is no limit to the stake, and unfair play is out of the question; but the chances are so much in favour of the table, that few persons continue winners any length of time.

"During the whole fair, the streets and squares of San Augustin are filled, by day and by night, with crowds of people, who sleep *à la belle étoile*, or take shelter under carriages, with which the Plaza is crowded; horses and mules are picketed in every direction round the town; temporary huts are raised with boughs and mats, and as a profusion of flowers is used in all these structures, nothing can be more variegated than the appearance of this motley scene. In the evening, the cockpit is carpeted, and lighted up with chandeliers; cushions are placed upon the benches, looking-glasses suspended from the wooden pillars, and, as the roof, which is of shingles, is concealed in part by a quantity of green boughs, the whole forms a pretty circular ball room, in which all the *élite* and all the refuse of Mexican society may be seen at the same time. The lower classes are, however, excluded from the centre of the house, into which no one improperly dressed is admitted, and forced to take their seats upon the higher tiers of benches. Here they exercise the usual privilege of the one shilling gallery, by applauding most vociferously the performances of any lady, whose style of dancing happens to please them, and by calling occasionally for the Jarave, the Petinera, or other dances of the country, with an exhibition of which they are not unfrequently gratified."

The following description of the capital is interesting. It relates principally to the internal appearance of Mexico, and does not include the majestic scenes with which it is surrounded:—

"The general appearance of the town at the period of our arrival was dull; except at an early hour of the morning, when the great streets presented a very lively scene, particularly those near the Cathedral, and the Plaza Mayor, where the Parian, and the principal shops are situated. In these we found many articles of domestic manufacture: hats, with cotton and woollen cloths, from 1.2

slight influence which our government, from its peculiarity of structure, has been able to exercise. At present we will only remark, that the trade between Mexico and this country is at the lowest ebb, and the probability is strong, that it will soon, if not cease to exist, at least be reduced to the accidental commercial intercourse, depending on occasional alterations of the market, of which, in consequence of our vicinity, we only can avail ourselves. In the year 1826, (which includes one period of active trade,) of six hundred and thirty-nine vessels which entered the ports of Mexico, three hundred and ninety-nine were American, and the great body of the cargoes consisted of cotton goods of our manufacture. We were at that time enabled, not only successfully to contend with the British manufacturers, with whose fabrics the market was glutted, but to do so under such disadvantages from the oppressive duties and difficulties of transportation, that an advance of two hundred per cent. on invoice prices was requisite to give the merchant a profit. Our traders had an inestimable advantage over the European merchants, in the proximity of our ports which enabled them to make at least two voyages to one. If Mr. Ward be correct in regarding the Mexican trade as important to Europe and particularly to Great Britain, we do not err in attaching the greatest importance to our commercial relations. The present prospect is most discouraging. By the new tariff enacted at the commencement of the current year, so great an increase of duty is imposed, that our cotton goods are now *absolutely prohibited, and no one article of American produce or manufacture can be imported at this time into Mexico*. In consequence of this exclusion, our shipments are limited to mixed cargoes of foreign goods, a profit on which in the present state of the market is matter of mere accident. At a time when much of the shipping of the United States is thrown out of employment by the operation of our own laws, so far as it depends on European trade, such a suspension of our intercourse with Mexico is peculiarly to be regretted. The tariff, as far as we have had an opportunity of examining it, seems to be founded on principles of the narrowest and most illiberal policy. It involves prohibition, and that of the worst kind and for the worst end; not to protect domestic industry, but to force a temporary increase of revenue. Nor is the practice under it less obnoxious. Instances are daily occurring of rapacity and extortion, too often countenanced by the government, which are scarcely credible. Cargoes shipped from this country immediately on the receipt of the news of the adoption of the new duties, with a view to anticipate them, and to arrive before the law went into effect, and which have accidentally been detained, have been seized and discharged by force. Large quantities of goods were lately lying in the custom houses of Vera Cruz and



with single paddles, with which, however, they are made to skim over the water with great velocity. The gesticulations of these ladies, when animated by a little pulque on their return home, their extreme volubility, and the energy which they display in their quarrels with the tribes of children which they carry about with them, form a curious contrast to their melancholy looks and extreme taciturnity at all other times. They are, however, a very hardy race, and capable of supporting great fatigue. I have often met, when returning from my rides, whole files of men and women, all loaded, the men with baskets, the women with a couple of children each, setting out from Mexico at five in the evening, to return to their villages, which I usually found, upon inquiry, to be seven or eight miles off; and this they accomplish in an hour and a half, by continuing steadily at a long Indian trot, which many of them are able to keep up for a surprising distance. If a question be asked of the leader, the whole party stops, and when it is answered, they proceed again together at the same uniform pace.

"Amongst the many curious scenes that Mexico presented at the end of 1823, I know none with which we were more struck than the Alameda. As compared with the Prado of Madrid, it was, indeed, deprived of its brightest ornament, the women; for few or none of the ladies of Mexico ever appear in public on foot; but to compensate this, it had the merit of being totally unlike any thing that we had ever seen before. On a Sunday, or *Día de Fiesta*, the avenues were crowded with enormous coaches, mostly without springs, but very highly varnished, and bedizened with extraordinary paintings in lieu of arms, in each of which were seated two or more ladies, dressed in full evening costume, and whiling away the time with a *segar en attendant* the approach of some of the numerous gentlemen walking or riding near. Nor were the equestrians less remarkable; for most of them were equipped in the full riding dress of the country, differing only from that worn by the lower orders in the richness of the materials. When made up for display in the capital, it is enormously expensive. In the first place, the hind quarters of the horse are covered with a coating of leather, (called the *anquera*), sometimes stamped and gilt, and sometimes curiously wrought, but always terminating in a fringe or border of little tags of brass, iron, or silver, which make a prodigious jingling at every step. The saddle, which is of a piece with the *anquera*, and is adorned in a similar manner, rises before into an inlaid pommel, to which, in the country, the lasso is attached; while the plated headstall of the bridle is connected by large silver ornaments with the powerful Arabic bit. Fur is sometimes used for the *anquera*; and this, when of an expensive kind, (as black bear-skin, or otter-skin,) and embroidered, as it generally is, with broad stripes of gold and silver, makes the value of the whole apparatus amount to four or five hundred dollars, (about 100*l*.) A common leather saddle costs from fifty to eighty dollars. The rider wears a Mexican hat, with a brim six inches wide, a broad edging of gold or silver lace, and a very low crown: he has a jacket, likewise embroidered in gold, or trimmed with rich fur, and a pair of breeches open at the knee, and terminating in two points considerably below it, of some extraordinary colour, (pea-green or *bleu celeste*), and thickly studded down the sides with large silver buttons. The lower part of the leg is protected by a pair of Guadalajara stamped-leather boots, curiously wrapped around it, and attached to the knee with embroidered garters; these descend as far as the ankle, where they are met by shoes of a most peculiar shape, with a sort of wing projecting on the saddle side; and the whole is terminated by spurs, (made at Ierma or Toluca,) of so preposterous a size, that many of them weigh a pound and a half, while the rowels of all trail upon the ground, if by any chance the wearer is forced to dismount. A cloth *manga*, or riding-cloak, is often thrown over the front of the saddle, and crossed behind the rider in such a manner as to display the circular piece of green or blue velvet in the centre, through which the head is passed, when the *manga* is worn, and which is generally very beautifully embroidered. The cost of the whole dress, when the saddle is of fur, with *armas de agua* of the same materials, it is not easy to calculate, as it depends entirely upon the degree of expense to which a person chooses to go in the embroidery. A very handsome saddle may be bought for three hundred dollars. I have known two hundred dollars given for a pair of Guadalajara boots, (worked with silver,) but eighty may be taken as a very libe-

ral price. A jacket, not at all particularly fine, would cost as much more. The hat is worth twenty dollars; the breeches, if at all rich, fifty or sixty; the spurs, with embroidered stirrup-leathers, twenty; the plated bridle thirty-two; while a manga of the most ordinary kind is not to be procured under one hundred dollars, and if at all remarkable, could not be purchased for less than three. The horse usually mounted on these occasions, must be a pacer, fat, sleek, and slow, but with remarkably high action before; which, it is thought, tends to show off both the animal and the rider to the greatest advantage. The *tout ensemble* is exceedingly picturesque; and the public walks of Mexico will lose much in point of effect, when the riding-dress of England, or France, is substituted, as it probably will be, for a national costume of so very peculiar a character."

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ART. V.—*Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824—1825, (with Notes upon Ceylon,) an account of a Journey to Madras and the southern Provinces, 1826, and Letters written in India. By the late RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER, D. D. Lord Bishop of Calcutta. 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia: 1828.*

MR. Burke exclaimed, in one of his speeches, that the British empire in India was "an awful thing." It cannot be deemed, even by the most zealous friend of the purity of government in England, more awful than it is curious and extraordinary. Other European nations have founded and maintained distant dominion with a small numerical force; the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch; but the amount, variety, and condition of the population rendered subject by them, are not to be compared with those of the conquered Hindoos. There is a like peculiarity in the origin, agency, growth, and tenure of the British Indian rule; which, in fact, viewed in what aspect or relation soever, must strike the most simple inquirer as a phenomenon nearly throughout, and a topic of wonderful and manifold interest.

An association of traders, in one city of what may be called a small island of Europe, began an intercourse with the East, for the purpose of common gain: from the period when they first introduced factories, a century and a half elapsed before they attained or sought political power: suddenly, the jealous and hostile feelings of rival European establishments, and the quick stirrings of ambition, involved them in contests so waged by their servants, as to invest them with a territorial sovereignty, which, for the preservation of any foothold at all, and the prosecution of their original object, it became necessary to preserve and indefinitely enlarge. The formation of the settlement in Bengal, which proved the source of their gigantic prosperity, was owing to a singular accident. A gentleman of the name of Broughton, went from Surat to Agrah, where he chanced to cure the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan of a se-

vere malady. Among the rewards of this benefit, he received the privilege of carrying on a free trade. Thence he proceeded to Bengal; and there his medical skill ingratiated him with the nabob of that country, who extended his commercial privilege to all his nation. Thus the company's agents were enabled to build, in 1636, a factory at Hoogley, and stood indebted, as Sir John Malcolm remarks, to the professional abilities of a physician for this commencement of their greatness. Within seventy or eighty years since the operations of that genuine warrior and statesman, Clive, has that mighty sway been created, which now embraces a vast continent, eighty millions of vassals, and two hundred and thirty or forty thousand native, well-disciplined troops; while the entire military force, composed of British or Europeans, falls short of twenty thousand, and the estimated number of all the latter in India, not in the civil or military service, scarcely reaches three thousand.

The Hindoo population is said to comprise all descriptions of human beings; from the most intelligent to the most ignorant; from the bravest and boldest to the most timid and abject:—the military tribes are fierce, turbulent, and superstitious; but all have real masters, besides the British, and more immediate, in the large body of the priesthood, and the more cultivated teachers: the native soldier is represented as shrewd and quick in his conception; fond of pre-eminence, if not of glory; and capable, when skilfully prompted, of the most extraordinary exertions of courage and perseverance.—According to the highest authorities, it is alone by the bravery and fidelity of the sepoy, that India can be preserved to Great Britain. Sir John Malcolm deprecates any accession to the European force, on the ground that it might, from particular causes, weaken the attachment, and lessen the efficiency of the native troops. At the same time, this very competent judge acknowledges, that his countrymen can never succeed in establishing any cordial or social union with their Indian subjects; so widely do they differ in manners, language, religion, and feelings. Other material circumstances, upon which we may have occasion to touch, contribute to render the British dominion precarious and unique, and to exact the utmost care in the selection of the depositaries of that arbitrary power, without which it cannot be prolonged, or even beneficially administered for the rulers or the people. The eminent writer whom we have named above, observes, “The only safe view that Great Britain can take of her empire in India, is to consider it, as it really is, always in a state of danger, and to think it quite impossible to render her possessions in that country secure, except under the management of able and firm rulers. If a succession of men of great talents and virtues cannot be found, or if the operation of any influence on party feelings and principles

prevents their being chosen, we must reconcile ourselves to the serious hazard of the early decline, if not the loss, of the great dominion we have founded in the East."

It is worthy of note, in the annals of the British sway, how many of the chief men, whether in the military or civil service, have displayed considerable talents and active virtue. Of the commanders, we may cite Clive, Lake, Eyre Coote, Meadows, Cornwallis, Wellington, Combermere, and Campbell. The political and judicial departments, shine indeed, as Sir William Jones, Warren Hastings, Barlow, Lawrence, Munro, Lord Minto, Sir James Mackintosh, the Marquis Wellesley, Sir John Shore, Elphinstone, Adam, Sir John Malcolm, are mentioned. Other administrators could be named, whose signal abilities and immense labours redound strongly to the credit of those by whom they were selected and sustained in place. In connexion with this Indian rule, too, the literary and scientific research, and the productiveness of the press, have been in a manner co-extensive. We may merely refer to the Transactions of the different Asiatic societies, and to the volumes of Jones, Orme, Rennel, Maurice, Wilks, Malcolm, Hamilton, Elphinstone, Forbes, Leyden, Tennant. The official reports from the Presidencies, are, in general, very able and instructive performances:—a mighty mass of information was disclosed to the world, on the occasion of Warren Hastings's trial; and several of the British periodical works, have supplied much additional knowledge, in the shape of reviews and disquisitions from original sources. Similar interest and value may be ascribed to the narratives of the embassies or missions, which the British authorities have sent to the native sovereigns and adjacent powers. The special attention which has been paid to the history, geography, and philology of the whole East, has, moreover, incalculably enlarged and rectified those branches of study; though in noting this circumstance, we should confess, that as far as the Asiatic annals and traditions have been employed, we think that the quantum of historical certainty is far from being proportionably increased. The code of Hindoo laws, which Warren Hastings caused to be compiled by the most erudite Pundits, is justly represented by Dr. Robertson, as the most valuable and authentic elucidation of India policy and manners, that had been communicated to Europe.

Of the books respecting India, to which general readers are likely to resort, there is none, we are sure, destined to become so popular and familiar, as that of which the title is transcribed at the head of this article;—and of the names which are or may be associated with the British empire in that quarter, few will ultimately rival, and still fewer surpass, in favour and authority, the one in its title-page. We shall not here enter into details concerning the introduction and diffusion of Christianity in Hin-

that the resources of the country being fully adequate, if properly nursed, to enable the government to meet even extravagant expenditure, we must look either to the unskilful management of the receipts, or to the dishonesty of the subordinate agents, for the causes of the existing pecuniary embarrassments. Retrenchments too, not merely of the apparently indispensable expenditures for the support of the military establishments as now organized, but of the obviously uncalled for extravagancies to be noted on the civil list, will be found necessary. Hitherto the treasury reports have shown annually a deficit of about a million of dollars, which the Secretary, most unsuccessfully in one instance, attempted to palliate, by introducing into his table of receipts two millions on account of the foreign loans. Under these circumstances, and with the fact staring them in the face, that it is impossible to obtain further assistance from abroad, an immediate retrenchment of unnecessary expenses would seem to be a natural measure. The estimates for the year 1828, state, that the probable expenditures of the year will be no less than thirteen millions, and enumerate among the items many which are plainly superfluous. The salaries now paid to the ministers to Tacubaya, gentlemen who, whatever may be their desert, and however important their duties, are entitled to little compensation for great expenses or active service, the enormous charges of the special mission to London, nominally exceeding, (we wish to be understood to refer not to the actual receipts, of which we know nothing,) the remuneration of any republican minister in the world, the enfeebling drain of a heavy pension system, and the extravagant salaries either paid directly or indirectly by the government to the officers of the customs, are some among many items of wasteful expenditure which seem to demand reform. At this distance, and with necessarily inadequate information, we cannot pretend to judge of that peculiarity of circumstance, which doubtless affects the community and influences the administration of its pecuniary concerns. But we think no one will deny, that in this case the necessity of rigid economy is obvious. The national credit at the lowest ebb, the commerce of the nation by which that credit can only be restored, rapidly declining, the mines still barren, all these are cheerless prognostics of an important crisis, the result of which, the most earnest friends of the cause of America dread to anticipate.

The second volume of Mr. Ward's book contains the personal narrative of his travels in different parts of the country, but more particularly of an arduous journey through the internal provinces and principal mining districts to Durango. The result of his observations on the mines is far more favourable than, judging from general rumour, we had been led to expect. Whilst he admits that many egregious blunders have occurred in the course of the

English operations, and that there have been many instances of gross ignorance and culpable extravagance, he resolutely clings to the hope that the vast investment of English capital has not been made in vain. From the following extract it will be seen, that this belief is not expressed without hesitation, and that when stating the conclusion at which his mind had arrived, he admits the uncertainty of all reasoning on the subject, and his great liability to mistake :—

“Melancholy, indeed, would be the fate of Mexico, if the source from which all her riches have hitherto been derived, were, as some suppose, exhausted and dried up ! She could not only find no substitute for her mines in her foreign trade, of which they furnish the great staple, silver, but her resources at home would decrease, in exactly the same proportion as her means of supplying her wants from abroad. Her agriculture would be confined to such a supply of the necessaries of life, as each individual would have it in his power to raise ;—districts, formerly amongst the richest in the known world, would be for ever thrown out of cultivation ;—the great mining towns would become, what they were during the worst years of the Revolution, the picture of desolation ; and the country would be so far thrown back in the career of civilization, that the great majority of its inhabitants would be compelled to revert to a nomade life, and to seek a precarious subsistence amidst their flocks and herds, like the Gaucho of the Pampas, of whose Indian habits Captain Head has given us so spirited and so faithful a picture. I desire no better proof of this than the contrast, which exists, at the present day, in every part of New Spain, between the degraded situation of the husbandman, or small landed proprietor, in any district without an outlet, and that of a proprietor, (however small,) in the vicinity of the mines. The one is, without wants, and almost without an idea of civilized life ; clothed in a leather dress, or in the coarsest kind of home-made woollen manufactures ;—living in primitive simplicity perhaps, but in primitive ignorance, and brutality too ; sunk in sloth, and incapable of exertion, unless stimulated by some momentary excitement : while the other acquires wants daily, with the means of gratifying them ; and grows industrious, in proportion as the advantages which he derives from the fruits of his labour increase, his mind opens to the advantages of European arts ; he seeks for his offspring, at least, that education which had been denied to himself ; and becomes gradually, with a taste for the delights of civilization, a more important member, himself, of the civilized world ! Who can see this, as I have seen it, without feeling, as I have felt, the importance, not only to Mexico, but to Europe, of a branch of industry capable of producing such beneficial effects ? and alone capable of producing them : for Mexico, without her mines, (I cannot too often repeat it,) notwithstanding the fertility of her soil, and the vast amount of her former agricultural produce, can never rise to any importance in the scale of nations. The markets of the Table-land must be home-markets, and these the mines alone supply. On the coasts, indeed, the productions of the Tropics, which we term colonial produce, might serve as an object of barter ; but these, supposing their cultivation to be carried to the greatest possible extent, could never cover the demand upon European industry, which the wants of a population of eight millions, will, under more favourable circumstances, occasion, as their value must decrease in proportion to the superabundance of the supply, until they reach the point, at which their price, when raised, would cease to repay the cost of raising them. Thus the trade of Mexico would be confined to her Vanilla, and Cochineal, (of which she has a natural monopoly :) while the number of those who consume European manufactures in the interior, (which does not yet include one half of the population,) would be reduced probably to one-tenth. Fortunately, there is no reason whatever to apprehend the approach of that scarcity of mineral productions, with which many seem to think that New Spain is menaced. Hitherto, at least, every step that has been taken in exploring the country, has led to fresh indications of wealth,

which, in the north, appears to be really inexhaustible. To the European manufacturer, it is a matter of indifference, whether the silver, which is transmitted to him in return for the produce of his labour, proceeds from Guanajuato or Durango, from the centre of the Table-land or the fastnesses of the Sierra Madre. The capability of the country to produce it in sufficient quantities to ensure a constant market, and an equally constant return, is the only point which it can be of importance for him to ascertain; and of this, from the moment that there is a sufficient capital in mining operations, I have no scruple in stating that there can be no doubt.

"There is, therefore, so little reason to question the producing powers of the country, that, were it necessary to adopt one of two extreme suppositions, there would rather be cause to fear a depreciation in the value of our present circulating medium, from the probability of too great an increase in the average annual produce, than to apprehend any great falling off in its amount.

"It may, and I fear it will, be said, that the chain of evidence is here incomplete, and that I am assuming a fact favourable to Mexico in the first instance, in order to draw from it my own conclusions afterwards. This is by no means my wish; but, at the same, I confess that, (in common, I believe, with all those who have had an opportunity of inquiring into the resources of New Spain,) I do regard it as so well ascertained a fact, that her mineral riches are almost unexplored, that I am willing to rest upon it my whole calculation with regard to her future importance as a country. I have not formed this opinion hastily, or without endeavouring to collect all the data respecting it, that it is possible to obtain in the present unsettled state of the country; but having formed it, (whether correctly or erroneously, time alone can determine,) I cannot lay it aside at pleasure, in an investigation, the result of which it must materially influence. I need not, however, remind my readers, that I am here only canvassing probabilities, nor again urge upon their attention, the fact, that, whatever be the capabilities of the country, their developement depends upon the general course of events, which may advance or retard the moment, at which the extent of the resources of Mexico can alone be fully known."

Of Mr. Ward's work, generally, we have already expressed decided approbation; as far as relates to its execution, unqualified approbation. To some of the opinions we do not subscribe, but to all yield that deference to which the talent and experience of the author entitle them. We believe that there is occasionally a suppression of irrefragable facts in relation to the morals of the nation, which we regret; and we discern throughout a timidity or overwrought delicacy in regard to other subjects, which however excusable under the peculiar circumstances of the case, are manifest blemishes in a work professing to give an impartial account of manners and habits: Great Britain has too much reason to preserve the good will of the new republics, to permit her diplomatic agents to point out their vices freely. We may therefore not unnaturally suppose, that Mr. Ward has suppressed many unwelcome truths.

The opinions expressed in a former number of our journal, resulted from an attentive and we believe unbiassed consideration of the subject before us, and are still adhered to, from a settled conviction that they are perfectly tenable. We never wished to do injustice; on the contrary our sympathies were with the Mexicans; we had in common with the mass of our countrymen, watched their revolutionary career with solicitude, and seen its result with exultation; but the conviction derived from

the concurrent testimony of all travellers was irresistible, that now that the period of feeling had passed, unless we were resolutely to shut our eyes to the perception of defects, great and glaring blemishes were discernible. We believed that in the absence of individual morality, the essential principle of national strength is impaired: we could not be blind to the fact which no one seems to controvert, that in Mexico a high tone of moral sensibility, secured by the operation of healthy public opinion, might be said to have no existence. Believing this, we could not, in justice to ourselves, when attempting to delineate Mexican society and manners, sketch in bold relief the few good traits, and leave the rest obscured in the shade. To the justification which is found in the colonial servitude and degradation of the late Spanish dominions, and to the argument that it is too soon to expect the moral and intellectual improvement we are supposed to require, we are willing to allow all the importance which may be desired. But it is an argument with which we have nothing to do. The degraded condition of the former dependencies of Spain was never referred to, as matter of surprise. We never expected better things from them. Our object simply has been to enable our fellow-citizens to judge of the reality, and not to indicate the causes of the results we have developed; to show them Mexico as it is, and not to inquire why Mexico is as it is. To that inquiry they are fully competent.

We may be asked whether with our present opinions of the limited capacity and degraded state of our neighbours, we do not look forward to a change. We reply that we regard such a change as inevitable. The genius of free institutions, more extended intercourse with foreign nations, and an increasing liberality on the score of religion will ensure it. Seminaries of learning are springing up in different parts of the country, the direction of which has been given to foreign teachers; and, what is still more favourable, very many of the Mexican young men have been sent to Europe and this country to receive their education. Should a political calm succeed the recent confusion, we may anticipate from the operation of all these causes the most happy consequences; and the reviewer of the next generation will have to perform a far less invidious task than the one which we have executed.

Having already transgressed our proper limits, we are able to make only the following extracts, with a view to enable our readers to judge of the condition of Mexican society, and of Mr. Ward's powers of description. The first refers to the annual festival at San Augustin de las Cuevas, a village a few miles from the capital. —

"As the season was advancing, and the heat increasing daily in the Tierra Caliente, I resolved not to defer my expedition, and commenced my journey within



a very few days after returning from Chapingo. The distance from Mexico to Cuernavaca does not exceed twenty leagues, (fifty miles,) but it is difficult to perform it in a single day on account of the passage of the mountains to the south of the valley, both the ascent and descent being exceedingly rocky and precipitous; I therefore left the capital on the evening of the 25th of February, and slept at the village of San Augustin, where I was again indebted for lodgings to the hospitality of the Marquis of Vivanco. San Augustin was formerly the favourite residence of the nobility and great merchants of the capital, whose houses and gardens formed by degrees a village, which, in 1803, Humboldt describes as singularly beautiful. It was abandoned during the revolution, being exposed to the attacks of insurgent parties from the mountains, and is now only frequented during the great fair, which is held there annually in the month of May. The object of this fair being merely amusement, it is attended by every creature in Mexico that can save, beg, or borrow a dollar for the occasion. The houses at San Augustin are taken many months beforehand, and from three to five hundred dollars is frequently paid for the three days. Amongst the ladies, it is the etiquette to change their dresses four or five times in the course of the day; once for the early promenade before breakfast; again for the *cockpit*, which opens at ten o'clock; a third time for dinner; a fourth for the Calvario," (Mount Calvary, a small hill in the neighbourhood, whither in the afternoon the company repair,) "where a circle is usually formed for dancing; and a fifth for the public ball, which commences at eight o'clock, and lasts till twelve. Immense sums of money are won and lost, in the course of the day, by the men, both in betting upon their cocks, and at the monte tables, one of which is to be found in almost every house. There are silver montes for the lower classes, but at all respectable tables nothing but gold is seen, and no smaller stake than a doubloon" (worth at the time of the feast 16 dollars 50 cents,) "allowed. The bank at these varies from 1,500 to 3,000 doubloons. Fifty or sixty of these are an ordinary stake upon the turn of a card; but I have seen as many as six hundred and twenty, (about ten thousand dollars,) risked and won. There is no limit to the stake, and unfair play is out of the question; but the chances are so much in favour of the table, that few persons continue winners any length of time.

"During the whole fair, the streets and squares of San Augustin are filled, by day and by night, with crowds of people, who sleep *à la belle étoile*, or take shelter under carriages, with which the Plaza is crowded; horses and mules are picketed in every direction round the town; temporary huts are raised with boughs and mats, and as a profusion of flowers is used in all these structures, nothing can be more variegated than the appearance of this motley scene. In the evening, the cockpit is carpeted, and lighted up with chandeliers; cushions are placed upon the benches, looking-glasses suspended from the wooden pillars, and, as the roof, which is of shingles, is concealed in part by a quantity of green boughs, the whole forms a pretty circular ball room, in which all the *élite* and all the refuse of Mexican society may be seen at the same time. The lower classes are, however, excluded from the centre of the house, into which no one improperly dressed is admitted, and forced to take their seats upon the higher tiers of benches. Here they exercise the usual privilege of the one shilling gallery, by applauding most vociferously the performances of any lady, whose style of dancing happens to please them, and by calling occasionally for the Jarave, the Petinera, or other dances of the country, with an exhibition of which they are not unfrequently gratified."

The following description of the capital is interesting. It relates principally to the internal appearance of Mexico, and does not include the majestic scenes with which it is surrounded:—

"The general appearance of the town at the period of our arrival was dull; except at an early hour of the morning, when the great streets presented a very lively scene, particularly those near the Cathedral, and the Plaza Mayor, where the Parian, and the principal shops are situated. In these we found many articles of domestic manufacture: hats, with cotton and woollen cloths, from La

ral price. A jacket, not at all particularly fine, would cost as much more. The hat is worth twenty dollars; the breeches, if at all rich, fifty or sixty; the spurs, with embroidered stirrup-leathers, twenty; the plated bridle thirty-two; while a manga of the most ordinary kind is not to be procured under one hundred dollars, and if at all remarkable, could not be purchased for less than three. The horse usually mounted on these occasions, must be a pacer, fat, sleek, and slow, but with remarkably high action before; which, it is thought, tends to show off both the animal and the rider to the greatest advantage. The *lout ensemble* is exceedingly picturesque; and the public walks of Mexico will lose much in point of effect, when the riding-dress of England, or France, is substituted, as it probably will be, for a national costume of so very peculiar a character."

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with single paddles, with which, however, they are made to skim over the water with great velocity. The gesticulations of these ladies, when animated by a little pulque on their return home, their extreme volubility, and the energy which they display in their quarrels with the tribes of children which they carry about with them, form a curious contrast to their melancholy looks and extreme taciturnity at all other times. They are, however, a very hardy race, and capable of supporting great fatigue. I have often met, when returning from my rides, whole files of men and women, all loaded, the men with baskets, the women with a couple of children each, setting out from Mexico at five in the evening, to return to their villages, which I usually found, upon inquiry, to be seven or eight miles off; and this they accomplish in an hour and a half, by continuing steadily at a long Indian trot, which many of them are able to keep up for a surprising distance. If a question be asked of the leader, the whole party stops, and when it is answered, they proceed again together at the same uniform pace.

"Amongst the many curious scenes that Mexico presented at the end of 1823, I know none with which we were more struck than the Alameda. As compared with the Prado of Madrid, it was, indeed, deprived of its brightest ornament, the women; for few or none of the ladies of Mexico ever appear in public on foot; but to compensate this, it had the merit of being totally unlike any thing that we had ever seen before. On a Sunday, or *Dia de Fiesta*, the avenues were crowded with enormous coaches, mostly without springs, but very highly varnished, and bedizened with extraordinary paintings in lieu of arms, in each of which were seated two or more ladies, dressed in full evening costume, and whiling away the time with a *segar en attendant* the approach of some of the numerous gentlemen walking or riding near. Nor were the equestrians less remarkable; for most of them were equipped in the full riding dress of the country, differing only from that worn by the lower orders in the richness of the materials. When made up for display in the capital, it is enormously expensive. In the first place, the hind quarters of the horse are covered with a coating of leather, (called the *anquera*,) sometimes stamped and gilt, and sometimes curiously wrought, but always terminating in a fringe or border of little tags of brass, iron, or silver, which make a prodigious jingling at every step. The saddle, which is of a piece with the *anquera*, and is adorned in a similar manner, rises before into an inlaid pommel, to which, in the country, the lasso is attached; while the plated headstall of the bridle is connected by large silver ornaments with the powerful Arabic bit. Fur is sometimes used for the *anquera*; and this, when of an expensive kind, (as black bear-skin, or otter-skin,) and embroidered, as it generally is, with broad stripes of gold and silver, makes the value of the whole apparatus amount to four or five hundred dollars, (about 100*l*.) A common leather saddle costs from fifty to eighty dollars. The rider wears a Mexican hat, with a brim six inches wide, a broad edging of gold or silver lace, and a very low crown: he has a jacket, likewise embroidered in gold, or trimmed with rich fur, and a pair of breeches open at the knee, and terminating in two points considerably below it, of some extraordinary colour, (pea-green or *bleu celeste*,) and thickly studded down the sides with large silver buttons. The lower part of the leg is protected by a pair of Guadalajara stamped-leather boots, curiously wrapped around it, and attached to the knee with embroidered garters; these descend as far as the ankle, where they are met by shoes of a most peculiar shape, with a sort of wing projecting on the saddle side; and the whole is terminated by spurs, (made at Lerma or Toluca,) of so preposterous a size, that many of them weigh a pound and a half, while the rowels of all trail upon the ground, if by any chance the wearer is forced to dismount. A cloth *manga*, or riding-cloak, is often thrown over the front of the saddle, and crossed behind the rider in such a manner as to display the circular piece of green or blue velvet in the centre, through which the head is passed, when the *manga* is worn, and which is generally very beautifully embroidered. The cost of the whole dress, when the saddle is of fur, with *arnas de agua* of the same materials, it is not easy to calculate, as it depends entirely upon the degree of expense to which a person chooses to go in the embroidery. A very handsome saddle may be bought for three hundred dollars. I have known two hundred dollars given for a pair of Guadalajara boots, (worked with silver,) but eighty may be taken as a very libe-

ral price. A jacket, not at all particularly fine, would cost as much more. The hat is worth twenty dollars; the breeches, if at all rich, fifty or sixty; the spurs, with embroidered stirrup-leathers, twenty; the plated bridle thirty-two; while a manga of the most ordinary kind is not to be procured under one hundred dollars, and if at all remarkable, could not be purchased for less than three. The horse usually mounted on these occasions, must be a pacer, fat, sleek, and slow, but with remarkably high action before; which, it is thought, tends to show off both the animal and the rider to the greatest advantage. The *tout ensemble* is exceedingly picturesque; and the public walks of Mexico will lose much in point of effect, when the riding-dress of England, or France, is substituted, as it probably will be, for a national costume of so very peculiar a character."

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ART. V.—*Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824—1825, (with Notes upon Ceylon,) an account of a Journey to Madras and the southern Provinces, 1826, and Letters written in India. By the late RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER, D. D. Lord Bishop of Calcutta. 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia: 1828.*

MR. Burke exclaimed, in one of his speeches, that the British empire in India was "an awful thing." It cannot be deemed, even by the most zealous friend of the purity of government in England, more awful than it is curious and extraordinary. Other European nations have founded and maintained distant dominion with a small numerical force; the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch; but the amount, variety, and condition of the population rendered subject by them, are not to be compared with those of the conquered Hindoos. There is a like peculiarity in the origin, agency, growth, and tenure of the British Indian rule; which, in fact, viewed in what aspect or relation soever, must strike the most simple inquirer as a phenomenon nearly throughout, and a topic of wonderful and manifold interest.

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vere malady. Among the rewards of this benefit, he received the privilege of carrying on a free trade. Thence he proceeded to Bengal; and there his medical skill ingratiated him with the nabob of that country, who extended his commercial privilege to all his nation. Thus the company's agents were enabled to build, in 1636, a factory at Hoogley, and stood indebted, as Sir John Malcolm remarks, to the professional abilities of a physician for this commencement of their greatness. Within seventy or eighty years since the operations of that genuine warrior and statesman, Clive, has that mighty sway been created, which now embraces a vast continent, eighty millions of vassals, and two hundred and thirty or forty thousand native, well-disciplined troops; while the entire military force, composed of British or Europeans, falls short of twenty thousand, and the estimated number of all the latter in India, not in the civil or military service, scarcely reaches three thousand.

The Hindoo population is said to comprise all descriptions of human beings; from the most intelligent to the most ignorant; from the bravest and boldest to the most timid and abject:—the military tribes are fierce, turbulent, and superstitious; but all have real masters, besides the British, and more immediate, in the large body of the priesthood, and the more cultivated teachers: the native soldier is represented as shrewd and quick in his conception; fond of pre-eminence, if not of glory; and capable, when skilfully prompted, of the most extraordinary exertions of courage and perseverance.—According to the highest authorities, it is alone by the bravery and fidelity of the sepoy, that India can be preserved to Great Britain. Sir John Malcolm deprecates any accession to the European force, on the ground that it might, from particular causes, weaken the attachment, and lessen the efficiency of the native troops. At the same time, this very competent judge acknowledges, that his countrymen can never succeed in establishing any cordial or social union with their Indian subjects; so widely do they differ in manners, language, religion, and feelings. Other material circumstances, upon which we may have occasion to touch, contribute to render the British dominion precarious and unique, and to exact the utmost care in the selection of the depositaries of that arbitrary power, without which it cannot be prolonged, or even beneficially administered for the rulers or the people. The eminent writer whom we have named above, observes, “The only safe view that Great Britain can take of her empire in India, is to consider it, as it really is, always in a state of danger, and to think it quite impossible to render her possessions in that country secure, except under the management of able and firm rulers. If a succession of men of great talents and virtues cannot be found, or if the operation of any influence on party feelings and principles

amongst so many, some should not be summoned, during their residence in the republic, to receive, in another world, the penalty of their unbelief in this. What, then, was to be done with the bodies? He saw but four modes of disposing of them; namely, to bury, burn, eat, or export them. To the first, his reverend colleagues seemed to object: the second might prove inconvenient from the scarcity of fuel: in the third, he, for one, must decline any participation; and as to the fourth, dead heretics not being included amongst the exportable commodities mentioned in the tariff, he feared that such an innovation might seriously embarrass the custom-house officers upon the coast. He should, therefore, upon the whole, incline for burial, as amongst four serious evils, it appeared to him to be the least.' The speech, of which the above is a literal translation, put an end to any farther discussion, and the article was carried by a large majority."

Speaking of the clergy at Guadalajara, he says:—

"Of the canons (mostly old Spaniards,) we saw nothing. Their influence is thought to be on the wane, and the liberals of the capital declare, that had they not been fettered by the decrees of the Supreme Congress, Jalisco (the state of which Guadalajara is the chief town,) would have given a memorable example to the rest of the federation, and humbled the pride of the clergy at once. Upon this subject I have already expressed my doubts. It must be admitted, however, that their authority is by no means what it was. Iturbide threw himself into the arms of the high church party, which could not prevent him from being driven from the throne; and amongst the middling classes of society, a disposition to question the authority of the church, even in spiritual matters, is daily gaining ground. In temporal affairs, we have seen, that it is rejected altogether. If you ask any young man of the present day, in Guadalajara, what his religious principles are, he will tell you that he is a 'naturalista,' that is to say, of no religion at all. Nor is it surprising that such tenets should spread, when the disgraceful mummeries are taken into consideration, by which the friars, in particular, endeavour to maintain their influence over the minds of the lower orders. At Zacatecas, we saw, on Christmas eve, a figure of our Saviour paraded through the streets, dressed in a green silk robe, with a white handkerchief fastened across the shoulders; while the Virgin followed, adorned with a fashionable French hat, put on a little on one side. These images the poor are taught to worship; the rich, or rather the well-informed, may bow the knee, but they deride in private the superstition with which they are compelled to conform; and religion itself shares in the feelings which such disgusting exhibitions are calculated to excite."

Of the revenues and financial resources of the country, we particularly regret being obliged to take but a hasty notice. Abstractedly considered, they derive a peculiar interest from the circumstances of the enjoyment of great mineral wealth by Mexico and of her total dependence on foreign commerce for the supplies by means of which that wealth is to be extracted. The mutual dependence of commerce and mining, and the complicated advantages resulting to government from their respective activity, present a curious spectacle. The extensive connexions formed between the Mexican republic and the European moneyed community, by the foreign loans, have given to the financial operations of the government no slight degree of direct interest. From an attentive examination of the materials collected by Mr. Ward, who treats the subject with considerable ability though occasionally with too great timidity and diffidence, and of the manifestos which during late years have been published with the presidential messages, we are led irresistibly to the conclusion,

dostan, nor dwell upon the biography of the illustrious prelate, whose premature demise, the true Christians and the lovers of knowledge in every land, have occasion to deplore. For our purpose of levying contribution on his Narrative, with the two-fold object of enriching our pages, and exemplifying his admirable character and the materials of the work, it will be enough for us to premise, that he was the second bishop of the Established Church sent to India; that he carried with him the loftiest reputation as a divine, pastor, traveller, poet—that he was truly “a deeply read and deeply thinking scholar, with the spirit of an apostle, a hatred of intolerance, great simplicity, emphatically a man of virtue and genius.” So much had he accomplished in literature,—so peculiar was the excellence of his life and manners, that he was pre-eminently the writer and the ecclesiastic of promise, from the prolongation of whose career, every merit as a model, and the most valuable and beautiful specimens of composition, were to be expected. And hence we should feel a special regret at his appointment, and complain of the British government for exposing to the Indian climate, literary endowments and personal deserts of this order, if the various worth of these posthumous Journals and Letters, and the importance of his proceedings and memory in India, did not seem to indemnify and console us for his loss. He would have felt himself abundantly rewarded, if he had distinctly foreseen that they “would contribute, in the smallest degree, and with the most remote influence, to render the character of the Hindoos more respectable, and their condition more happy.”

Bishop Heber set sail for Calcutta in the year 1823; landed in October, and undertook a series of progresses which embraced almost the whole of his vast diocese. His first expedition was to the northern provinces, which his predecessor was not able to reach; he afterwards traversed the country to Bombay; next visited Ceylon, and finally the presidency of Madras, in which he ended his mortal course. His first absence from Calcutta, on these Visitations, was of fifteen months, during which he indefatigably surveyed regions and tribes replete with objects of curiosity and attraction for a cultivated, philosophical, and pious mind; and of which some had very rarely been entered by Europeans. The *Narrative* is in the shape of a diary, and consists, in great part, of his correspondence with his beloved wife; who is the editor of the two volumes, and who states in her preface that it was his intention to revisit the same countries, and then only to publish an account of his travels from his notes, corrected by further experience. His more full and elaborate report, precious as it would have been, is hardly to be desired, when we consider that the freshness, ease, engaging familiarity, graphic imagery, and confidential tenderness which pervade and

endear these memoranda, and reveal the whole man, might have been lost to the world. The Letters to his friends in England, which are appended to the Diaries, and occupy a considerable portion of the second volume, are at least equally acceptable; and though they necessarily present some repetitions, we doubt whether any reader would dispense with a single line. The impression which every page of the whole carries, is that of *perfect authenticity*—we mean invariable truth and candour on the part of the writer, accompanying a clear comprehensive vision, and a strong discriminating judgment, assisted by the noblest charity, and clouded by very few prejudices, national or religious.

In relation to prejudice, we were startled, we must confess, on the very threshold of the book, by some sentences of a passage touching us as Americans. We refer to the following, in the journal of the voyage to India:—

“I have been pleased, in my different conversations with our officers concerning foreign seamen, to find that the American sailors bear a better character now with those of our own country than I had understood, or than they really used to do. They are not so grievously addicted to lying as they were once said to be. They have less animosity against the English than formerly, and their character seems to have recovered its natural English tone. One of the officers spoke well of their conduct even during the late war. A Company's ship, he said, on board which he was serving, had a number of American prisoners to take home, who, for the additional allowance of provisions usual on such occasions, undertook to assist in navigating the ship. In this situation, they behaved extremely well, and, at length, when a vessel, supposed to be an American, hove in sight, and an action was expected, they came forward in a body to desire to be sent below, being equally resolved neither to fight against their country, nor to break their faith with their captors.”

A few of the terms here employed—“*even during the late war*,”—“*character recovered its natural English tone*,” betray the unfavourable prepossession of the writer, and the complacency of the Briton. But he expresses himself with caution, tells the honourable anecdote with kindness, and conveys the opinions or errors of others, rather than his own. We confidently deny, that the American sailors are less to be credited than those of any other nation whatever; and protest against the testimony of British officers, whose feelings and particular experience warp their judgment on this point. The outrages and oppression which the American merchant vessels experienced formerly, from the British cruisers, occasioned attempts at evasion or deception, as the only means of baffling rapacious power,—which gave colour to the charge of habitual mendacity. The practice of impressment on the high seas, induced false representations, chiefly on the part of the foreign sailors, who were found on board of our defenceless ships; and hence the American name was rendered responsible for foreign sins, in addition to those the commission of which may be said to have been forced.



When an American sailor avoided the fangs of the boarding officer, by a true statement and genuine papers, the latter left him dissatisfied, and only half persuaded, if not utterly incredulous. We have ourselves witnessed this effect in two instances of visits for impressment, in which some English seamen escaped by "simulation and dissimulation," and the visitors retired, obviously with the impression, that all on board were "grievously addicted to lying." On the score of veracity, the presumption would be, that the real American sailor is superior to any other, because he has generally received some elementary education, including religious principles. As to his tone of character, in other respects,—bravery, skill, discipline, and generosity—we believe that even at the commencement of the last war, it was proved to be at least equal to the highest with the enemy. If he had "animosity against the English," it was abundantly provoked by injury and contumely; if it is less than formerly, its decrease has been in proportion to the amendment in conduct and dispositions on the other side. In the same diary of the voyage, in one of the largest of the Company's ships, the good Bishop complains that when he administered the sacrament, after having preached at different times, only *three* of the seamen attended. We doubt that less piety would have been manifested by an American crew, of like numbers, after so much eloquent and imposing exhortation. But to return to our proper theme.

On the voyage, the exalted missionary shows his tenderness of heart, richness of fancy, and poetical talent, in various passages of the journal, a few of which we must venture to transcribe :

"A vessel bound for London, three days from Funchal, passed us at dinner-time. My wife's eyes swam with tears as this vessel passed us, and there were one or two of the young men who looked wishfully after her. For my own part, I am but too well convinced, that all my firmness would go, if I allowed myself to look back, even for a moment. Yet, as I did not leave home and its blessings without counting the cost, I do not, and I trust in God that I shall not, regret the choice that I have made. But knowing how much others have given up for my sake, should make me both more studious to make the loss less to them, and also, and above all, so to discharge my duty, as that they may never think that these sacrifices have been made in vain."

"*August 18.*—The same breeze, which has now increased to what seamen call a *strong gale*, with a high rolling sea from the south-west. Both yesterday and to-day we have had the opportunity of seeing no insufficient specimen of those gigantic waves of which I have often heard as prevailing in these latitudes. In a weaker vessel, and with less confidence in our officers and crew, they would be alarming as well as awful and sublime. But, in our case, seen as they are from a strong and well-found ship, in fine clear weather, and with good sea room, they constitute a magnificent spectacle, which may be contemplated with unmixed pleasure. I have hardly been able to leave the deck, so much have I enjoyed it, and my wife, who happily now feels very little inconvenience from the motion, has expressed the same feelings. The deep blue of the sea, the snow-white tops of the waves, their enormous sweep, the alternate sinking and rising of the ship, which seems like a plaything in a giant's hands, and the vast multitude of seabirds skimming round us, constitute a picture of the most exhilarating, as well

the concurrent testimony of all travellers was irresistible, that now that the period of feeling had passed, unless we were resolutely to shut our eyes to the perception of defects, great and glaring blemishes were discernible. We believed that in the absence of individual morality, the essential principle of national strength is impaired: we could not be blind to the fact which no one seems to controvert, that in Mexico a high tone of moral sensibility, secured by the operation of healthy public opinion, might be said to have no existence. Believing this, we could not, in justice to ourselves, when attempting to delineate Mexican society and manners, sketch in bold relief the few good traits, and leave the rest obscured in the shade. To the justification which is found in the colonial servitude and degradation of the late Spanish dominions, and to the argument that it is too soon to expect the moral and intellectual improvement we are supposed to require, we are willing to allow all the importance which may be desired. But it is an argument with which we have nothing to do. The degraded condition of the former dependencies of Spain was never referred to, as matter of surprise. We never expected better things from them. Our object simply has been to enable our fellow-citizens to judge of the reality, and not to indicate the causes of the results we have developed; to show them Mexico as it is, and not to inquire why Mexico is as it is. To that inquiry they are fully competent.

We may be asked whether with our present opinions of the limited capacity and degraded state of our neighbours, we do not look forward to a change. We reply that we regard such a change as inevitable. The genius of free institutions, more extended intercourse with foreign nations, and an increasing liberality on the score of religion will ensure it. Seminaries of learning are springing up in different parts of the country, the direction of which has been given to foreign teachers; and, what is still more favourable, very many of the Mexican young men have been sent to Europe and this country to receive their education. Should a political calm succeed the recent confusion, we may anticipate from the operation of all these causes the most happy consequences; and the reviewer of the next generation will have to perform a far less invidious task than the one which we have executed.

Having already transgressed our proper limits, we are able to make only the following extracts, with a view to enable our readers to judge of the condition of Mexican society, and of Mr. Ward's powers of description. The first refers to the annual festival at San Augustin de las Cuevas, a village a few miles from the capital.—

“As the season was advancing, and the heat increasing daily in the Tierra Caliente, I resolved not to defer my expedition, and commenced my journey within

ble to the human eye, than the fair skins of Europe; and the second was, how entirely the idea of indelicacy, which would naturally belong to such figures if they were white, is prevented by their being of a different colour from our own. We are inclined to question the correctness of both these remarks, as general propositions; but we must economize space, with so much excellent matter ahead. When the native Hindoos crowded about the ship after she had anchored in the river Hooghly, he noted that, of the multitude, some were as black as negroes, others merely copper-coloured, and others but little darker than the Tunisians whom he had seen at Liverpool. Here he was informed, by clergymen who had surveyed much of India, that the same diversity obtained throughout the country, and was every where striking. It does not proceed from difference of exposure, since the same variety of tint is visible in those who are naked all alike; nor does it depend on *caste*, Brahmins of a very high caste being sometimes black, while the Pariahs, or outcasts, are comparatively fair. On this question of colour, which is certainly curious, the Bishop dwells and speculates in more than one place. For example, we find after he has proceeded far in his first Visitation, the following remarkable facts and theory:—

“I thought it remarkable that though most of the male deities are represented of a deep brown colour, like the natives of the country, the females are usually no less red and white than our porcelain beauties as exhibited in England. But it is evident, from the expressions of most of the Indians themselves, from the style of their amatory poetry, and other circumstances, that they consider fairness as a part of beauty, and a proof of noble blood. They do not like to be called black; and though the Abyssinians, who are sometimes met with in the country, are very little darker than they themselves are, their jest books are full of taunts on the charcoal complexion of the ‘Hubshee.’ Much of this has probably arisen from their having been so long subjected to the Moguls, and other conquerors, originally from more northern climates, and who continued to keep up the comparative fairness of their stock, by frequent importation of northern beauties. India too has been always, and long before the Europeans came hither, a favourite theatre for adventurers from Persia, Greece, Tartary, Turkey, and Arabia, all white men, and all in their turn possessing themselves of wealth and power. These circumstances must have greatly contributed to make a fair complexion fashionable. It is remarkable, however, to observe how surely all these classes of men in a few generations, even without any intermarriage with the Hindoos, assume the deep olive tint, little less dark than a Negro, which seems natural to the climate. The Portuguese natives form unions among themselves alone, or if they can with Europeans. Yet the Portuguese have, during a three hundred years’ residence in India, become as black as Caffres. Surely this goes far to disprove the assertion, which is sometimes made, that climate alone is insufficient to account for the difference between the Negro and the European. It is true that in the Negro are other peculiarities which the Indian has not, and to which the Portuguese colonist shows no symptom of approximation, and which undoubtedly do not appear to follow so naturally from the climate, as that swarthy complexion which is the sole distinction between the Hindoo and the European. But if heat produces one change, other peculiarities of climate may produce other and additional changes, and when such peculiarities have 3 or 4000 years to operate in, it is not easy to fix any limits to their power. I am inclined after all, to suspect that our European vanity leads us astray in supposing that our own is the primitive complexion, which I should rather suppose was that of the Indian, half way between the two extremes, and perhaps the most

agreeable to the eye and instinct of the majority of the human race. A colder climate, and a constant use of clothes, may have blanched the skin as effectually as a burning sun and nakedness may have tanned it; and I am encouraged in this hypothesis by observing that of animals the natural colours are generally dusky and uniform, while whiteness and a variety of tint almost invariably follow domestication, shelter from the elements, and a mixed and unnatural diet. Thus while hardship, additional exposure, a greater degree of heat, and other circumstances with which we are unacquainted, may have deteriorated the Hindoo into a Negro, opposite causes may have changed him into the progressively lighter tints of the Chinese, the Persian, the Turk, the Russian, and the Englishman.

The Arab vessels attracted his attention, in the Hooghly,—no longer clumsy, but of European built and swiftness, and manned by a people “who are gradually becoming formidably maritime, and are not unlikely to give great trouble in the Indian seas, to the English and other European nations.” On landing, and conversing with the inhabitants of a village which had very seldom been visited by Europeans, he heard the word *police-wala*, for a peace-officer, and a Brahmin called the *Padre* of the village. The occurrence of these European sounds, in a scene so purely Oriental, had a whimsical effect, and became more interesting, when he learned that the name of *Padre*, originally caught from the Portuguese, was then applied to religious persons, of whatever description, all over India, even in the most remote situations, and where no European penetrates once in a century; and that, likewise, almost throughout the Indian empire, the term *Grigi*, a corruption of *Ecclesia*, is employed when speaking of any place of worship. *Cosák* is the common word for a predatory horseman, all over Northern and Central India. This itinerant faculty of language is important, in the consideration of points connected with the supposed original identity of nations, and the extent of mutual intercourse. It might save some erudite but knotty and inconclusive disquisitions, and aid the philosophy of comparative vocabularies.

When within nine miles of Calcutta, the Bishop found carriages waiting for his party, drawn by small horses with switch tails, and driven by postillions with whiskers, turbans, bare legs and arms, and blue jackets with tawdry yellow lace. By the side of each horse, ran a *saes* or groom, and behind one of them were two decent looking men with long beards and white cotton dresses, who introduced themselves as his *peons* or *hurkarus*, and whose badges were a short mace or club of silver, and a long silver stick. The *saeses* kept pace with the carriages. In his new dwelling, his servants were immediately paraded before him, under many respective and sonorous titles, eight or nine of which he enumerates. The most conspicuous of the array, was “a tall fine looking man in a white muslin dress, speaking good English, and the editor of a Bengalee newspaper,” who appeared with a large silken and embroidered purse full of silver

coins; which purse he presented, in order that it might be merely taken and returned. This proceeding is the relick of the ancient Eastern custom of never approaching a superior without a present. In like manner, all the natives who visited the Bishop, offered a piece of gold or silver money. He found a sort of literary attendance on another occasion, when making a short excursion in one of the Governor-General's boats. The Diary says:—

"It is a large, light, and beautiful canoe, paddled by twenty men, who sit with their faces towards the head, with one leg hanging over the side of the boat, and the great toe through a ring fastened to its side. They keep time with their paddles, and join occasionally in chorus with a man who stands in the middle, singing what I was assured were verses of his own composition: sometimes amatory, sometimes in praise of the British nation, the 'Company Sahib,' and the Governor-General; and in one or two instances were narrations of different victories gained by our troops in India. The tunes of many of them are simple and pleasing, but the poet has not a good voice. His appearance is singular—a little, thin, squinting man, extremely conceited, with large silver manacles, like those of women, round his naked ankles, which he jingles in cadence to his story."

At Barrackpoor, the prelate first mounted an elephant, a steed with which he became fully familiar, in progress of time. He thought the motion far from disagreeable, though very different from that of a horse. He gives these details:—

"As the animal moves both feet on the same side at once, the sensation is like that of being carried on a man's shoulders. A full grown elephant carries two persons in the 'howdah,' besides the 'mohout,' or driver, who sits on his neck, and a servant on the crupper behind with an umbrella. The howdah itself, which Europeans use, is not unlike the body of a small gig, but without a head. The native howdahs have a far less elevated seat, and are much more ornamented. At Calcutta, or within five miles of it, no elephants are allowed, on account of the frequent accidents which they occasion by frightening horses. Those at Barrackpoor were larger animals than I had expected to see; two of them were at least ten feet high. That which Lord Amherst rode, and on which I accompanied him, was a very noble fellow, dressed up in splendid trappings, which were a present from the king of Oude, and ornamented all over with fish embroidered in gold, a device which is here considered a badge of royalty. I was amused by one peculiarity, which I had never before heard of; while the elephant is going on, a man walks by his side, telling him where to tread, bidding him 'take care,'—'step out,' warning him that the road is rough, slippery, &c., all which the animal is supposed to understand, and take his measures accordingly. The mohout says nothing, but guides him by pressing his legs to his neck, on the side to which he wishes him to turn, urging him forwards with the point of a formidable goad, and stopping him by a blow on the forehead with the butt end of the same instrument. The command these men have over their elephants is well known, and a circumstance lately occurred of one of them making a sign to his beast, which was instantly obeyed, to kill a woman who had said something to offend him. The man was executed before our arrival."

Calcutta is particularly described in the second, third, and fourth Chapters of the Journal. The resemblance of some parts and views of it, to some of St. Petersburg, which the traveller had seen, is so close, that it was "hardly possible" for him to fancy himself any where else than in the Russian metropolis. His first letter to Mr. Wynn, has this passage:—

"We arrived in Fort William on the evening of the 10th. The impression made by the appearance of the European houses which we passed in Garden-

ral price. A jacket, not at all particularly fine, would cost as much more. The hat is worth twenty dollars; the breeches, if at all rich, fifty or sixty; the spurs, with embroidered stirrup-leathers, twenty; the plated bridle thirty-two; while a manga of the most ordinary kind is not to be procured under one hundred dollars, and if at all remarkable, could not be purchased for less than three. The horse usually mounted on these occasions, must be a pacer, fat, sleek, and slow, but with remarkably high action before; which, it is thought, tends to show off both the animal and the rider to the greatest advantage. The *tout ensemble* is exceedingly picturesque; and the public walks of Mexico will lose much in point of effect, when the riding-dress of England, or France, is substituted, as it probably will be, for a national costume of so very peculiar a character."

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ART. V.—*Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824—1825, (with Notes upon Ceylon,) an account of a Journey to Madras and the southern Provinces, 1826, and Letters written in India. By the late RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER, D. D. Lord Bishop of Calcutta. 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia: 1828.*

MR. Burke exclaimed, in one of his speeches, that the British empire in India was "an awful thing." It cannot be deemed, even by the most zealous friend of the purity of government in England, more awful than it is curious and extraordinary. Other European nations have founded and maintained distant dominion with a small numerical force; the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch; but the amount, variety, and condition of the population rendered subject by them, are not to be compared with those of the conquered Hindoos. There is a like peculiarity in the origin, agency, growth, and tenure of the British Indian rule; which, in fact, viewed in what aspect or relation soever, must strike the most simple inquirer as a phenomenon nearly throughout, and a topic of wonderful and manifold interest.

An association of traders, in one city of what may be called a small island of Europe, began an intercourse with the East, for the purpose of common gain: from the period when they first introduced factories, a century and a half elapsed before they attained or sought political power: suddenly, the jealous and hostile feelings of rival European establishments, and the quick stirrings of ambition, involved them in contests so waged by their servants, as to invest them with a territorial sovereignty, which, for the preservation of any foothold at all, and the prosecution of their original object, it became necessary to preserve and indefinitely enlarge. The formation of the settlement in Bengal, which proved the source of their gigantic prosperity, was owing to a singular accident. A gentleman of the name of Broughton, went from Surat to Agrah, where he chanced to cure the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehaan of a se-

vere malady. Among the rewards of this benefit, he received the privilege of carrying on a free trade. Thence he proceeded to Bengal; and there his medical skill ingratiated him with the nabob of that country, who extended his commercial privilege to all his nation. Thus the company's agents were enabled to build, in 1636, a factory at Hoogley, and stood indebted, as Sir John Malcolm remarks, to the professional abilities of a physician for this commencement of their greatness. Within seventy or eighty years since the operations of that genuine warrior and statesman, Clive, has that mighty sway been created, which now embraces a vast continent, eighty millions of vassals, and two hundred and thirty or forty thousand native, well-disciplined troops; while the entire military force, composed of British or Europeans, falls short of twenty thousand, and the estimated number of all the latter in India, not in the civil or military service, scarcely reaches three thousand.

The Hindoo population is said to comprise all descriptions of human beings; from the most intelligent to the most ignorant; from the bravest and boldest to the most timid and abject:—the military tribes are fierce, turbulent, and superstitious; but all have real masters, besides the British, and more immediate, in the large body of the priesthood, and the more cultivated teachers: the native soldier is represented as shrewd and quick in his conception; fond of pre-eminence, if not of glory; and capable, when skilfully prompted, of the most extraordinary exertions of courage and perseverance.—According to the highest authorities, it is alone by the bravery and fidelity of the sepoy, that India can be preserved to Great Britain. Sir John Malcolm deprecates any accession to the European force, on the ground that it might, from particular causes, weaken the attachment, and lessen the efficiency of the native troops. At the same time, this very competent judge acknowledges, that his countrymen can never succeed in establishing any cordial or social union with their Indian subjects; so widely do they differ in manners, language, religion, and feelings. Other material circumstances, upon which we may have occasion to touch, contribute to render the British dominion precarious and unique, and to exact the utmost care in the selection of the depositories of that arbitrary power, without which it cannot be prolonged, or even beneficially administered for the rulers or the people. The eminent writer whom we have named above, observes, “The only safe view that Great Britain can take of her empire in India, is to consider it, as it really is, always in a state of danger, and to think it quite impossible to render her possessions in that country secure, except under the management of able and firm rulers. If a succession of men of great talents and virtues cannot be found, or if the operation of any influence on party feelings and principles

prevents their being chosen, we must reconcile ourselves to the serious hazard of the early decline, if not the loss, of the great dominion we have founded in the East."

It is worthy of note, in the annals of the British sway, how many of the chief men, whether in the military or civil service, have displayed considerable talents and active virtue. Of the commanders, we may cite Clive, Lake, Eyre Coote, Meadows, Cornwallis, Wellington, Combermere, and Campbell. The political and judicial departments, shine indeed, as Sir William Jones, Warren Hastings, Barlow, Lawrence, Munro, Lord Minto, Sir James Mackintosh, the Marquis Wellesley, Sir John Shore, Elphinstone, Adam, Sir John Malcolm, are mentioned. Other administrators could be named, whose signal abilities and immense labours redound strongly to the credit of those by whom they were selected and sustained in place. In connexion with this Indian rule, too, the literary and scientific research, and the productiveness of the press, have been in a manner co-extensive. We may merely refer to the Transactions of the different Asiatic societies, and to the volumes of Jones, Orme, Rennel, Maurice, Wilks, Malcolm, Hamilton, Elphinstone, Forbes, Leyden, Tennant. The official reports from the Presidencies, are, in general, very able and instructive performances:—a mighty mass of information was disclosed to the world, on the occasion of Warren Hastings's trial; and several of the British periodical works, have supplied much additional knowledge, in the shape of reviews and disquisitions from original sources. Similar interest and value may be ascribed to the narratives of the embassies or missions, which the British authorities have sent to the native sovereigns and adjacent powers. The special attention which has been paid to the history, geography, and philology of the whole East, has, moreover, incalculably enlarged and rectified those branches of study; though in noting this circumstance, we should confess, that as far as the Asiatic annals and traditions have been employed, we think that the quantum of historical certainty is far from being proportionably increased. The code of Hindoo laws, which Warren Hastings caused to be compiled by the most erudite Pundits, is justly represented by Dr. Robertson, as the most valuable and authentic elucidation of India policy and manners, that had been communicated to Europe.

Of the books respecting India, to which general readers are likely to resort, there is none, we are sure, destined to become so popular and familiar, as that of which the title is transcribed at the head of this article;—and of the names which are or may be associated with the British empire in that quarter, few will ultimately rival, and still fewer surpass, in favour and authority, the one in its title-page. We shall not here enter into details concerning the introduction and diffusion of Christianity in Hin-



dostan, nor dwell upon the biography of the illustrious prelate, whose premature demise, the true Christians and the lovers of knowledge in every land, have occasion to deplore. For our purpose of levying contribution on his Narrative, with the two-fold object of enriching our pages, and exemplifying his admirable character and the materials of the work, it will be enough for us to premise, that he was the second bishop of the Established Church sent to India; that he carried with him the loftiest reputation as a divine, pastor, traveller, poet—that he was truly “a deeply read and deeply thinking scholar, with the spirit of an apostle, a hatred of intolerance, great simplicity, emphatically a man of virtue and genius.” So much had he accomplished in literature,—so peculiar was the excellence of his life and manners, that he was pre-eminently the writer and the ecclesiastic of promise, from the prolongation of whose career, every merit as a model, and the most valuable and beautiful specimens of composition, were to be expected. And hence we should feel a special regret at his appointment, and complain of the British government for exposing to the Indian climate, literary endowments and personal deserts of this order, if the various worth of these posthumous Journals and Letters, and the importance of his proceedings and memory in India, did not seem to indemnify and console us for his loss. He would have felt himself abundantly rewarded, if he had distinctly foreseen that they “would contribute, in the smallest degree, and with the most remote influence, to render the character of the Hindoos more respectable, and their condition more happy.”

Bishop Heber set sail for Calcutta in the year 1823; landed in October, and undertook a series of progresses which embraced almost the whole of his vast diocese. His first expedition was to the northern provinces, which his predecessor was not able to reach; he afterwards traversed the country to Bombay; next visited Ceylon, and finally the presidency of Madras, in which he ended his mortal course. His first absence from Calcutta, on these Visitations, was of fifteen months, during which he indefatigably surveyed regions and tribes replete with objects of curiosity and attraction for a cultivated, philosophical, and pious mind; and of which some had very rarely been entered by Europeans. The *Narrative* is in the shape of a diary, and consists, in great part, of his correspondence with his beloved wife; who is the editor of the two volumes, and who states in her preface that it was his intention to revisit the same countries, and then only to publish an account of his travels from his notes, corrected by further experience. His more full and elaborate report, precious as it would have been, is hardly to be desired, when we consider that the freshness, ease, engaging familiarity, graphic imagery, and confidential tenderness which pervade and

endear these memoranda, and reveal the whole man, might have been lost to the world. The Letters to his friends in England, which are appended to the Diaries, and occupy a considerable portion of the second volume, are at least equally acceptable; and though they necessarily present some repetitions, we doubt whether any reader would dispense with a single line. The impression which every page of the whole carries, is that of *perfect authenticity*—we mean invariable truth and candour on the part of the writer, accompanying a clear comprehensive vision, and a strong discriminating judgment, assisted by the noblest charity, and clouded by very few prejudices, national or religious.

In relation to prejudice, we were startled, we must confess, on the very threshold of the book, by some sentences of a passage touching us as Americans. We refer to the following, in the journal of the voyage to India:—

“I have been pleased, in my different conversations with our officers concerning foreign seamen, to find that the American sailors bear a better character now with those of our own country than I had understood, or than they really used to do. They are not so grievously addicted to lying as they were once said to be. They have less animosity against the English than formerly, and their character seems to have recovered its natural English tone. One of the officers spoke well of their conduct even during the late war. A Company's ship, he said, on board which he was serving, had a number of American prisoners to take home, who, for the additional allowance of provisions usual on such occasions, undertook to assist in navigating the ship. In this situation, they behaved extremely well, and, at length, when a vessel, supposed to be an American, hove in sight, and an action was expected, they came forward in a body to desire to be sent below, being equally resolved neither to fight against their country, nor to break their faith with their captors.”

A few of the terms here employed—“*even during the late war*,”—“*character recovered its natural English tone*,” betray the unfavourable prepossession of the writer, and the complacency of the Briton. But he expresses himself with caution, tells the honourable anecdote with kindness, and conveys the opinions or errors of others, rather than his own. We confidently deny, that the American sailors are less to be credited than those of any other nation whatever; and protest against the testimony of British officers, whose feelings and particular experience warp their judgment on this point. The outrages and oppression which the American merchant vessels experienced formerly, from the British cruisers, occasioned attempts at evasion or deception, as the only means of baffling rapacious power,—which gave colour to the charge of habitual mendacity. The practice of impressment on the high seas, induced false representations, chiefly on the part of the foreign sailors, who were found on board of our defenceless ships; and hence the American name was rendered responsible for foreign sins, in addition to those the commission of which may be said to have been forced.

When an American sailor avoided the fangs of the boarding officer, by a true statement and genuine papers, the latter left him dissatisfied, and only half persuaded, if not utterly incredulous. We have ourselves witnessed this effect in two instances of visits for impressment, in which some English seamen escaped by "simulation and dissimulation," and the visitors retired, obviously with the impression, that all on board were "grievously addicted to lying." On the score of veracity, the presumption would be, that the real American sailor is superior to any other, because he has generally received some elementary education, including religious principles. As to his tone of character, in other respects,—bravery, skill, discipline, and generosity—we believe that even at the commencement of the last war, it was proved to be at least equal to the highest with the enemy. If he had "animosity against the English," it was abundantly provoked by injury and contumely; if it is less than formerly, its decrease has been in proportion to the amendment in conduct and dispositions on the other side. In the same diary of the voyage, in one of the largest of the Company's ships, the good Bishop complains that when he administered the sacrament, after having preached at different times, only *three* of the seamen attended. We doubt that less piety would have been manifested by an American crew, of like numbers, after so much eloquent and imposing exhortation. But to return to our proper theme.

On the voyage, the exalted missionary shows his tenderness of heart, richness of fancy, and poetical talent, in various passages of the journal, a few of which we must venture to transcribe :

"A vessel bound for London, three days from Funchal, passed us at dinner-time. My wife's eyes swam with tears as this vessel passed us, and there were one or two of the young men who looked wishfully after her. For my own part, I am but too well convinced, that all my firmness would go, if I allowed myself to look back, even for a moment. Yet, as I did not leave home and its blessings without counting the cost, I do not, and I trust in God that I shall not, regret the choice that I have made. But knowing how much others have given up for my sake, should make me both more studious to make the loss less to them, and also, and above all, so to discharge my duty, as that they may never think that these sacrifices have been made in vain."

"August 18.—The same breeze, which has now increased to what seamen call a *strong gale*, with a high rolling sea from the south-west. Both yesterday and to-day we have had the opportunity of seeing no insufficient specimen of those gigantic waves of which I have often heard as prevailing in these latitudes. In a weaker vessel, and with less confidence in our officers and crew, they would be alarming as well as awful and sublime. But, in our case, seen as they are from a strong and well-found ship, in fine clear weather, and with good sea room, they constitute a magnificent spectacle, which may be contemplated with unmixed pleasure. I have hardly been able to leave the deck, so much have I enjoyed it, and my wife, who happily now feels very little inconvenience from the motion, has expressed the same feelings. The deep blue of the sea, the snow-white tops of the waves, their enormous sweep, the alternate sinking and rising of the ship, which seems like a plaything in a giant's hands, and the vast multitude of seabirds skimming round us, constitute a picture of the most exhilarating, as well

the river, rose some high naked rocks, forming some rapids which are dangerous to pass at this season."

"August 17.—We had a fine breeze part of the day, and stood over to the other bank, which we found, as I had expected, really very pretty, a country of fine natural meadows, full of cattle, and interspersed with fields of barley, wheat and Indian corn, and villages surrounded by noble trees, with the Curruckpoor hills forming a very interesting distance. If the palm-trees were away, (but who would wish them away?) the prospect would pretty closely resemble some of the best parts of England. In the afternoon we rounded the point of the hills, and again found ourselves in a flat and uninteresting, though fruitful country. The last beautiful spot was a village under a grove of tall fruit-trees, among which were some fine walnuts; some large boats were building on the turf beneath them, and the whole scene reminded me forcibly of a similar builder's yard, which I had met with at Partenak in the Crimea. Many groups of men and boys sate angling, or with their spears watching an opportunity to strike the fish, giving much additional beauty and liveliness to the scene."

"August 18—This morning, after leaving the nullah, we proceeded with a fine breeze, along the left-hand bank of the river, which is very fertile and populous, with a constant succession of villages, whose inhabitants were all washing themselves and getting on their best attire, it being the Hindoo festival of Junma Osmee.

"The day was a very brilliant one, and, though hot, rendered supportable by the breeze, while the whole scene was lively and cheerful,—all the shops having their flags hoisted,—little streamers being spread by most of the boats which we passed, and a larger banner and concourse of people being displayed at a little pagoda under the shade of some noble peepul and tamarind trees.

"The river is all this time filled with boats of the most picturesque forms; the peasants on the bank have that knack of grouping themselves, the want of which I have heard complained of in the peasantry of England."

"I ought not to omit, that the language of Bengal, which is quite different from Hindoostanee, is soft and liquid. The common people are all fond of singing, and some of the airs which I used to hear from the boatmen and children in the villages, reminded me of the Scotch melodies. I heard more than once "My boy, Tammy," and "Here's a health to those far away," during some of those twilight walks, after my boat was moored, which wanted only society to make them delightful, when amid the scent and glow of night-blowing flowers, the soft whisper of waving palms, and the warbling of the nightingale, watching the innumerable fire-flies, like airy glow-worms, floating, rising, and sinking, in the gloom of the bamboo woods, and gazing on the mighty river with the unclouded breadth of a tropical moon sleeping on its surface, I felt in my heart it is good to be here."

The want of space will prevent us from following the Bishop with any degree of regularity or closeness, in his ascent of the Ganges. We must be content to take here and there prominent incidents and reflections, out of a multitude both entertaining and instructive. The extreme vivacity of his numerous boatmen, who were "always chattering, singing, laughing, or playing each other tricks," served to beguile the voyage, and produced the remark, that his own observation of the peasants and fishermen generally, did not confirm the complaint which he had heard in Calcutta, of the apathy of the natives of India. He found them "lively, active, and laborious enough, when they had any motive to stimulate them to exertion." As he was approaching the desolate palaces and pagodas of Dacca, huge dark masses of castle and tower, overgrown with ivy and peepul

ble to the human eye, than the fair skins of Europe; and the second was, how entirely the idea of indelicacy, which would naturally belong to such figures if they were white, is prevented by their being of a different colour from our own. We are inclined to question the correctness of both these remarks, as general propositions; but we must economize space, with so much excellent matter ahead. When the native Hindoos crowded about the ship after she had anchored in the river Hooghly, he noted that, of the multitude, some were as black as negroes, others merely copper-coloured, and others but little darker than the Tunisians whom he had seen at Liverpool. Here he was informed, by clergymen who had surveyed much of India, that the same diversity obtained throughout the country, and was every where striking. It does not proceed from difference of exposure, since the same variety of tint is visible in those who are naked all alike; nor does it depend on *caste*, Brahmins of a very high caste being sometimes black, while the Pariahs, or outcasts, are comparatively fair. On this question of colour, which is certainly curious, the Bishop dwells and speculates in more than one place. For example, we find after he has proceeded far in his first Visitation, the following remarkable facts and theory:—

“I thought it remarkable that though most of the male deities are represented of a deep brown colour, like the natives of the country, the females are usually no less red and white than our porcelain beauties as exhibited in England. But it is evident, from the expressions of most of the Indians themselves, from the style of their amatory poetry, and other circumstances, that they consider fairness as a part of beauty, and a proof of noble blood. They do not like to be called black; and though the Abyssinians, who are sometimes met with in the country, are very little darker than they themselves are, their jest books are full of taunts on the charcoal complexion of the ‘Hubshee.’ Much of this has probably arisen from their having been so long subjected to the Moguls, and other conquerors, originally from more northern climates, and who continued to keep up the comparative fairness of their stock, by frequent importation of northern beauties. India too has been always, and long before the Europeans came hither, a favourite theatre for adventurers from Persia, Greece, Tartary, Turkey, and Arabia, all white men, and all in their turn possessing themselves of wealth and power. These circumstances must have greatly contributed to make a fair complexion fashionable. It is remarkable, however, to observe how surely all these classes of men in a few generations, even without any intermarriage with the Hindoos, assume the deep olive tint, little less dark than a Negro, which seems natural to the climate. The Portuguese natives form unions among themselves alone, or if they can with Europeans. Yet the Portuguese have, during a three hundred years’ residence in India, become as black as Caffres. Surely this goes far to disprove the assertion, which is sometimes made, that climate alone is insufficient to account for the difference between the Negro and the European. It is true that in the Negro are other peculiarities which the Indian has not, and to which the Portuguese colonist shows no symptom of approximation, and which undoubtedly do not appear to follow so naturally from the climate, as that swarthiness of complexion which is the sole distinction between the Hindoo and the European. But if heat produces one change, other peculiarities of climate may produce other and additional changes, and when such peculiarities have 3 or 4000 years to operate in, it is not easy to fix any limits to their power. I am inclined after all, to suspect that our European vanity leads us astray in supposing that our own is the primitive complexion, which I should rather suppose was that of the Indian, half way between the two extremes, and perhaps the most

agreeable to the eye and instinct of the majority of the human race. A colder climate, and a constant use of clothes, may have blanched the skin as effectually as a burning sun and nakedness may have tanned it; and I am encouraged in this hypothesis by observing that of animals the natural colours are generally dusky and uniform, while whiteness and a variety of tint almost invariably follow domestication, shelter from the elements, and a mixed and unnatural diet. Thus while hardship, additional exposure, a greater degree of heat, and other circumstances with which we are unacquainted, may have deteriorated the Hindoo into a Negro, opposite causes may have changed him into the progressively lighter tints of the Chinese, the Persian, the Turk, the Russian, and the Englishman.

The Arab vessels attracted his attention, in the Hooghly,—no longer clumsy, but of European built and swiftness, and manned by a people “who are gradually becoming formidably maritime, and are not unlikely to give great trouble in the Indian seas, to the English and other European nations.” On landing, and conversing with the inhabitants of a village which had very seldom been visited by Europeans, he heard the word *police-wala*, for a peace-officer, and a Brahmin called the *Padre* of the village. The occurrence of these European sounds, in a scene so purely Oriental, had a whimsical effect, and became more interesting, when he learned that the name of *Padre*, originally caught from the Portuguese, was then applied to religious persons, of whatever description, all over India, even in the most remote situations, and where no European penetrates once in a century; and that, likewise, almost throughout the Indian empire, the term *Grigi*, a corruption of *Ecclesia*, is employed when speaking of any place of worship. *Cosdk* is the common word for a predatory horseman, all over Northern and Central India. This itinerant faculty of language is important, in the consideration of points connected with the supposed original identity of nations, and the extent of mutual intercourse. It might save some erudite but knotty and inconclusive disquisitions, and aid the philosophy of comparative vocabularies.

When within nine miles of Calcutta, the Bishop found carriages waiting for his party, drawn by small horses with switch tails, and driven by postillions with whiskers, turbans, bare legs and arms, and blue jackets with tawdry yellow lace. By the side of each horse, ran a *saes* or groom, and behind one of them were two decent looking men with long beards and white cotton dresses, who introduced themselves as his *peons* or *hurkarus*, and whose badges were a short mace or club of silver, and a long silver stick. The *saeses* kept pace with the carriages. In his new dwelling, his servants were immediately paraded before him, under many respective and sonorous titles, eight or nine of which he enumerates. The most conspicuous of the array, was “a tall fine looking man in a white muslin dress, speaking good English, and the editor of a Bengalee newspaper,” who appeared with a large silken and embroidered purse full of silver

coins; which purse he presented, in order that it might be merely taken and returned. This proceeding is the relic of the ancient Eastern custom of never approaching a superior without a present. In like manner, all the natives who visited the Bishop, offered a piece of gold or silver money. He found a sort of literary attendance on another occasion, when making a short excursion in one of the Governor-General's boats. The Diary says:—

"It is a large, light, and beautiful canoe, paddled by twenty men, who sit with their faces towards the head, with one leg hanging over the side of the boat, and the great toe through a ring fastened to its side. They keep time with their paddles, and join occasionally in chorus with a man who stands in the middle, singing what I was assured were verses of his own composition: sometimes amatory, sometimes in praise of the British nation, the 'Company Sahib,' and the Governor-General; and in one or two instances were narrations of different victories gained by our troops in India. The tunes of many of them are simple and pleasing, but the poet has not a good voice. His appearance is singular—a little, thin, squinting man, extremely conceited, with large silver manacles, like those of women, round his naked ankles, which he jingles in cadence to his story."

At Barrackpore, the prelate first mounted an elephant, a steed with which he became fully familiar, in progress of time. He thought the motion far from disagreeable, though very different from that of a horse. He gives these details:—

"As the animal moves both feet on the same side at once, the sensation is like that of being carried on a man's shoulders. A full grown elephant carries two persons in the 'howdah,' besides the 'mohout,' or driver, who sits on his neck, and a servant on the crupper behind with an umbrella. The howdah itself, which Europeans use, is not unlike the body of a small gig, but without a head. The native howdahs have a far less elevated seat, and are much more ornamented. At Calcutta, or within five miles of it, no elephants are allowed, on account of the frequent accidents which they occasion by frightening horses. Those at Barrackpore were larger animals than I had expected to see; two of them were at least ten feet high. That which Lord Amherst rode, and on which I accompanied him, was a very noble fellow, dressed up in splendid trappings, which were a present from the king of Oude, and ornamented all over with fish embroidered in gold, a device which is here considered a badge of royalty. I was amused by one peculiarity, which I had never before heard of; while the elephant is going on, a man walks by his side, telling him where to tread, bidding him 'take care,'—'step out,' warning him that the road is rough, slippery, &c., all which the animal is supposed to understand, and take his measures accordingly. The mohout says nothing, but guides him by pressing his legs to his neck, on the side to which he wishes him to turn, urging him forwards with the point of a formidable goad, and stopping him by a blow on the forehead with the butt end of the same instrument. The command these men have over their elephants is well known, and a circumstance lately occurred of one of them making a sign to his beast, which was instantly obeyed, to kill a woman who had said something to offend him. The man was executed before our arrival."

Calcutta is particularly described in the second, third, and fourth Chapters of the Journal. The resemblance of some parts and views of it, to some of St. Petersburg, which the traveller had seen, is so close, that it was "hardly possible" for him to fancy himself any where else than in the Russian metropolis. His first letter to Mr. Wynn, has this passage:—

"We arrived in Fort William on the evening of the 10th. The impression made by the appearance of the European houses which we passed in Garden-

reach,—by our own apartments, by the crowd of servants, the style of the carriages and horses sent to meet us, and almost all the other circumstances which met our eyes, was that of the extreme similarity of every thing to Russia, making allowance only for the black instead of the white faces, and the difference of climate, though even in Russia, during summer, it is necessary to guard against intense heat. This impression was afterwards rather confirmed than weakened. The size of the houses, their whiteness and Palladian porticos, the loftiness of the rooms, and the scanty furniture,—the unbounded hospitality and apparent love of display, all reminded me of Petersburg and Moscow; to which the manner in which the European houses are scattered, with few regular streets, but each with its separate court-yard and gate-way, and often intermixed with miserable huts, still more contributed.

“I caught myself several times mixing Russian with my newly acquired Hindoostanee, talking of rubles instead of rupees, and bidding the attendants come and go in what they, of course, mistook for English, but which was Slavonic.”

*Serampoor* he paints as a “handsome place, kept beautifully clean, and more like an European town, than Calcutta or any of its neighbouring cantonments.” Its veteran Danish governor had been more than forty years resident in Bengal, still preserving “the apparently robust health and florid old age of Norway, of which country he was a native.” In Calcutta, the Portuguese are numerous, and have two large and very handsome churches. Their clergy wear their canonical dress of white cotton. The Botanical Garden—admirably picturesque, and vastly rich in indigenous plants and in exotics,—more perfectly answered Milton’s idea of Paradise, than any thing which the Bishop ever saw. He was scarcely less delighted with the moral beauty of the scene of the *native female schools*, instituted by Mrs. Wilson, wife of a missionary. This lady, at the end of the year 1826, had about six hundred scholars in various schools in the suburbs of Calcutta. At the commencement of her benevolent enterprise, (1821,) she thought herself fortunate in obtaining the presence of six or seven children; and, at that period, there was no instance of a native female of Bengal, having been instructed in reading, writing, or sewing. In 1823, there were, besides, in Calcutta and the surrounding villages, twenty flourishing schools for boys, under the care of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Church Missionary Society. The Hindoo parents, however, exacted the promise that no attempts would be made to convert the children to Christianity. Nothing can be more edifying than the efforts and success of Mrs. Wilson, which are circumstantially reported in the fourth letter of the Correspondence.

At Calcutta, in the large native houses, the fathers, sons, and grandsons, with their respective families, live together, till their numbers become too great, when they separate like the patriarchs of old, and find out new habitations. The wealthy Bengalese affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. “They drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them



“speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature.” Whiggism predominates in the politics of the Bengalee newspapers, and the Bishop mentions that one of the leading men gave a great dinner, about the period of his arrival, in honour of the *Spanish Revolution*. They show a predilection for European society, but are rarely permitted or encouraged to frequent it on terms of any thing like equality. The “John Bullism,” exercised in this impolitic exclusion, is strongly condemned in the Journal. When as far as Agra, in his first circuit, the Bishop holds this emphatic language:—

“I took an opportunity of inquiring here in what degree of favour the name of the French stood in this part of India, where, for so many years together, it was paramount. I was told that many people were accustomed to speak of them as often oppressive and avaricious, but as of more conciliating and popular manners than the English Sahibs. Many of them, indeed, had completely adopted the Indian dress and customs, and most of them were free from that exclusive and intolerant spirit, which makes the English, wherever they go, a caste by themselves, disliking and disliked by all their neighbours. Of this foolish, surly, national pride, I see but too many instances daily, and I am convinced it does us much harm in this country. We are not guilty of injustice or wilful oppression, but we shut out the natives from our society, and a bullying, insolent manner is continually assumed in speaking to them.”

Returning one day from Calcutta to Serampoor, Heber passed by a funeral pile nearly consumed, on which a *Suttee* had just taken place. The body of the widow who had been burnt alive, was reduced to ashes. This first shock of the kind, made the humane Heber “sick at heart,” but custom had steeled all his Hindoo retinue. There were from twenty to thirty people present, “with about the same degree of interest as would have been called forth by a bonfire in England.” When the boat in which the Bishop was, drew near to the spot, a shout was raised on the shore, in honour of Brahma, which was met by a similar outcry from his boatmen—like the clamour in the splendid verse of Southey:—

“And with a last and loudest cry,  
They call on Arvalan—  
O sight of misery!  
You cannot hear her cries,—all other sound  
In that wild dissonance is drown'd;—  
But in her face you see  
The supplication and the agony,—  
See in her swelling throat the desperate strength  
That with vain effort struggles yet for life;  
Her arms contracted now in fruitless strife,  
Now wildly at full length  
Towards the crowd in vain for pity spread,  
They force her on, they bind her to the dead.”

Interest, custom, jealousy, and superstition, cause the male part of the Hindoos, to cling to the practice of thus sacrificing wives and mothers; while the females, though they ascend the pile with seeming courage and alacrity, would, it is known, re-

joice in its abrogation—a measure which the British rulers dare not attempt. At a public meeting held by the Hindoo gentlemen of Calcutta, (*Baboos*,) to vote an address of thanks to Lord Hastings, on his leaving Bengal, one of the most distinguished proposed as an amendment, that the marquis should be particularly thanked “for the protection and encouragement which he had afforded to *the ancient and orthodox* practice of widows burning themselves with their husbands’ bodies.” The proposal was seconded by another opulent Baboo. In the district of Ghazee poor, the Bishop found that *suttees* were more frequent, than even in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. To show “how little the interference of neighbours is to be apprehended in such cases, and how insignificant female life is deemed,” he relates some instances of which we shall proceed to copy one as quite sufficient for our object:—

“A short time ago, at a small distance from the city of Ghazee poor, in consequence of a dispute which had taken place between two small freeholders about some land, one of the contending parties, an old man of seventy and upwards, brought his wife of the same age to the field in question, forced her, with the assistance of their children and relations, into a little straw hut built for the purpose, and burned her and the hut together, in order that her death might bring a curse on the soil, and her spirit haunt it after death, so that his successful antagonist should never derive any advantage from it. On some horror and surprise being expressed by the gentleman who told me this case, one of the officers of his court, the same, indeed, who had reported it to him, not as a horrible occurrence, but as a proof how spiteful the parties had been against each other, said very coolly, ‘why not?—she was a very old woman,—what use was she?’ The old murderer was in prison, but my friend said he had no doubt that his interference in such a case *between man and wife* was regarded as singularly vexatious and oppressive; and he added, ‘The truth is, so very little value do these people set on their own lives, that we cannot wonder at their caring little for the life of another.’”

With Hindoo saints, faquirs, and living idols of different species, the *Lord Padre Sahib*, (Bishop,) became familiar, even before he had completed the greater part of his first tour. At the festival of “Churruck Poojah,” he saw many devotees going about with small spears through their tongues and arms, and still more with hot irons pressed against their sides. All were naked to the waist, covered with flowers, and plentifully raddled with vermillion, while their long, black, wet hair hung down their backs, almost to their loins. The holy swinging on a tree, is an amusement which we should not covet—either as a spectacle or an exercise. Hooks are thrust through the muscles of the swinger’s sides, and he is thus raised up, and then whirled or spun round with great rapidity. Soon after setting out from Calcutta, the Bishop gives the following specimens of the idolatries and austerities which fell under his observation:—

“A few days since I saw a tall, large, elderly man, nearly naked, walking with three or four others, who suddenly knelt down one after the other, and catching hold of his foot kissed it repeatedly. The man stood with much gravity to allow them to do so, but said nothing. He had the string (‘*peeta*’) of a Brah-

min. Another man passed us on Sunday morning last, hopping on one foot. He was a devotee who had made a vow never to use the other, which was now contracted, and shrunk close up to his hams. Lately, too, I saw a man who held his hands always above his head, and had thus lost the power of bringing them down to his sides."

A Brahminy or consecrated bull, crossed his path soon after. These animals are turned out, when calves, on different solemn occasions, as an acceptable offering to the god Siva, the Avengeur. It would be a mortal sin to strike or injure them. The Bishop remarks that they are exceeding pests in the villages near Calcutta, breaking into gardens, thrusting their noses into the stalls of fruiterers' and pastry cooks' shops, helping themselves without ceremony, and resenting with a push of their horns, any delay in the gratification of their wishes. Pious Hindoos take great delight in pampering them. Another of these *tabood* quadrupeds, encountered near Surdat, is thus depicted:—

"At a neighbouring village I saw an ape in a state of liberty, but as tame as possible, the favourite, perhaps the deity, certainly the sacred animal of the villagers. He was sitting in a little bush as we stopped, (to allow the servants' boats to come up,) and on smelling dinner, I suppose, for my meal was getting ready, waddled gravely down to the water's edge. He was about the size of a large spaniel, enormously fat, covered with long, silky hair, generally of a rusty colour, but on his breast a fine *shot* blue, and about his buttocks and thighs gradually waving into a deep orange; he had no tail, or one so short that the hair concealed it; he went on all fours only. I gave him some toast, and my sirdar-bearer (a Hindoo) sent him a leaf full of rice. I suspect he was often in the habit of receiving doles at this spot, which is the usual place for standing across a deep bay of the river, and I certainly have never yet seen a human Fakir in so good case. To ascend a tree must be to a hermit of his size a work of considerable trouble, but I suppose he does so at night for security, otherwise he would be a magnificent booty for the jackals."

The account of a veteran saint, heard between Almorah and Meerut, is repeated by the Bishop, with what we may venture to style a degree of credulity. He was informed, that, in the neighbourhood of Tighree, there were two Hindoo *Yogis*, who lived in different cells in the wilderness, in opposite directions, of whom one was never hurt by the tigers which abounded; while, to the other, a tiger actually came every night, and licked his hands, and fondled and lay by him for hours. This holy personage went quite naked, with a long white beard and hair. His existence seems to have been unquestionable, as he was seen by the *saeses*; and the Bishop argues earnestly, that the fellowship of the royal beast was not even improbable. At Allahabad, he was visited by the Imam of a neighbouring mosque, "a very handsome man, with a splendid beard, a cheerful, though rather sarcastic countenance, and two of the merriest, most intelligent eyes that could be seen." This lively rogue had travelled much, and told the Lord Padre Sahib how it came to pass that he first went to Mecca. The story shadows out the character and career

ed arms and drooping heads, like so many sheep, on the plain which surrounds Benares." The perplexity of the British authorities may be imagined. They did not, however, yield to this portentous expedient of fanaticism, but drew a strong body of European troops from Dinapoor and Gazeepoor, to the neighbouring cantonment, and endeavoured to persuade the ringleaders of the assemblage, of the impossibility that government should yield to demands so urged. At last, the Indian multitude, pinched by hunger and drenched with rain, began to waver and think of changing their plan. They then fell into dissensions concerning a substitute; a large number dropped off, and in a few days the whole mass melted away. When the black cloud had wholly disappeared, the supreme government wisely repealed the tax.

At Allahabad, the good Bishop changed his mode of travelling, suitably to his destination, and departed for Cawnpoor, with an equipment, which he pleasantly describes thus:—

"At length, on Thursday morning the 30th of September, we began our journey, having set off some hours before our motley train, consisting of twenty-four camels, eight carts drawn by bullocks, twenty-four horse-servants, including those of the Archdeacon and Mr. Lushington, ten ponies, forty bearers and coolies of different descriptions, twelve tent-pitchers, and a guard of twenty sepoy under a native officer. The whimsical caravan filed off in state before me; my servants, all armed with spears, to which many of them had added, at their own cost, sabres of the longest growth, looked, on their little ponies, like something between cossacks and sheriff's javelin-men; my new Turkoman horse, still in the costume of his country, with his long squirrel-like tail painted red, and his mane plaited in love-knots, looked as if he were going to eat fire, or perform some other part in a melo-drama; while Mr. Lushington's horses, two very pretty Arabs, with their tails docked, and their saddles English ("Ungtrig") fashion, might have attracted notice in Hyde-park, the Archdeacon's buggy and horse had every appearance of issuing from the back gate of a college in Cambridge on a Sunday morning; and lastly came some mounted gens d'armes, and a sword and buckler-man on foot, looking exactly like the advanced guard of a Tartar army."

Having reached Cawnpoor, though not without remarkable adventures, he proceeded thence to Lucknow, the capital of the kingdom of Oude, so conspicuous in the British Indian annals, and upon whose soil every thing flourishes, that grows either in Bengal or in Persia. He set out on an elephant, and was soon met by a splendid retinue of elephants and horses, sent for the accommodation of his party by the monarch of Oude, "the refuge of the world:—"

"While," says the prelate, "I was changing elephants, a decent looking man stepped up to me, and begged to know my name and titles at full length, in order, as he said, 'to make a report of them to the asylum of the world.' I found, on inquiry, that he was the writer of the court circular, a much more minute task, and one considered of far more importance here than in Europe. Every thing which occurs in the family of the King himself, the Resident, the chief officers of state, or any strangers of rank who may arrive, is carefully noted and sent round in writing. And I was told that the exact hour at which I rose, the sort of breakfast I ate, the visits I paid or received, and the manner in which I passed my morning, would all be detailed by the King's chobdars, for the information.

of their master, whose own most indifferent actions, however, are with equal fairness written down for the inspection of Mr. Ricketts, the British Resident."

The account of his residence at Lucknow, of his symposiums and discussions at "the most polished and splendid court in India," and of the condition of the sovereign and people, forms one of the precious portions of his Narrative; but we can merely indicate its attraction and value. Oude has been the resort of a host of European adventurers; and to exemplify the strange mixture, he relates that he had applications made to him for charity, by a Spaniard from Lima in Peru, and a Silesian Jew.

From Lucknow, he went to Bareilly. On the route, he noticed some fields of tobacco, called by the Hindoos *tumbuccoo*, a name evidently derived, as well as the plant itself, through the Europeans, from America. One passage of this part of the Diary, we cannot refrain from quoting, as it portrays both the country and the traveller:—

"November 13.—We encamped in a smaller grove of mangoe-trees than the four or five last had been, but the trees themselves were very noble. The chief cultivation round us was cotton. The morning was positively cold, and the whole scene, with the exercise of the march, the picturesque groups of men and animals round me,—the bracing air, the singing of birds, the light mist hanging on the trees, and the glistening dew, had something at once so Oriental and so English, I have seldom found any thing better adapted to raise a man's animal spirits, and put him in good temper with himself and all the world. How I wish those I love were with me! How much my wife would enjoy this sort of life,—its exercise, its cleanliness and purity; its constant occupation, and at the same time its comparative freedom from form, care, and vexation! At the same time a man who is curious in his eating, had better not come here. Lamb and kid, (and we get no other flesh,) most people would soon tire of. The only fowls which are attainable are as tough and lean as can be desired; and the milk and butter are generally seasoned with the never-failing condiments of Hindostan, smoke and soot. The milk would be very good if the people would only milk the cow into one of our vessels instead of their own; but this they generally refuse to do, and refuse with much greater pertinacity than those who live near the river. These, however, are matters to which it is not difficult to become reconciled; and all the more serious points of warmth, shade, cleanliness, air, and water, are at this season no where enjoyed better than in the spacious and well-contrived tents, the ample means of transport, the fine climate, and fertile regions of Northern Hindostan."

We now approach, with the Lord Padre, the Himalaya mountains, the region in which, perhaps, on the whole, he is more happy and engaging, than in any other scene of his peregrinations. We could wish here, to draw abundantly on his attractive pages, but the use we have made, and have still to make of the book generally, restricts us to comparatively brief and desultory glances. We shall copy at once, his first impressions and principal notices of the colossal ridge, about which, as it is honoured and celebrated by the Hindoos themselves, we would refer the reader, also, to the "argument" and text of Sir William Jones' noble *Hymn to Durga*.

"We had at Shadee, a first view of the range of the Himalaya, indistinctly seen through the haze, but not so indistinctly as to conceal the general form of

the mountains. The nearer hills are blue, and in outline and tints resemble pretty closely, at this distance, those which close in the vale of Clwyd. Above these rose, what might, in the present unfavourable atmosphere, have been taken for clouds, had not their seat been so stationary and their outline so harsh and pyramidal, the patriarchs of the continent, perhaps the surviving ruins of a former world, white and glistening as alabaster, and even at this distance of, probably, 150 miles, towering above the nearer and secondary range, as much as these last (though said to be 7600 feet high) are above the plain on which we were standing. I felt intense delight and awe in looking on them, but the pleasure lasted not many minutes, the clouds closed in again, as on the fairy castle of St. John, and left us but the former gray cold horizon, girding in the green plain of Rohilkund, and broken only by scattered tufts of peepul and mangoe-trees."

"On leaving our encampment we forded the river Bhagool, and afterwards, once or twice, fell in, during our march, with its windings. At last, soon after the sun rose, and just as we had reached a small rising ground, the mist rolled away and showed us again the Himalaya, distinct and dark, with the gloriously mountains, towering in a clear blue sky, above the nearer range. There were four of these, the names of three of which my companion knew, Bhadrinâth, Kedar, Nâth, and the peak above the source of the Ganges, the Meru of Hindoo fable. The fourth, to the extreme right, he did not know, and I could not find it in Arrowsmith's map. Bhadrinâth, he told me, is reckoned the highest. From hence, however, it is not the most conspicuous of the four. That we saw the snowy peaks at all, considering their distance, and that mountains twice as high as Snowdon intervened, is wonderful. I need hardly say that I wished for my wife to share the sight with me. But I thought of Tandah and the Terai, and felt, on recollection, that I should have probably been in considerable uneasiness, if she and the children had been to pass the intervening inhospitable country.

"Sheeshghur is a poor village, on a trifling elevation which is conspicuous in this level country. It has a ruinous fort on its summit, and altogether, with the great surrounding flat and the blue hills behind it, put me in mind of some views of Rhyddlan. The Clwydian chain, indeed, is not crowned by such noble pinnacles as Bhadrinâth and Gangotree, but I could not help feeling now, and I felt it still more when I began to attempt to commit the prospect to paper, that the awe and wonder which I experienced were of a very complex character, and greatly detached from the simple act of vision. The eye is, by itself, and without some objects to form a comparison, unable to judge of such heights at such a distance. Carneth Llewellyn and Snowdon, at certain times in the year, make, really, as good a picture as the mountains now before me; and the reason that I am so much more impressed with the present view, is partly the mysterious idea of awful and inaccessible remoteness attached to the Indian Caucasus, the centre of earth,

"Its Altar, and its Cradle, and its Throne;"

and still more the knowledge derived from books, that the objects now before me are really among the greatest earthly works of the Almighty Creator's hands,—the highest spots below the moon—and out-topping, by many hundred feet, the summits of Cotopaxi and Chimborazo."

"November 23.—This morning I mounted Mr. Traill's pony, a stout shaggy little white animal, whose birth-place might have been in Wales, instead of the Himalaya. Mr. Boulderson was on a similar one which he had brought from the hills some years before. He was equipped for the journey with a long spear, had his gun, a double-barrelled one, loaded with ball and shot, carried close to him, and two men with matchlocks who seemed his usual attendants. By his advice I had my pistols, and he also lent me a double-barrelled gun, saying, we might see tigers. After a good deal of trouble in getting the mules and coolies started, we proceeded on our journey as it began to dawn, a night march being not very safe amid these mountains, and the beauty of the scenery being of itself a sufficient motive to see all which was to be seen. The road was, certainly, sufficiently

steep and rugged, and, particularly when intersected by torrents, I do not think it was passable by horses accustomed only to the plain. I was myself surprised to see how dexterously our ponies picked their way over large rolling pebbles and broken fragments of rock, how firmly they planted their feet, and with how little distress they conquered some of the steepest ascents I ever climbed. The country as we advanced, became exceedingly beautiful and romantic. It reminded me most of Norway, but had the advantage of round-topped trees, instead of the unvaried spear-like outline of the pine. It would have been like some parts of Wales, had not the hills and precipices been much higher, and the valleys, or rather dells, narrower and more savage. We could seldom, from the range on which the road ran, see to the bottom of any of them, and only heard the roar and rush of the river which we had left, and which the torrents which foamed across our path were hastening to join."

"*November 25.*—This morning we began to pack by four o'clock, but owing to the restiveness of the mules and the clumsiness of the people, divers accidents occurred, the most serious of which was the bursting of one of the petarrals. At length we got off, and after coasting the lake for one mile, went for about thirteen more by a most steep and rugged road, over the neck of mount Gaughur, through a succession of glens, forests, and views of the most sublime and beautiful description. I never saw such prospects before, and had formed no adequate idea of such. My attention was completely strained, and my eyes filled with tears; every thing around was so wild and magnificent, that man appeared as nothing, and I felt myself as if climbing the steps of the altar of God's great temple. The trees, as we advanced, were in a large proportion fir and cedar, but many were ilex, and to my surprise I still saw, even in these Alpine tracts, many venerable peepul trees, on which the white monkeys were playing their gambols."

"Nundidevi, the highest peak in the world, is stated to be no less than 25,689 feet above the sea, and four thousand feet and upwards higher than Chimborazo. Bhadrināth and Kedarnāth are merely two ends of the same mountain, its height is 22,300 feet. The peak which the chuprassees called Meru, is properly Sumeru, as distinguished, by the modern Pandits at least, from the celestial and fabulous one. It is really, however, pretty near the sources of the Ganges, and about 23,000 feet high, though the three great peaks of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, whence the Ganges really flows, are from this point obscured by the intervening ridge of Kedarnāth. Kedarnāth, Gungothee, Sumeru, and Nundidevi, are all within the British territory, and Mr. Traill has been to the northward of them, though the peaks themselves have never been scaled. Nundidevi is, as the crow flies, forty miles from Almorah, but following the winding of the only accessible road, it is eight or nine days march."

"We encamped near a village named Pruny, on a beautiful piece of rocky pasture-ground, situated between the two peaks of a lofty mountain, and surrounded on every side by a forest of fir and cedar-trees. At a little distance from our tents, some people who had been sent on by Mr. Traill to prepare the Zeinindars to afford the necessary supplies, had constructed a sort of bower or wigwam of pine branches for the use of our followers. Nothing could be ruder than these leafy screens; but with plenty of straw, a blazing fire, and sheltered situation, they seemed to satisfy our people; nor could I help noticing that, though we were now 6000 feet above the level of the sea, and it was freezing in the shade almost all day, the sepoy, soon after their arrival, stripped off all their clothes, but their waist-clothes, went to wash themselves as usual in the brook, and remained naked all day till the sun was actually setting; so little reason have we for accusing these people of effeminacy or softness, even in circumstances most at variance with their general habits and sensations. I myself, though I had a good blanket, quilt, and cloak, was so cold at night that I could hardly sleep. My tent, indeed, was small and thin, and scarcely afforded more shelter than the pine-boughs, with the disadvantage of having no fire and no neighbours to keep me warm. The water in the basin was frozen as hard and thick as it might have been, under similar circumstances, in England, to the great astonishment and delight of my Calcutta servant, who had never seen such

to have lost valuable and glorious conquests, by imprudent amours or insulting gallantry; the English risk them by personal hauteur and national arrogance. Heber observes, that "the foolish pride of the English, absolutely leads them to set at nought the injunctions of their own government touching etiquette with the native functionaries;" and it seems from his statements, (p. 257, vol. 1st,) that if "the Hindoos do not really like the British; and the Mussulmans, more particularly, would gladly avail themselves of a fair opportunity to rise against them," it is owing in part to the remissness or obstinacy of a Governor-General, as to points of outward respect and nominal allegiance.

At the principal entrance of the Sooty river, our tourist saw for the first time, a number of those prodigious ant-hills, raised by the white ant, of which he had often heard. Many of them were five or six feet high, and seven or eight in circumference, at the base,—works to which, he remarks, when the comparative bulk of the insect which reared them, is taken into the estimate, the pyramids of Egypt are as nothing. The counterpart of them would be a huge artificial mountain, built up by a nation, and bored full of halls and galleries. They almost justify the story of Megasthenes, of ants as large as foxes; to which Robertson adverts, in noticing the other Indian marvels, of men with ears so large, as to serve for wrappers of the whole body, and single eyed, noseless heads in the shape of a wedge. Not far beyond the mountains of the Termites, the Bishop passed near the ruins of desolate *Gour*, a city which, in size, had nearly rivalled Babylon or Nineveh. The main advantage of its situation, the original source of its prosperity, was, that the Ganges rolled under its walls: two centuries ago, the river deserted its old bed, for that which it now occupies, six or seven miles north of the former; and the city was ere long abandoned, too, by its most important inhabitants. The length of its ruins, as marked on Rennel's map, is eighteen miles, and its breadth six. The Bishop seems to anticipate a similar fate for *Calcutta*, "unless the river in its fresh channel, should assume a more fatal direction, and sweep in its new track the churches, markets and palaces, (by the way of the Loll Diggy and the Balighat,) to that salt water lake which seems its natural estuary." The people of the mountains, and of all the hilly country between Rajmahal and Burdwan—the Puharrees—are particularly mentioned in the Narrative. They are a distinct race from those of the plain, in features, language, civilization and religion, and strongly reminded the Bishop of the *Welch*. A little below Boglipoor—perhaps six hundred miles from the sea,—the traveller found the Ganges to be full seven miles wide. Here, during the night, he was kept awake by the uproar which the *jackalls* made—a noise equal to that of an immense pack of hounds, and worthy of the



but an imperfect view. The sight of these curious animals had already, however, well repaid my coming out; and from the animation and eagerness of every body round me, the anxiety with which my companions looked for every waving of the jungle-grass, and the continued calling and shouting of the horse and foot behind us, it was impossible not to catch the contagion of interest and enterprise.

"At last the elephants all drew up their trunks into the air, began to roar, and stamp violently with their fore feet, the Raja's little elephant turned short round, and in spite of all her mohout could say or do, took up her post, to the Raja's great annoyance, close in the rear of Mr. Boulderson. The other three (for one of my baggage elephants had come out too, the mohout, though unarmed, not caring to miss the show) went on slowly but boldly, with their trunks raised, their ears expanded, and their sagacious little eyes bent intently forward. 'We are close upon him,' said Mr. Boulderson, 'fire where you see the long grass shake, if he rises before you.'—Just at that moment my elephant stamped again violently. 'There, there,' cried the mohout, 'I saw his head!' A short roar, or rather loud growl, followed, and I saw immediately before my elephant's head the motion of some large animal stealing away through the grass. I fired as directed, and, a moment after, seeing the motion still more plainly, fired the second barrel. Another short growl followed, the motion was immediately quickened, and was soon lost in the more distant jungle. Mr. Boulderson said, 'I should not wonder if you hit him that last time; at any rate we shall drive him out of the cover, and then I will take care of him.' In fact, at that moment, the crowd of horse and foot spectators at the jungle side, began to run off in all directions. We went on the place, but found it was a false alarm, and, in fact, we had seen all we were to see of him, and went twice more through the jungle in vain. A large extent of high grass stretched out in one direction, and this we had now not sufficient day-light to explore. In fact, that the animal so near me was a tiger at all, I have no evidence but its growl, Mr. Boulderson's belief, the assertion of the mohout, and what is perhaps more valuable than all the rest, the alarm expressed by the elephants. I could not help feeling some apprehension that my firing had robbed Mr. Boulderson of his shot, but he assured me that I was quite in rule; that in such sport no courtesies could be observed, and that the animal in fact rose before me, but that he should himself have fired without scruple if he had seen the rustle of the grass in time. Thus ended my first, and probably my last essay, in the 'field-sports' of India, in which I am much mistaken, notwithstanding what Mr. Boulderson said, if I harmed any living creature.

"I asked Mr. Boulderson, in our return, whether tiger hunting was generally of this kind, which I could not help comparing to that chase of bubbles which enables us in England to pursue an otter. In a jungle, he answered, it must always be pretty much the same, inasmuch as, except under very peculiar circumstances, or when a tiger felt himself severely wounded, and was roused to revenge by despair, his aim was to remain concealed, and to make off as quietly as possible. It was after he had broken cover, or when he found himself in a situation so as to be fairly at bay, that the serious part of the sport began, in which case he attacked his enemies boldly, and always died fighting. He added, that the lion, though not so large or swift an animal as the tiger, was generally stronger and more courageous. Those which have been killed in India, instead of running away when pursued through a jungle, seldom seem to think its cover necessary at all. When they see their enemies approaching, they spring out to meet them, open-mouthed, in the plain, like the boldest of all animals, a mastiff dog. They are thus generally shot with very little trouble, but if they are missed or only slightly wounded, they are truly formidable enemies. Though not swift, they leap with vast strength and violence, and their large heads, immense paws, and the great weight of their body forwards, often enable them to spring on the head of the largest elephants, and fairly pull them down to the ground, riders and all. When a tiger springs on an elephant, the latter is generally able to shake him off under his feet, and then to be to him! The elephant either kneels on him and crushes him at once, or gives him a kick which breaks half

his ribs, and sends him flying perhaps twenty paces. The elephants, however, are often dreadfully torn, and a large old tiger sometimes clings too fast to be thus dealt with. In this case, it often happens that the elephant himself falls, from pain or from the hope of rolling on his enemy, and the people on his back are in very considerable danger both from friends and foes, for Mr. Boulderson said the scratch of a tiger was sometimes venomous, as that of a cat is said to be. But this did not often happen, and in general persons wounded by his teeth or claws, if not killed outright, recovered easily enough."

A mendicant 109 years of age, was brought to the Bishop's tent. The country people and his Gentoo servants remarked, "He must have been a good man, to be allowed to live so long." In the finest and healthiest climates of India, the age of man seldom exceeds seventy. In the mountains, some beautiful lemons and some young potatoes, both the produce of a garden, were placed before the Bishop. The potatoes introduced by the English, were much liked by the mountaineers, and becoming very common. Our prelate was the first Protestant minister who preached, and administered the sacrament, in the celebrated Himalaya region. At Meerut, he had the gratification of hearing two of his own hymns sung better than he had ever heard them in a church before; and he adds to his note of this circumstance, another as remarkable; that one of the earliest, the largest, and the handsomest churches in India, should be found in so remote a situation, and in sight of the Himalaya mountains. Near Bortpoor, he met several men riding on *oxen*, which seemed "very tolerable nags, little inferior to the common tattoos of the country." At Moradabad he had an opportunity of examining the way in which ice is made all over upper India. A number of broad and very shallow earthen pans are placed on a layer of dry straw, and filled with water. In the night, even the small degree of frost which is felt at that town, is sufficient to cover the pans with a thin coat of ice, which is carefully collected and packed up. In the neighbourhood of the snowy mountains, the vegetation nearly approaches to that of Europe. Raspberries, cranberries, and blackberries, are found in considerable numbers. The sides and lower ravines of the hills are covered with noble silver-fir. Eagles are numerous, and very large and formidable. They do much injury to the shepherds and goatherds, and "sometimes carry away the poor naked children of the peasants." The Bishop mentions one, shot by a *compagnon de voyage*, which measured thirteen feet between the tips of its extended wings; had talons eight inches long; and could certainly have borne up a well-grown boy. This condor of the mountains, he did not doubt to be the giant *rok* of the Arabians, which the story of Sinbad has rendered so notorious. The tiger is found quite up to the glaciers, of size and ferocity undiminished. In Kemaon, an English resident tamed a hyena, which for several years followed him about like a dog. English dogs, impaired by

the climate of the plains, improve in bulk, strength, and sagacity, among the mountaineers; and in a winter or two they acquire the same fine, short shawl-wool, mixed up with their own hair, which distinguishes the indigenous animals of the country. The wild dogs are considerably larger and stronger than the fox, which they much resemble: they hunt methodically in packs, make dreadful havoc among the game, and attack and sometimes tear in pieces both the lion and tiger. Flying squirrels are not uncommon in the colder and higher parts of the woods.

The chapter of the first volume in which the Bishop tells of his sojourn at *Delhi*, and his intercourse with the Emperor *Achbar Shah*, is one of the most interesting of the whole Narrative. He was deeply moved with the awful instance of the instability of human greatness in the condition of the poor old descendant of the mighty house of Timour, with the idea of whom, under the name of the *Great Mogul*, he associated in his childhood all imaginable power, splendour, and opulence. *Vanity of vanities*, he exclaims, was surely never written in more legible characters, than on the dilapidated arcades of Delhi. Thus, Burke, in his speech on Mr. Fox's India Bill, (1783,) was struck with the same dread lesson of the inconstancy of human fortune, and the stupendous revolutions that have happened in our age of wonders. "Could it be believed," he asked, "when I entered into existence, that on this day we should be employed in discussing the conduct of those British subjects who had disposed of the power and person of the Great Mogul!"

The ruins after ruins, granite and marble, which extended as far as the eye could reach, from the gate of Agra to Humaioun's tomb, a noble structure of granite inlaid with marble, reminded him of Caffa in the Crimea, but of Caffa on the scale of London, "with the wretched fragments of a magnificence, such as London itself could not boast." This was the seat of old Delhi, which was founded by the Patan kings on the ruins of a still larger Hindoo city. Every one conversant with the literature of the last generation, must be acquainted with Dr. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, and may recollect those sections of the Appendix, in which he descants upon the immense and magnificent edifices and excavations of the Hindoos—the wonders of Ellore, Salsette, and Elephanta—those stupendous labours in costly and skilful architecture—gigantic monuments of power and taste, from which the inference is necessary, by reason of the essential character of perfection in this art, that the people who accomplished them were far advanced in scientific civilization and various refinement. Since the time of Robertson, the pens and pencils of English and French travellers have conveyed more distinct and adequate ideas, not only of the principal fabrics, but of the manifold

dent hum of business which was going on in the midst of all this wretchedness and fanaticism. Benares is, in fact, a very industrious and wealthy, as well as a very holy city. It is the great mart where the shawls of the north, the diamonds of the south, and the muslins of Dacca and the eastern provinces, centre, and it has very considerable silk, cotton, and fine woollen manufactures of its own; while English hardware, swords, shields, and spears from Lucknow and Monghyr, and those European luxuries and elegancies which are daily becoming more popular in India, circulate from hence through Bundelcund, Gorruckpoor, Nepaul, and other tracts, which are removed from the main artery of the Ganges. The population, according to a census made in 1803, amounted to above 582,000, an enormous amount, and which one should think must have been exaggerated; but it is the nearest means we have of judging, and it certainly becomes less improbable from the really great size of the town, and the excessively crowded manner in which it is built. It is well drained, and stands dry on a high rocky bank sloping to the river, to which circumstance, as well as to the frequent ablutions and great temperance of the people, must be ascribed its freedom from infectious diseases. Accordingly, notwithstanding its crowded population, it is not an unhealthy city; yet the only square or open part in it, is the new market-place, constructed by the present Government, and about as large as the Peckwater Quadrangle in Oxford."

The Bishop had seen elsewhere several miniatures painted by the Hindoo limner *Lall-jee* of Patna, which would have done credit to any European artist, being distinguished by great truth of colouring, as well as softness and delicacy. At Benares, portraits by the same artist, were shown to him, which were evidently the works of a man well acquainted with the principles of his profession, and who, probably, had never beheld an Italian picture. One of the most singular objects in this city, is the ancient observatory, founded before the Mussulman conquest, (A.D. 1398,) and which is still quite entire. There is a similar one at Delhi. The reader who is acquainted with the history of Astronomy, must be aware of the early and extraordinary proficiency of the Brahmins in that branch of knowledge. From the observatory, Heber proceeded to a temple of the Jains, a body of sectaries who are detested by the Hindoos, and whose high priest is himself regarded by them as an incarnation of the Deity! One of the distinguishing superstitions at Benares, is self-immolation by drowning. Every year, many scores of pilgrims, from all parts of India, go thither to end their days thus, and secure their salvation. They purchase two large Kedgerree pots, between which they tie themselves, and when empty, these support their weight in the water. Thus provided, they paddle into the stream, then fill the pots with the water which surrounds them, and soon find the death they seek. Some ineffectual attempts had been made to prevent this practice. As the Bishop remarks, when men have come several hundred miles to die, they are not likely to be deterred from the purpose by a police officer. He adds that all his informants here, as well as in most other places where he had heard the question discussed, concurred in the opinion that a direct interference on the part of the government, with any of the religious customs of the country,

(the *Suttees* for example,) would be eagerly seized and urged as the first step in a new system, by all who wished ill to the British rule; and that, if it did not of itself occasion a rebellion, it would give additional popularity, and a more plausible pretext, to the first rebellion which the disaffected might find opportunity for attempting.

On the way from Benares to Allahabad, the Bishop exclaims, after passing Mirzapoor, a city of between 2 and 300,000 inhabitants,—“this is, indeed, a most rich and striking land. Here, in the space of little more than 200 miles, along the same river, I have passed six towns, some of them less populous than Chester; two more so than Birmingham; and one, (Benares,) more so than any city in Europe, except London and Paris; and this besides villages innumerable!” He expected to find the great cities ruined, in consequence of the ruin of the Mussulman nobles; but his own observation, and the testimony of old residents, led him to the conclusion that most of them, in Central India, had increased in wealth and population, since the establishment of the British power, owing to the rise of a new and prosperous order from the middling classes. The vestiges of decay and havoc, the scattered fragments of marble palaces, mosques and villas, and of tanks and canals, belong to the eras of the ruthless irruptions and tyranny of the Persians, Affghans, and Maharattas. We find him, in his Correspondence, dated March 1825, expressing his full belief that the influence of Britain had been honestly employed for the benefit of India, and had produced great good to the country and its inhabitants. He acknowledges, however, that the British rule was not generally popular, *nor advancing towards popularity*. One of the occurrences which he relates, to illustrate one of the modes in which the natives make resistance to what they conceive to be arbitrary or unlawful treatment, is too curious to be passed over in silence. At Benares, government unadvisedly imposed a house-tax of a very invidious character both from its amount and its novelty. Strong representations from the magistrates, produced no effect at Calcutta; whereupon, the whole population of Benares and its neighbourhood, resolved to sit “*Dhurna*,” till the grievance was redressed. To sit *dhurna*, or mourning, is to remain motionless in that posture, without food, and exposed to the weather, till the person against whom it is employed, consents to the request preferred; and the Hindoos believe that whoever dies under such a process, becomes a tormenting spirit to haunt and afflict his inflexible antagonist. In this instance, before the government was in the least apprized of the plan, above *three hundred thousand* persons “deserted their dwellings, shut up their shops, suspended the labour of their farms, forbore to light fires or dress victuals, many of them to eat, and sate down with fold-

ed arms and drooping heads, like so many sheep, on the plain which surrounds Benares." The perplexity of the British authorities may be imagined. They did not, however, yield to this portentous expedient of fanaticism, but drew a strong body of European troops from Dinapoor and Gazeepoor, to the neighbouring cantonment, and endeavoured to persuade the ringleaders of the assemblage, of the impossibility that government should yield to demands so urged. At last, the Indian multitude, pinched by hunger and drenched with rain, began to waver and think of changing their plan. They then fell into dissensions concerning a substitute; a large number dropped off, and in a few days the whole mass melted away. When the black cloud had wholly disappeared, the supreme government wisely repealed the tax.

At Allahabad, the good Bishop changed his mode of travelling, suitably to his destination, and departed for Cawnpoor, with an equipage, which he pleasantly describes thus:—

"At length, on Thursday morning the 30th of September, we began our journey, having set off some hours before our motley train, consisting of twenty-four camels, eight carts drawn by bullocks, twenty-four horse-servants, including those of the Archdeacon and Mr. Lushington, ten ponies, forty bearers and coolies of different descriptions, twelve tent-pitchers, and a guard of twenty sepoy under a native officer. The whimsical caravan filed off in state before me; my servants, all armed with spears, to which many of them had added, at their own cost, sabres of the longest growth, looked, on their little ponies, like something between cossacks and sheriff's javelin-men; my new Turkoman horse, still in the costume of his country, with his long squirrel-like tail painted red, and his mane plaited in love-knots, looked as if he were going to eat fire, or perform some other part in a melo-drama; while Mr. Lushington's horses, two very pretty Arabs, with their tails docked, and their saddles English ("Ungri") fashion, might have attracted notice in Hyde-park, the Archdeacon's buggy and horse had every appearance of issuing from the back gate of a college in Cambridge on a Sunday morning; and lastly came some mounted gens d'armes, and a sword and buckler-man on foot, looking exactly like the advanced guard of a Tartar army."

Having reached Cawnpoor, though not without remarkable adventures, he proceeded thence to Lucknow, the capital of the kingdom of Oude, so conspicuous in the British Indian annals, and upon whose soil every thing flourishes, that grows either in Bengal or in Persia. He set out on an elephant, and was soon met by a splendid retinue of elephants and horses, sent for the accommodation of his party by the monarch of Oude, "the refuge of the world:"—

"While," says the prelate, "I was changing elephants, a decent looking man stepped up to me, and begged to know my name and titles at full length, in order, as he said, 'to make a report of them to the asylum of the world.' I found, on inquiry, that he was the writer of the court circular, a much more minute task, and one considered of far more importance here than in Europe. Every thing which occurs in the family of the King himself, the Resident, the chief officers of state, or any strangers of rank who may arrive, is carefully noted and sent round in writing. And I was told that the exact hour at which I rose, the sort of breakfast I ate, the visits I paid or received, and the manner in which I passed my morning, would all be detailed by the King's chobdars, for the information.

of their master, whose own most indifferent actions, however, are with equal fairness written down for the inspection of Mr. Ricketts, the British Resident."

The account of his residence at Lucknow, of his symposiums and discussions at "the most polished and splendid court in India," and of the condition of the sovereign and people, forms one of the precious portions of his Narrative; but we can merely indicate its attraction and value. Oude has been the resort of a host of European adventurers; and to exemplify the strange mixture, he relates that he had applications made to him for charity, by a Spaniard from Lima in Peru, and a Silesian Jew.

From Lucknow, he went to Bareilly. On the route, he noticed some fields of tobacco, called by the Hindoos *tumbucchoo*, a name evidently derived, as well as the plant itself, through the Europeans, from America. One passage of this part of the Diary, we cannot refrain from quoting, as it portrays both the country and the traveller:—

"November 13.—We encamped in a smaller grove of mangoe-trees than the four or five last had been, but the trees themselves were very noble. The chief cultivation round us was cotton. The morning was positively cold, and the whole scene, with the exercise of the march, the picturesque groups of men and animals round me,—the bracing air, the singing of birds, the light mist hanging on the trees, and the glistening dew, had something at once so Oriental and so English, I have seldom found any thing better adapted to raise a man's animal spirits, and put him in good temper with himself and all the world. How I wish those I love were with me! How much my wife would enjoy this sort of life,—its exercise, its cleanliness and purity; its constant occupation, and at the same time its comparative freedom from form, care, and vexation! At the same time a man who is curious in his eating, had better not come here. Lamb and kid, (and we get no other flesh,) most people would soon tire of. The only fowls which are attainable are as tough and lean as can be desired; and the milk and butter are generally seasoned with the never-failing condiments of Hindostan, smoke and soot. The milk would be very good if the people would only milk the cow into one of our vessels instead of their own; but this they generally refuse to do, and refuse with much greater pertinacity than those who live near the river. These, however, are matters to which it is not difficult to become reconciled; and all the more serious points of warmth, shade, cleanliness, air, and water, are at this season no where enjoyed better than in the spacious and well-contrived tents, the ample means of transport, the fine climate, and fertile regions of Northern Hindostan."

We now approach, with the Lord Padre, the Himalaya mountains, the region in which, perhaps, on the whole, he is more happy and engaging, than in any other scene of his peregrinations. We could wish here, to draw abundantly on his attractive pages, but the use we have made, and have still to make of the book generally, restricts us to comparatively brief and desultory glances. We shall copy at once, his first impressions and principal notices of the colossal ridge, about which, as it is honoured and celebrated by the Hindoos themselves, we would refer the reader, also, to the "argument" and text of Sir William Jones' noble *Hymn to Durga*.

"We had at Shadee, a first view of the range of the Himalaya, indistinctly seen through the haze, but not so indistinctly as to conceal the general form of

the mountains. The nearer hills are blue, and in outline and tints resemble pretty closely, at this distance, those which close in the vale of Clwyd. Above these rose, what might, in the present unfavourable atmosphere, have been taken for clouds, had not their seat been so stationary and their outline so harsh and pyramidal, the patriarchs of the continent, perhaps the surviving ruins of a former world, white and glistening as alabaster, and even at this distance of, probably, 150 miles, towering above the nearer and secondary range, as much as these last (though said to be 7600 feet high) are above the plain on which we were standing. I felt intense delight and awe in looking on them, but the pleasure lasted not many minutes, the clouds closed in again, as on the fairy castle of St. John, and left us but the former gray cold horizon, girding in the green plain of Rohilcund, and broken only by scattered tufts of peepul and mangoe-trees."

"On leaving our encampment we forded the river Bhagool, and afterwards, once or twice, fell in, during our march, with its windings. At last, soon after the sun rose, and just as we had reached a small rising ground, the mist rolled away and showed us again the Himalaya, distinct and dark, with the glorious icy mountains, towering in a clear blue sky, above the nearer range. There were four of these, the names of three of which my companion knew, Bhadrinâth, Kedar, Nâth, and the peak above the source of the Ganges, the Meru of Hindoo fable. The fourth, to the extreme right, he did not know, and I could not find it in Arrowsmith's map. Bhadrinâth, he told me, is reckoned the highest. From hence, however, it is not the most conspicuous of the four. That we saw the snowy peaks at all, considering their distance, and that mountains twice as high as Snowdon intervened, is wonderful. I need hardly say that I wished for my wife to share the sight with me. But I thought of Tandah and the Terai, and felt, on recollection, that I should have probably been in considerable uneasiness, if she and the children had been to pass the intervening inhospitable country.

"Sheeshghur is a poor village, on a trifling elevation which is conspicuous in this level country. It has a ruinous fort on its summit, and altogether, with the great surrounding flat and the blue hills behind it, put me in mind of some views of Rhyddlan. The Clwydian chain, indeed, is not crowned by such noble pinnacles as Bhadrinâth and Gangotree, but I could not help feeling now, and I felt it still more when I began to attempt to commit the prospect to paper, that the awe and wonder which I experienced were of a very complex character, and greatly detached from the simple act of vision. The eye is, by itself, and without some objects to form a comparison, unable to judge of such heights at such a distance. Carneth Llewellyn and Snowdon, at certain times in the year, make, really, as good a picture as the mountains now before me; and the reason that I am so much more impressed with the present view, is partly the mysterious idea of awful and inaccessible remoteness attached to the Indian Caucasus, the centre of earth,

"Its Altar, and its Cradle, and its Throne;"

and still more the knowledge derived from books, that the objects now before me are really among the greatest earthly works of the Almighty Creator's hands,—the highest spots below the moon—and out-topping, by many hundred feet, the summits of Cotopaxi and Chimborazo."

"November 23.—This morning I mounted Mr. Traill's pony, a stout shaggy little white animal, whose birth-place might have been in Wales, instead of the Himalaya. Mr. Boulderson was on a similar one which he had brought from the hills some years before. He was equipped for the journey with a long spear, had his gun, a double-barrelled one, loaded with ball and shot, carried close to him, and two men with matchlocks who seemed his usual attendants. By his advice I had my pistols, and he also lent me a double-barrelled gun, saying, we might see tigers. After a good deal of trouble in getting the mules and coolies started, we proceeded on our journey as it began to dawn, a night march being not very safe amid these mountains, and the beauty of the scenery being of itself a sufficient motive to see all which was to be seen. The road was, certainly, sufficiently



steep and rugged, and, particularly when intersected by torrents, I do not think it was passable by horses accustomed only to the plain. I was myself surprised to see how dexterously our ponies picked their way over large rolling pebbles and broken fragments of rock, how firmly they planted their feet, and with how little distress they conquered some of the steepest ascents I ever climbed. The country as we advanced, became exceedingly beautiful and romantic. It reminded me most of Norway, but had the advantage of round-topped trees, instead of the unvaried spear-like outline of the pine. It would have been like some parts of Wales, had not the hills and precipices been much higher, and the valleys, or rather dells, narrower and more savage. We could seldom, from the range on which the road ran, see to the bottom of any of them, and only heard the roar and rush of the river which we had left, and which the torrents which foamed across our path were hastening to join."

"*November 25.*—This morning we began to pack by four o'clock, but owing to the restiveness of the mules and the clumsiness of the people, divers accidents occurred, the most serious of which was the bursting of one of the petarrals. At length we got off, and after coasting the lake for one mile, went for about thirteen more by a most steep and rugged road, over the neck of mount Gaughur, through a succession of glens, forests, and views of the most sublime and beautiful description. I never saw such prospects before, and had formed no adequate idea of such. My attention was completely strained, and my eyes filled with tears; every thing around was so wild and magnificent, that man appeared as nothing, and I felt myself as if climbing the steps of the altar of God's great temple. The trees, as we advanced, were in a large proportion fir and cedar, but many were ilex, and to my surprise I still saw, even in these Alpine tracts, many venerable peepul trees, on which the white monkeys were playing their gambols."

"Nundidevi, the highest peak in the world, is stated to be no less than 25,689 feet above the sea, and four thousand feet and upwards higher than Chimborazo. Bhadrināth and Kedarnāth are merely two ends of the same mountain, its height is 22,300 feet. The peak which the chuprassees called Meru, is properly Sumeru, as distinguished, by the modern Pundits at least, from the celestial and fabulous one. It is really, however, pretty near the sources of the Ganges, and about 23,000 feet high, though the three great peaks of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, whence the Ganges really flows, are from this point obscured by the intervening ridge of Kedarnāth. Kedarnāth, Gungothee, Sumeru, and Nundidevi, are all within the British territory, and Mr. Traill has been to the northward of them, though the peaks themselves have never been scaled. Nundidevi is, as the crow flies, forty miles from Almora, but following the winding of the only accessible road, it is eight or nine days march."

"We encamped near a village named Prun, on a beautiful piece of rocky pasture-ground, situated between the two peaks of a lofty mountain, and surrounded on every side by a forest of fir and cedar-trees. At a little distance from our tents, some people who had been sent on by Mr. Traill to prepare the Zemindars to afford the necessary supplies, had constructed a sort of bower or wigwam of pine branches for the use of our followers. Nothing could be ruder than these leafy screens; but with plenty of straw, a blazing fire, and sheltered situation, they seemed to satisfy our people; nor could I help noticing that, though we were now 6000 feet above the level of the sea, and it was freezing in the shade almost all day, the sepoy, soon after their arrival, stripped off all their clothes, but their waist-clothes, went to wash themselves as usual in the brook, and remained naked all day till the sun was actually setting; so little reason have we for accusing these people of effeminacy or softness, even in circumstances most at variance with their general habits and sensations. I myself, though I had a good blanket, quilt, and cloak, was so cold at night that I could hardly sleep. My tent, indeed, was small and thin, and scarcely afforded more shelter than the pine-boughs, with the disadvantage of having no fire and no neighbours to keep me warm. The water in the basin was frozen as hard and thick as it might have been, under similar circumstances, in England, to the great astonishment and delight of my Calcutta servant, who had never seen such

a cake of ice before, and, I believe, sincerely regretted that he could not carry it back to Calcutta as a curiosity.

"The reflection of the setting sun on the snowy mountains was extremely beautiful. One of the peaks of Nundidevi was, for a considerable time together, a perfect rose-colour. We had also a magnificent echo near our encampment, which answered with remarkable distinctness, and great power and mellowness, all the different light infantry signals on the bugle of Sir Robert Colquhoun's rangers, which he had brought with him."

A letter to Lord Grenville, in the Correspondence, furnishes also an eloquent description of these mountains, and the sentiments they excited. Many incidents and traits are detailed, which tempt us strongly, but we resist—chiefly in order to make room for one transaction—a truly humane, pacific, and mitred dignity of the Church engaged in a tiger-hunt, which is well related by himself, as follows :—

"At Kulleanpoor, the young Raja Gourman Singh, mentioned, in the course of conversation, that there was a tiger in an adjoining tope, which had done a good deal of mischief, that he should have gone after it himself had he not been ill, and had he not thought that it would be a fine diversion for Mr. Boulderson, the collector of the district, and me. I told him I was no sportsman, but Mr. Boulderson's eyes sparkled at the name of tiger, and he expressed great anxiety to beat up his quarters in the afternoon. Under such circumstances, I did not like to deprive him of his sport, as he would not leave me by myself, and went, though with no intention of being more than a spectator. Mr. Boulderson, however, advised me to load my pistols for the sake of defence, and lent me a very fine double-barrelled gun for the same purpose. We set out a little after three on our elephants, with a servant behind each howdah carrying a large chatta, which, however, was almost needless. The Raja, in spite of his fever, made his appearance too, saying that he could not bear to be left behind. A number of people, on foot and horseback, attended from our own camp and the neighbouring villages, and the same sort of interest and delight was evidently excited which might be produced in England by a great coursing party. The Raja was on a little female elephant, hardly bigger than the Durham ox, and almost as shaggy as a poodle. She was a native of the neighbouring wood, where they are generally, though not always, of a smaller size than those of Bengal and Chittagong. He sat in a low howdah, with two or three guns ranged beside him, ready for action. Mr. Boulderson had also a formidable apparatus of muskets and fowling-pieces, projecting over his mohout's head. We rode about two miles across a plain covered with long jungly grass, which very much put me in mind of the country near the Cuban. Quails and wild fowl rose in great numbers, and beautiful antelopes were seen scudding away in all directions.

"At last we came to a deeper and more marshy ground, which lay a little before the tope pointed out to us; and while Mr. Boulderson was doubting whether we should pass through it, or skirt it, some country people came running to say that the tiger had been tracked there that morning. We therefore went in, keeping line as if we had been beating for a hare, through grass so high that it reached up to the howdah of my elephant though a tall one, and almost hid the Raja entirely. We had not gone far before a very large animal of the deer kind sprang up just before me, larger than a stag, of a dusky brown colour, with spreading, but not palmated horns. Mr. Boulderson said it was a 'mohr,' a species of elk; that this was a young one, but that they sometimes grew to an immense size, so that he had stood upright between the tips of their horns. He could have shot it, but did not like to fire at present, and said it was, after all, a pity to meddle with such harmless animals. The mohr accordingly ran off unmolested, rising with splendid bounds up to the very top of the high jungle, so that his whole body and limbs were seen from time to time above it. A little further, another rose, which Mr. Boulderson said was the female; of her I had

but an imperfect view. The sight of these curious animals had already, however, well repaid my coming out; and from the animation and eagerness of every body round me, the anxiety with which my companions looked for every waving of the jungle-grass, and the continued calling and shouting of the horse and foot behind us, it was impossible not to catch the contagion of interest and enterprise.

"At last the elephants all drew up their trunks into the air, began to roar, and stamp violently with their fore feet, the Raja's little elephant turned short round, and in spite of all her mohout could say or do, took up her post, to the Raja's great annoyance, close in the rear of Mr. Boulderson. The other three (for one of my baggage elephants had come out too, the mohout, though unarmed, not caring to miss the show) went on slowly but boldly, with their trunks raised, their ears expanded, and their sagacious little eyes bent intently forward. 'We are close upon him,' said Mr. Boulderson, 'fire where you see the long grass shake, if he rises before you.'—Just at that moment my elephant stamped again violently. 'There, there,' cried the mohout, 'I saw his head!' A short roar, or rather loud growl, followed, and I saw immediately before my elephant's head the motion of some large animal stealing away through the grass. I fired as directed, and, a moment after, seeing the motion still more plainly, fired the second barrel. Another short growl followed, the motion was immediately quickened, and was soon lost in the more distant jungle. Mr. Boulderson said, 'I should not wonder if you hit him that last time; at any rate we shall drive him out of the cover, and then I will take care of him.' In fact, at that moment, the crowd of horse and foot spectators at the jungle side, began to run off in all directions. We went on the place, but found it was a false alarm, and, in fact, we had seen all we were to see of him, and went twice more through the jungle in vain. A large extent of high grass stretched out in one direction, and this we had now not sufficient day-light to explore. In fact, that the animal so near me was a tiger at all, I have no evidence but its growl, Mr. Boulderson's belief, the assertion of the mohout, and what is perhaps more valuable than all the rest, the alarm expressed by the elephants. I could not help feeling some apprehension that my firing had robbed Mr. Boulderson of his shot, but he assured me that I was quite in rule; that in such sport no courtesies could be observed, and that the animal in fact rose before me, but that he should himself have fired without scruple if he had seen the rustle of the grass in time. Thus ended my first, and probably my last essay, in the 'field-sports' of India, in which I am much mistaken, notwithstanding what Mr. Boulderson said, if I harmed any living creature.

"I asked Mr. Boulderson, in our return, whether tiger hunting was generally of this kind, which I could not help comparing to that chase of bubbles which enables us in England to pursue an otter. In a jungle, he answered, it must always be pretty much the same, inasmuch as, except under very peculiar circumstances, or when a tiger felt himself severely wounded, and was roused to revenge by despair, his aim was to remain concealed, and to make off as quietly as possible. It was after he had broken cover, or when he found himself in a situation so as to be fairly at bay, that the serious part of the sport began, in which case he attacked his enemies boldly, and always died fighting. He added, that the lion, though not so large or swift an animal as the tiger, was generally stronger and more courageous. Those which have been killed in India, instead of running away when pursued through a jungle, seldom seem to think its cover necessary at all. When they see their enemies approaching, they spring out to meet them, open-mouthed, in the plain, like the boldest of all animals, a mastiff dog. They are thus generally shot with very little trouble, but if they are missed or only slightly wounded, they are truly formidable enemies. Though not swift, they leap with vast strength and violence, and their large heads, immense paws, and the great weight of their body forwards, often enable them to spring on the head of the largest elephants, and fairly pull them down to the ground, riders and all. When a tiger springs on an elephant, the latter is generally able to shake him off under his feet, and then to be to him! The elephant either kneels on him and crushes him at once, or gives him a kick which breaks half

his ribs, and sends him flying perhaps twenty paces. The elephants, however, are often dreadfully torn, and a large old tiger sometimes clings too fast to be thus dealt with. In this case, it often happens that the elephant himself falls, from pain or from the hope of rolling on his enemy, and the people on his back are in very considerable danger both from friends and foes, for Mr. Boulderson said the scratch of a tiger was sometimes venomous, as that of a cat is said to be. But this did not often happen, and in general persons wounded by his teeth or claws, if not killed outright, recovered easily enough."

A mendicant 109 years of age, was brought to the Bishop's tent. The country people and his Gentoo servants remarked, "He must have been a good man, to be allowed to live so long." In the finest and healthiest climates of India, the age of man seldom exceeds seventy. In the mountains, some beautiful lemons and some young potatoes, both the produce of a garden, were placed before the Bishop. The potatoes introduced by the English, were much liked by the mountaineers, and becoming very common. Our prelate was the first Protestant minister who preached, and administered the sacrament, in the celebrated Himalaya region. At Meerut, he had the gratification of hearing two of his own hymns sung better than he had ever heard them in a church before; and he adds to his note of this circumstance, another as remarkable; that one of the earliest, the largest, and the handsomest churches in India, should be found in so remote a situation, and in sight of the Himalaya mountains. Near Bortpoor, he met several men riding on *oxen*, which seemed "very tolerable nags, little inferior to the common tattoos of the country." At Moradabad he had an opportunity of examining the way in which ice is made all over upper India. A number of broad and very shallow earthen pans are placed on a layer of dry straw, and filled with water. In the night, even the small degree of frost which is felt at that town, is sufficient to cover the pans with a thin coat of ice, which is carefully collected and packed up. In the neighbourhood of the snowy mountains, the vegetation nearly approaches to that of Europe. Raspberries, cranberries, and blackberries, are found in considerable numbers. The sides and lower ravines of the hills are covered with noble silver-fir. Eagles are numerous, and very large and formidable. They do much injury to the shepherds and goatherds, and "sometimes carry away the poor naked children of the peasants." The Bishop mentions one, shot by a *compagnon de voyage*, which measured thirteen feet between the tips of its extended wings; had talons eight inches long; and could certainly have borne up a well-grown boy. This condor of the mountains, he did not doubt to be the giant *rok* of the Arabians, which the story of Sinbad has rendered so notorious. The tiger is found quite up to the glaciers, of size and ferocity undiminished. In Kemaon, an English resident tamed a hyena, which for several years followed him about like a dog. English dogs, impaired by

the climate of the plains, improve in bulk, strength, and sagacity, among the mountaineers ; and in a winter or two they acquire the same fine, short shawl-wool, mixed up with their own hair, which distinguishes the indigenous animals of the country. The wild dogs are considerably larger and stronger than the fox, which they much resemble : they hunt methodically in packs, make dreadful havoc among the game, and attack and sometimes tear in pieces both the lion and tiger. Flying squirrels are not uncommon in the colder and higher parts of the woods.

The chapter of the first volume in which the Bishop tells of his sojourn at *Delhi*, and his intercourse with the Emperor *Achbar Shah*, is one of the most interesting of the whole Narrative. He was deeply moved with the awful instance of the instability of human greatness in the condition of the poor old descendant of the mighty house of Timour, with the idea of whom, under the name of the *Great Mogul*, he associated in his childhood all imaginable power, splendour, and opulence. *Vanity of vanities*, he exclaims, was surely never written in more legible characters, than on the dilapidated arcades of Delhi. Thus, Burke, in his speech on Mr. Fox's India Bill, (1783,) was struck with the same dread lesson of the inconstancy of human fortune, and the stupendous revolutions that have happened in our age of wonders. "Could it be believed," he asked, "when I entered into existence, that on this day we should be employed in discussing the conduct of those British subjects who had disposed of the power and person of the Great Mogul !"

The ruins after ruins, granite and marble, which extended as far as the eye could reach, from the gate of Agra to Humaioun's tomb, a noble structure of granite inlaid with marble, reminded him of Caffa in the Crimea, but of Caffa on the scale of London, "with the wretched fragments of a magnificence, such as London itself could not boast." This was the seat of old Delhi, which was founded by the Patan kings on the ruins of a still larger Hindoo city. Every one conversant with the literature of the last generation, must be acquainted with Dr. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, and may recollect those sections of the Appendix, in which he descants upon the immense and magnificent edifices and excavations of the Hindoos—the wonders of Ellore, Salsette, and Elephanta—those stupendous labours in costly and skilful architecture—gigantic monuments of power and taste, from which the inference is necessary, by reason of the essential character of perfection in this art, that the people who accomplished them were far advanced in scientific civilization and various refinement. Since the time of Robertson, the pens and pencils of English and French travellers have conveyed more distinct and adequate ideas, not only of the principal fabrics, but of the manifold

and delicate sculpture, and exquisite minuteness of ornament and finish, by which they and the conceptions and resources of the architects are exalted in the estimation of all reflecting observers. The testimony of Bishop Heber on this head, a witness of the warmest fancy and most cultivated eye, who had surveyed the noblest architectural works of which Europe can boast, deserves to be quoted in some detail, and we shall therefore cull irregularly a few of his statements, touching as they do the curious question of the antiquity and height of Indian civilization. The Cuttab Minar at Delhi, he pronounces the finest tower he had ever seen, and the remaining great arches of the principal mosque, as fine in their way as any of the details of York Minster. The Patans "built like giants, and finished their work like jewelers." The imperial palace, raised by the emperor Shah Jehan, "far surpasses the Kremlin." With the quadrangle of the large mosque at Futtehpoor, he could say that there was no quadrangle, either in Oxford or Cambridge, fit to be compared, whether as to size, majestic proportions, or beauty of architecture. Speaking of Umeer, the palace and castle at Jyepoor, he observes:—"For varied and picturesque effect, for richness of carving, for wild beauty of situation, for the number and singularity of the apartments, and the strangeness of finding such a building in such a place and country, I am able to compare nothing with Umeer." The castle of Joudpoor, "the palace of a petty Raja in the neighbourhood of a salt-desert," is in many respects fully equal to Windsor. In the Correspondence, he refers to the architectural works on the verge of the western desert, as surpassing all which he had seen of Windsor, or the Kremlin, or heard of the Alhambra. He celebrates the Hindoo ancient buildings for solidity and solemnity, and a richness of ornament so well managed as not to interfere with solemnity, and quite different from the airy and gaudy style of the Chinese. Again; he writes from Guzerat, to Mr. Wilmot—"In the yet remaining specimen of oriental pomp at Lucknow, in the decayed, but most striking and romantic magnificence of Delhi, and in the Tahe-Mahal of Agra, (doubtless one of the most beautiful buildings in the world,) there is almost enough, even of themselves, to make it worth a man's while to cross the Atlantic and Indian Oceans."

If we had space for the purpose, we should be glad, indeed, to make as free with the singularly curious and instructive details of the concluding chapters of the Narrative, as we have done with the first. *Jyepoor* is a scene of extraordinary character and anecdote, and romantic pictures, to which the Bishop has done full justice. We must leap, however, at once to the country of Ban-swarra, stopping there only to note that the abominable custom of murdering the greater part of their female infants, still prevails. We shall cite a part of the Bishop's text on this subject:—

"This cruel and most unnatural sacrifice it has long been the endeavour of the British government to induce its vassals and allies to abandon. Major Walker, when Resident at Paroda, thought he had succeeded with the greater part of them, but it is believed by most officers on this side of the country, that the number saved was very small in proportion to that of the victims. Unhappily pride, poverty, and avarice are in league with superstition to perpetuate these horrors. It is a disgrace for a noble family to have a daughter unmarried, and still worse to marry her to a person of inferior birth, while they have neither the means nor the inclination to pay such portions as a person of their own rank would expect to receive with them. On the other hand, the sacrifice of a child is believed, surely with truth, to be acceptable to 'the evil powers,' and the fact is certain, that, though the high-born Rajpoots have many sons, very few daughters are ever found in their palaces, though it is not easy to prove any particular instance of murder, or to know the way in which the victims are disposed of. The common story of the country, and probably the true one, for it is a point on which, except with the English, no mystery is likely to be observed, is that a large vessel of milk is set in the chamber of the lying-in woman, and the infant, if a girl, immediately plunged into it. Sir John Malcolm, however, who supposes the practice to be on the decline, was told that a pill of opium was usually given. Through the influence of Major Walker, it is certain that many children were spared, and previous to his departure from Guzerat, he received the most affecting compliment which a good man could receive, in being welcomed at the gate of the palace, on some public occasion, by a procession of girls of high rank, who owed their lives to him, and who came to kiss his clothes and throw wreaths of flowers over him as their deliverer and second father. Since that time, however, things have gone on very much in the old train, and the answers made by the chiefs to any remonstrances of the British officers is, 'Pay our daughters' marriage portion, and they shall live!' Yet these very men, rather than strike a cow, would submit to the cruellest martyrdom. Never may my dear wife and daughters forget how much their sex is indebted to Christianity!"

*Bombay* and its dependencies were extensive and fruitful fields of observation, upon which the Bishop entered with undiminished zeal and intelligence; and likewise Ceylon, the journal of his tour in which, (written by his accomplished widow,) forms a most interesting chapter. The Visitation to Madras, has the same attractive and edifying qualities. It was in that presidency, as we have said in the beginning of our article, that this almost incomparable personage, was destined to finish his earthly career. We extract the subjoined account of his death, from an elegant and tender biographical sketch, contained in the seventieth number of the *London Quarterly Review* :—

"On Good Friday, he preached at Combaconum, on the crucifixion; and on Easter Sunday, at Tanjore, on the resurrection. The day following he held a confirmation at the same place; and in the evening delivered an address to the assembled missionaries, as he stood near the grave of Schwartz, a name which he had ever venerated. He arrived at Trichinopoly on the 1st of April, 1827."

"Next day being Sunday, he again preached and confirmed, a rite which he administered once more on Monday morning in the Fort Church. He returned home to breakfast; but before sitting down, took a cold bath, as he had done on the two preceding days. His attendant, thinking that he staid more than the usual time, entered the apartment, and found the body at the bottom of the water, with the face downwards. The usual restoratives of bleeding, friction and inflating the lungs, were instantly tried, but life was gone, and, on opening the head, it was discovered that a vessel had burst on the brain, in consequence, as the medical men agreed, of the sudden plunge into the water whilst he was warm and exhausted. His remains were deposited, with every mark of respect

ment the increase of the half-caste population, as a great source of present mischief and future danger to the tranquillity of the colony.

Scarcely any children brought up in Bengal, either high or low, speak any thing even with their parents, but the broken Hindostanee and vulgar Bengalee, which they learn from their nurses. The language spoken by the common people is Hindostanee, of a very corrupt kind. The good 'Oordoo' is chiefly confined to the army and courts of justice. When a person under examination once answered in it with unusual fluency and propriety, Mr. Melville's native chief officer said, with a sagacious nod, 'That fellow talks good Oordoo! He has been in prison before to-day!' All legal writings, records, &c. are in Persian, a rule which Mr. Melville thinks good. Persian holding in India the place of Latin in Europe, in consequence of this regulation, all the higher officers of the courts are educated persons. Persian is, as a language, so much superior in clearness and brevity to Hindostanee, that business is greatly facilitated by employing it; and since even Oordoo itself is unintelligible to a great part of the Hindoos, there is no particular reason for preferring it to the more polished language.

The Indians feel a great admiration for corpulency, and frequently contract liver complaints by their anxiety to fatten themselves.

We did not conquer the Hindoos, but found them conquered; their previous rulers were as much strangers to their blood and their religion as we are, and they were notoriously far more oppressive masters than we have ever shown ourselves.

All persons experienced in this climate, deny that any of the country fevers are contagious. During a great part of the year, the climate is sufficiently disagreeable; it is by no means pleasant to be kept a close prisoner to the house from soon after sunrise to a little before sunset, at the peril of a fever, or of a stroke of the sun, if one ventures to brave his terrors. It is a poor comfort to a person suffering as I am at this moment, under what is called prickly-heat, exactly resembling the application of red-hot needles to different parts of the body and limbs, to be told that this is a sign of health, and that while it continues, he is not likely to have the cholera morbus. Nor is it comfortable at night, during the rainy season, to have the option between utter sleeplessness, if you choose to shut the window, and having one's bed, and every thing in the room, soaked through by the storm beating in if you think fit to leave it open. Nor can any comparison be formed between the degrees of fatigue occasioned by clerical duties in England and India, when I come out of the pulpit, as was the case but yesterday, with my lawn sleeves as if they had been soaked in water. All these are easy to be borne so long as Providence gives health and strength, and many of them are only confined to particular seasons; and in all seasons considerable difference exists in different parts of India. The northern stations are, I think, most favoured, enjoying a longer continuance of cool weather, an air at all times drier and more elastic, and, except during the hot winds, by no means uncongenial to an English constitution. I have been greatly struck with the difference in muscle, complexion and apparent strength between persons stationed in the upper provinces and those resident in Calcutta or Bombay. Yet so impartial is death in his visits, and so much may prudence and good management effect towards obviating natural inconveniences, that it is not found that on the whole there is greater mortality among the European inhabitants of these last-named cities, than among those of Delhi, Meerut and Bareilly.

Mustard seed, in the shape of oil, is an indispensable necessary in a Hindoo family. It is considered as useful as rice. Among the Hindoo cottagers, seclusion of the women does not prevail. The sexes work and sit together.

Nobody in Bengal, can do any thing without a leader, the *Sirdar* or master of the gang, without whom they would not work, and whom they allow (voluntarily) to receive their wages, and draw poundage on them, in consideration of his superintendence.

We met in the Ganges a number of beggars, who were all a *caste* of beggars, from father to son. In the hills of Salsette, there is a peculiar *caste* of burners of charcoal, who dwell in the woods, have neither intermarriage nor intercourse with the Hindoo inhabitants of the plain, and bring down their loads of



charcoal to particular spots, whence it is carried away by these last, who deposit in its place a payment settled by custom, of rice, clothing, and iron tools. This is the account given me by Mr. Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, who has made several attempts to become better acquainted with this unfortunate tribe, but has only very imperfectly succeeded, owing to their excessive shyness, and the contempt in which they are held by their Hindoo neighbours.

A traveller falls down sick in the streets of a village, (I am mentioning a fact which happened ten days ago, in Bengal,) nobody knows what caste he is of, therefore nobody goes near him, lest they should become polluted; he wastes to death before the eyes of a whole community, unless the jackalls take courage from his helpless state, to finish him a little sooner, and perhaps, as happened in the case to which I alluded, the children are allowed to pelt him with stones and mud. The man of whom I am speaking was found in this state, and taken care of by a passing European, but if he had died, his skeleton would have lain in the streets till the vultures carried it away, or the magistrates ordered it to be thrown into the river.

The honesty of the Hindoo law officers is spoken very ill of; they seem to become worse the nearer they approach the seat of justice. The reason perhaps is not hard to discover; they are in situations where they may do a great deal of mischief; their regular salaries are wretchedly small, a part even of these arise from fees often oppressive and difficult to obtain, and they are so much exposed to getting a bad name even while they exact merely what is their due, that they become careless of reputation, and anxious by all underhand means to swell their profits. Much evil arises in India from the insufficient manner in which the subaltern native servants of Government are paid.

Chunar, or 'Chunar-Gurh,' that is Chunar Castle, used to be of great importance as a military post before the vast extension of the British frontier westward. It is one of the principal stations for such invalids as are still equal to garrison duty; and on them at the present moment, owing to the low state of the Company's army, and the demand for men in the east, all the duty of Chunar depends, which, from their health, they are barely equal to, though they are, Europeans and sepoy together, above a thousand men. The sepoy invalids have mostly grown old in the service, and are weather-beaten fellows, with no other injury than what time has inflicted. Some of the Europeans are very old likewise; there is one who fought with Clive, and has still no infirmity but deafness and dim sight. The majority, however, are men still hardly advanced beyond youth, early victims of a devouring climate, assisted, perhaps, by carelessness and intemperance; and it was a pitiable spectacle to see the white emaciated hands thrust out under a soldier's sleeve to receive the sacrament, and the pale cheeks, and tall languid figures of men, who, if they had remained in Europe, would have been still overflowing with youthful vigour and vivacity, the best ploughmen, the strongest wrestlers, and the merriest dancers of the village.

At Benares I was curious to know what Governors of India had stood highest in their good opinion, and found that they usually spoke of Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley as the two greatest men who had ever ruled this part of the world, but that they spoke with most *affection* of Mr. Jonathan Duncan. 'Duncan sahib ka chota bhaee,' 'Mr. Duncan's younger brother,' is still the usual term of praise applied to any public man who appears to be actuated by an unusual spirit of kindness and liberality towards their nation. Of the sultan-like and splendid character of Warren Hastings, many traits are preserved, and a nursery rhyme, which is often sung to children, seems to show how much they were pleased with the Oriental (not European) pomp which he knew how to employ on occasion.

"Hat'hee pur howdah, ghore pur jeen,  
Juldee bah'r jata Sahib Warren Hasteen! !"

Of Lord Hastings I have not found that they have retained any very favourable impression. Yet the extent of his conquests, and his pleasing manners during his short visit, must, I should think, have struck them.

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We did not conquer the Hindoos, but found them conquered; their previous rulers were as much strangers to their blood and their religion as we are, and they were notoriously far more oppressive masters than we have ever shown ourselves.

All persons experienced in this climate, deny that any of the country fevers are contagious. During a great part of the year, the climate is sufficiently disagreeable; it is by no means pleasant to be kept a close prisoner to the house from soon after sunrise to a little before sunset, at the peril of a fever, or of a stroke of the sun, if one ventures to brave his terrors. It is a poor comfort to a person suffering as I am at this moment, under what is called prickly-heat, exactly resembling the application of red-hot needles to different parts of the body and limbs, to be told that this is a sign of health, and that while it continues, he is not likely to have the cholera morbus. Nor is it comfortable at night, during the rainy season, to have the option between utter sleeplessness, if you choose to shut the window, and having one's bed, and every thing in the room, soaked through by the storm beating in if you think fit to leave it open. Nor can any comparison be formed between the degrees of fatigue occasioned by clerical duties in England and India, when I come out of the pulpit, as was the case but yesterday, with my lawn sleeves as if they had been soaked in water. All these are easy to be borne so long as Providence gives health and strength, and many of them are only confined to particular seasons; and in all seasons considerable difference exists in different parts of India. The northern stations are, I think, most favoured, enjoying a longer continuance of cool weather, an air at all times drier and more elastic, and, except during the hot winds, by no means ungenial to an English constitution. I have been greatly struck with the difference in muscle, complexion and apparent strength between persons stationed in the upper provinces and those resident in Calcutta or Bombay. Yet so impartial is death in his visits, and so much may prudence and good management effect towards obviating natural inconveniences, that it is not found that on the whole there is greater mortality among the European inhabitants of these last-named cities, than among those of Delhi, Meerut and Bareilly.

Mustard seed, in the shape of oil, is an indispensable necessary in a Hindoo family. It is considered as useful as rice. Among the Hindoo cottagers, seclusion of the women does not prevail. The sexes work and sit together.

Nobody in Bengal, can do any thing without a leader, the *Sirdar* or master of the gang, without whom they would not work, and whom they allow (voluntarily) to receive their wages, and draw poundage on them, in consideration of his superintendence.

We met in the Ganges a number of beggars, who were all a *caste* of beggars, from father to son. In the hills of Salsette, there is a peculiar *caste* of burners of charcoal, who dwell in the woods, have neither intermarriage nor intercourse with the Hindoo inhabitants of the plain, and bring down their loads of

uous liquors, which the officer commanding the escort, out of compassion, frequently supplied him with. When, however, he was drunk, he would never be pacified with the assurance that he was only to be confined at Allahabad, and used to cry and rave about 'kala panee,' invoking 'Company Sahib' to be merciful, and kill him, that he might be burned in Hindostan. With such feelings, they may well listen with astonishment to the long voyages which we voluntarily take, and of the strange lands which must lie beyond this frightful barrier.

Ten years ago there were few parts of India, where the sight and sound of military array would not have been a sign of flight and tears; the villagers instead of crowding to see us, would have come out indeed, but with their hands clasped, kissing the dust, and throwing down before the invader all their wives' silver ornaments, with bitter entreaties that the generous conqueror would condescend to take all they had and do them no further injury; and accounting themselves but too happy if those prayers were heard, so that their houses were left unburnt, and their wives and daughters inviolate! War is, doubtless, a dreadful evil every where, but war, as it is carried on in these countries, appears to have horrors which an European soldier can scarcely form an idea of.

The Portuguese churches in the city of Bassein, once a celebrated colony of the Portuguese, are as ruins, melancholy objects to look at, but they are monuments, nevertheless, of departed greatness, of a love of splendour far superior to the anxiety for amassing money by which other nations have been chiefly actuated, and of a zeal for God, which, if not according to knowledge, was a zeal still, and a sincere one. It was painful to me, at the time, to think, how few relics, if the English were now expelled from India, would be left behind of their religion, their power, or their civil and military magnificence.

The great body of the Maharatta people are a very peaceable and simple peasantry, of frugal habits, and gentle dispositions; there seems to be no district in India, of equal extent and population, where so few crimes are committed, and of the robberies and murders which really occur, the greatest part by far are the work of the Bheels, who, on these mountains as well as in Central India, maintain a precarious and sanguinary independence, and are found less accessible to such means of conciliation as have yet been tried with them, than any of their more northern kindred.

Nothing can be more foolish, or in its effects more pernicious, than the manner in which spirits are distributed to European troops in India. Early every morning, a pint of fiery, coarse, undiluted rum is given to every man, and half that quantity to every woman; this, the greater part of the new-comers abhor in the first instance, or would, at all events, if left to themselves, mix with water. The ridicule of their seasoned companions, however, deters them from doing so, and a habit of the worst kind of intemperance is acquired in a few weeks, more fatal to the army than the swords of the Jâts, or the climate of the Burmese.

Of Schwartz and his fifty years' labour among the heathens, the extraordinary influence and popularity which he acquired, both with Mussulmans, Hindoos, and contending European governments, I need give you no account, except that my idea of him has been raised since I came into the south of India. I used to suspect, that, with many admirable qualities, there was too great a mixture of intrigue in his character; that he was too much of a political prophet, and that the veneration which the heathen paid and still pay him; and which indeed almost regards him as a superior being, putting crowns and burning lights before his statue, was purchased by some unwarrantable compromise with their prejudices. I find I was quite mistaken. He was really one of the most active and fearless, as he was one of the most successful missionaries who have appeared since the Apostles.

There are now in the south of India about 200 Protestant congregations, the numbers of which have been sometimes vaguely stated at 40,000. I doubt whether they reach 15,000, but even this, all things considered, is a great number. The Roman Catholics are considerably more numerous, but belong to a lower caste of Indian, for even these Christians retain many prejudices of caste, and in point of knowledge and morality, are said to be extremely inferior.

guage with some of the best productions of the Persian, Arabic, and Turkish muse. His history of the Assassins is derived from Eastern sources ; his works on the constitution and the history of the Ottoman empire, in part from actual survey, in part from trust-worthy materials, may have a general interest ; we set a great value on his history of Persian poetry, out of which more may be learnt on the subject, than out of all the works upon the Persian, translations and essays, in other occidental languages than the German, put together. As far as we know, it has not yet been noticed in any leading American or English Journal. The style in which he has written is unfortunate ; for treating of Persian poetry, and borrowing largely from Persian sources, he has thought a gorgeous manner suited to the topic. The loves of the rose and the nightingale, and the flowers and the hyperboles of the East, weary the reader, who desires simplicity in the critic, from the excess of ornament in the works which are the subject of criticism. But the whole course of Persian poetic culture is laid open, and the periods separately characterized, and more distinctly than the periods of English literature\* have yet been, in any English work with which we are acquainted.

Hammer's translations from the eastern writers have received and have merited high praise. There are two or three modes of translation. The one gives in plain prose the most literal version ; it is the safest ; we wish our domestic translators from the languages of our Aborigines would follow it. Then there is the method, which adapts foreign inventions to domestic taste, as is done by almost all our English translators, by Dryden and Pope, or in our own days, in the very excellent translations of Schiller's *Wallenstein* by Coleridge. The third kind gives the very form and sentiments, the ideas and the tone of the original ; and are such exact representations, that they may stand in the stead of it. Cowper's *Homer* is hardly a specimen of this class ; it is not in hexameters, and is much too loose. We should mention Wolff's German translation of the *Clouds* of *Aristophanes*, and William Von Humboldt's of the *Agamemnon* of *Æschylus*, as admirable specimens of this kind of exercise. Voss is the *inventor* of it, if we may so express ourselves. He was the first to venture on this manner, which is finally in Germany prevailing over all others. That the style was at first harsh, where such fidelity was required, is undeniable ; but long and frequent exercise, great competition, and unceasing efforts, have given such flexibility and variety to the German language and poetic measures, that many of the greatest poets of all times, not the ancients only, but Calderon and Shakspeare, Tasso, Ariosto and Dante, move in their own measures and their own style, in the

\* The best history of English literature is by a German.

any who have lived with them. Their manners are, at least, as pleasing and courteous as those in the corresponding stations of life among ourselves; their houses are larger, and, according to their wants and climate, to the full as convenient as ours; their architecture is at least as elegant, and though the worthy Scotch divines may doubtless wish their labourers to be clad in 'hodden grey,' and their gentry and merchants to wear powder and mottled stockings, like worthy Mr. —, and the other elders of his kirk-session, I really do not think that they would gain either in cleanliness, elegance, or comfort, by exchanging a white cotton robe for the completest suits of dittos. Nor is it true that in the mechanic arts they are inferior to the general run of European nations. Where they fall short of us, (which is chiefly in agricultural implements and the mechanics of common life,) they are not, so far as I have understood of Italy and the south of France, surpassed in any great degree by the people of those countries. Their goldsmiths and weavers produce as beautiful fabrics as our own, and it is so far from true that they are obstinately wedded to their old patterns, that they show an anxiety to imitate our models, and do imitate them very successfully. The ships built by native artists at Bombay are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool. The carriages and gigs which they supply at Calcutta are as handsome, though not as durable, as those of Long Acre. In the little town of Monghyr, 300 miles from Calcutta, I had pistols, double-barrelled guns, and different pieces of cabinet-work brought down to my boat for sale, which in outward form (for I know no further,) nobody but perhaps Mr. — could detect to be of Hindoo origin; and at Delhi, in the shop of a wealthy native jeweller, I found broaches, ear-rings, snuff-boxes, &c. of the latest models (so far as I am a judge,) and ornamented with French devices and mottoes.

It is, in fact, the want of means on the part of the teachers, and not any of that invincible repugnance so often supposed to exist on the part of the Hindoos, which, in my opinion, must make the progress of the Gospel slow in India. Those who think otherwise, have, I suspect, either never really desired the improvement which they affect to regard as impossible, or by raising their expectations, in the first instance, too high, have been the cause of their own disappointment. We cannot work miracles, and it is idle to suppose that thirty or forty Missionaries, (for this is, perhaps, the full number, including all Protestant sects throughout all India,) can have, in ten or a dozen years, (for a longer time has scarcely occurred, since the work was set about in good earnest,) so much as conveyed the name of the Gospel to more than a very small part of a nation containing 100,000,000 inhabitants, and scattered over a country of 1,500,000 square miles. It is no less idle to expect that any nation, or any great numbers in a nation, will change the ancient system of faith at once, or otherwise than by very slow degrees, and with great reluctance, a reluctance not likely to be lessened when the new creed is offered them by a race of foreign conquerors, speaking their language for the most part very imperfectly.

On the whole, I think it still desirable, that in this country the newspapers should be licensed by government, though from the increased interest which the Hindoos and Mussulmans take in politics, and the evident *fermentation* which, either for good or evil, is going on in the public mind, I do not think the measure can be long continued. But the power of deportation is, I am convinced, essential to the public peace. Many of the adventurers who come hither from Europe, are the greatest profligates the sun ever saw; men whom nothing but despotism can manage, and who, unless they were really under a despotic rule, would insult, beat, and plunder the natives without shame or pity. Even now, many instances occur of insult and misconduct, for which the prospect of immediate embarkation for Europe is the most effectual precaution or remedy. It is, in fact, the only control which the Company possesses over the tradesmen and ship-builders in Calcutta, and the indigo planters up the country.

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learned of Germany, are generally unfitted by the very nature of their occupations, to pursue historical science with success. But there are not wanting men, who, in the midst of all those difficulties, have made their way to well-merited applause. Among these we must mention Schlözer, who was almost the first to give to statistics a scientific form. Schlözer's governing spirit was that of opposition. His great strength and delight lay in combating error, and counteracting prejudice. His manner was positive, but his principles liberal; he was impatient of contradiction, yet for ever contradicting; the vindicator of public liberty, and a domestic tyrant. A fashion in education threatened to introduce a superficial kind of knowledge; to demonstrate the folly of this tendency, Schlözer determined to give his own daughter a strictly scientific education. She actually studied at the university, was examined by the philosophic faculty, sustained the examination with honour, and received a doctor's diploma. Afterwards, we ought to add, she was advantageously married, and distinguished by every matronly virtue. To his severity of character, Schlözer united an unbending energy of will. At the time he was desirous of learning the Russian, he could purchase no printed dictionary of sufficient extent. A friend procured for him the loan of a manuscript dictionary of 781 folio sheets; this he forthwith copied. As the conductor of a public journal, he exercised a wide influence on the opinions of his contemporaries. Even the Austrian cabinet was curious and not a little anxious to receive his productions, of which thousands were rapidly disseminated. As a political writer, he was the firm friend of justice and freedom; opposed to all caprice and arbitrary power. As a historian he is too fond of saying new things, or repeating old ones in a new light. His style is such as his feelings made it. He writes with energy, but with no elegance. It is his great merit to have thrown light on the history of the north of Europe; and promoted the public discussion of political measures on the continent.

The most celebrated name among German historians, is that of John Von Müller. The varieties of his life were enough to make him versed in the natural variableness of fortune. But he never had more than one passion. Like Michel Angelo, his art enjoyed his exclusive affection. He was in very many respects a most extraordinary man; in one respect most unfortunate. The works which he has left, are no fit representatives of the extent and accuracy of his learning. His twenty-four books of Universal History, a work of which a translation has been printed in England, are inferior to his reputation. They contain reasonings on history, rather than a narration. They were the result of a course of lectures, and not published till after his death. They do not so much communicate historical knowledge, as remarks,

of retired life, give to the pursuit of knowledge, the ardent love which the world could not satisfy.

In making an estimate of the literary character of a great nation, it is therefore but of little weight, that superficial observers find in reality sufficient justification for filling the newspapers with accounts of the uncouth manners, or the humble station of men, whose names are repeated throughout the lettered world with reverence. If a few striking points of character are thus related—if some interesting biographical circumstances are set forth in broad relief, it may innocently serve to excite wonder, and perhaps to gratify an imperfect curiosity; but it does not come near the great question of the character of the intellectual existence of a nation.

Nor is it a question of the slightest moment, whether men of letters circulate freely among those of political or hereditary rank. Who asks if Homer kept company with kings? Who is distressed because Milton would not or could not go to court? An ingenious scholar of the North, whose merits are above our praise, observes, as a favourable characteristic of our country, that authors now “constitute the chosen ornaments of society, and are welcomed to the gay circles of fashion and the palaces of princes.” It may be well for the classes which are privileged by birth or fortune, to associate to themselves the men whose eloquence can sway public opinion, or whose science can produce new resources of power or wealth; it may promote the rational happiness of princes, to have at their tables, and in their saloons, men capable of enlightening ignorance, and promoting pleasures of an exalted kind. But how is the man of letters benefited? The well-fed parasite is infinitely beneath the stern, independent man, whose mind, self-balanced, reposes on the consciousness of its internal strength. Men of letters belong essentially to the labouring class; they are links in the chain which binds together the great and widely diversified elements of society. They rise from the general mass and belong to it. All the comforts of high life, all the fascinations of fashionable society, all the charms of good living, all the delight of vanity in counting the powerful and the wealthy as friends, should never induce them to resign their just claim to equal competition on the field of general exertion—founded as their claim is, in the glory of transmitting the lights of intelligence from one generation to another, and inspiring the thoughts, and moulding the moral existence of contemporary millions.

Are not these views in point, in returning to the discussion of German literature? They would be still more so, if we were to extend our views beyond the limits of the works of imagination. The judgments which have been pronounced on the class of professed men of learning, have often been singularly defi-

man. In matters of style, both are concise; but the manner of Tacitus is natural; no other way for him would have been tolerable; it is the very form of his mind: the style of Müller is, we think, eminently artificial, sometimes harsh, often obscure; it was not forced upon him by his own genius: but was a matter of deliberation and adopted on choice. Müller treats a subject of minute details and of petty interest; Tacitus of the grandest revolutions, on which the destinies of the world depended. In their views of existence, Müller beheld a bright sun in a clear sky, and heard the still voice of Providence in the gentle whisperings of evening; but Tacitus looked out upon a world in which the sun was darkened by sanguinary clouds, and the wind was heard only as it rushed through the ruins of a decaying nature, that was hardly to bloom again. Tacitus was favoured in private life, enjoying all that makes home social and happy, and therefore he was able to contemplate with philosophy the melancholy features of his times; but Müller had no resource except in his pursuits, and to have renounced his faith in humanity, and counteracted the natural vivacity of his feelings, would have left him without a hope or a joy.

In the last years of his life, Müller was high in office in the kingdom of Westphalia. His feelings were harrowed by the sight of abuse; his strength was wasted in ineffectual struggles. When King Jerome, in the assembly of the most learned men of his realm, had the insolence to say, "I need nothing but soldiers."—"And fools"—ejaculated Müller aloud, labouring under a feverish excitement. His condition was an intolerable one, and death, but about a week after, set him free from the vexations of literary and political ambition. He left his fortunes embarrassed, his history of Switzerland a fragment, and the great work, to preparations for which he had mainly consecrated the peaceful portion of his existence, unattempted.

Of the living historians of Germany, Heeren may be considered the first. He has long been a favourite instructor in history, at the most flourishing German university. His researches have been various and accurate; his style is clear; his judgment profound; his freedom from prejudice exemplary. In that part of his modern history which relates to America, he is singularly just. No European writer understands our government and condition more exactly. In his public lectures, the statistics of the United States form a part, which is discussed with great care and liberality. No one has surpassed him, in the kind of historic writing to which he has devoted himself.

It is not to be forgotten, that Schiller himself, during a period of his life, was vigorously engaged in historical pursuits. We see that his historical writings are increasing in popularity; and a portion of them has already been printed in the very widely



this result, as something monstrous and unnatural; it was the proper result of a strong propensity, deeply rooted, carefully nourished, and finally freely indulged.

Perhaps it may be thought that fame or wealth are the leading passions, which have impelled men to this earnest and undivided application. Certainly the love of fame is a passion that becomes a generous nature; for who would not wish to stand well with his kind? And we are disposed to do all justice to the very respectable passion of avarice. Yet, having alluded to Herschel, we are reminded of his great precursor, Copernicus, one, whose name is familiar to almost every man, woman, and child, that can read and write, and that knows the world turns round; a man whose fame has been but the more firmly established by every successive improvement in astronomical science, and whose immortality is secured and diffused, not by the labours of the erudite only, but by every manual of astronomy that is addressed to a child's capacity. Now, this man very deliberately spent the greatest part of a life of more than seventy years, in establishing a theory which bears his name; and having thus in his power a kind of knowledge, which it belongs to every man to learn, and which could not but secure to him a universality of fame, beyond any thing which a poet can compass, he yet communed with himself on his great discoveries, till the close of his life, and never saw them published, till on the very day of his death.

Shall we have another example, to see if wealth and the prospect of it, are the reward or the excitement to intellectual efforts? In the same department of knowledge, the industry and labours of Kepler were unwearied. While others have gained glory by discovering isolated doctrines, Kepler invented science. He had taste and genius for poetry, but gave his enthusiasm to his exact pursuits. In the service of the German emperor, he yet lived on the narrowest means; and, after all his success and all his labours, left to his family but twenty-two rix dollars, and an old horse, worth a few florins. But was Kepler therefore unhappy? His correspondence breathes the spirit of cheerfulness, and he tells the story of his own penury without complaints. Kepler was the precursor of Newton; the Englishman lived to be more than eighty; Kepler died while not yet sixty. We do not contrast their respective merits; it would be presumption in us to do so; but when it is done, the miserable external existence of Kepler should not be left out of mind. Newton was worshipped in his lifetime as a super-human being. He was member of parliament; at one time even in the cabinet; was knighted; enjoyed all the benefits of fortune; and, dying, left an estate, as times then were, equal to what our wealthier merchants acquire. Kepler's body was given to the earth without honour; the remains of Newton were interred with pomp; dukes

streets, who have not been baptized; and he might perhaps regard us as little better than a nation of heathens, were he to learn that our children, (at least those of the great majority of the nation,) are never confirmed, and that the rite of confirmation itself is of evil odour to the uncompromising descendants of the pilgrims. Let us not make rash judgments, where the difference may be chiefly in the forms, or where the sources of objection would be removed, by a just allowance for the force of long-established customs.

Nor shall we venture at present to attempt an analysis of the great principles of the masters in German philosophy. The effects on the nation at large, of this earnest and continued study of metaphysics, is as manifest as that of Edwards and Hopkins on the intellectual habits of the people of New-England. So various are the systems of the recent German philosophers, that a man must be very fastidious, if he cannot find a theory to his taste, either in the lessons of Kant, who annihilates the empire of imagination, and the influence of feeling, investigates with exactness the sources of knowledge, measures the boundaries of the human understanding, sets up the land-marks between positive knowledge and idle speculation, and then deduces the laws of taste, the principles of justice, the doctrines of virtue, and the truths of religion, from the understanding itself, and the ultimate laws of human existence; or, in the audacious Fichte, who leaves the ideal Berkeley far in the rear, annihilates earth and heaven, knows of no actual existence but himself, and deems the universe and its glories as but creations and images, which his own mind has called into being; or in Schelling, who claims existence for the external world, and, after exhibiting it in the splendours of its actual being, falls down and worships it, as though it were the divinity itself; or in Hegel,\* who dresses

\* We shall not pretend to speak of Hegel with a respect which we do not feel. His philosophy is at best but the triumph of acute logical deduction over common sense; but, we think, it is equally deficient in logic and in plain reason. We find it mentioned by one of his admirers, that, in the night preceding the battle of Jena, Hegel, then an instructor in the university of that place, was employed in completing an elaborate philosophical treatise. This may to some be an evidence of the possession of that talent for abstraction, which is the happiness and the condition of contemplative excellence; to us it seems but sorry affectation. We remember in one of the notes to Gibbon's History, it is related of the Abbot of Clairvaux, that he walked for a day on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, without being conscious of it. We believe the story with difficulty; for St. Bernard was not destitute of an eye for the beauties of nature. But then it was a quiet walk; he was surrounded by friends and admirers, was engaged in thought and discussion, and for a few hours he may have been blind to one of the sublimest scenes in our world. But when the liberties of one's country are at issue, an invading army within cannon shot, on the eve of a battle, which was to decide the destiny of many states, and seriously affect the liberties of Europe, between the encampments of the armies, which the morning's light was to summon to the battle-field, to sit and write abstract nonsense, belongs to a philosophy for which the world can have little need.

the farmer's son, who expounded the system of the world, and treated of celestial mechanics, who advanced the limits of mathematics, and discovered new applications of the doctrine of the calculus, who reconciled the apparent irregularities in the motions of the heavenly bodies, with the influence of acknowledged laws, and deduced directly from the principle of gravity, the results which had been gathered from the observation of many centuries—for him, one of the greatest mathematicians of all times, we have the most profound respect. But La Place, the unskilful minister of the interior, the chancellor of Napoleon's senate, the member of the upper house of the Bourbons, was after all but an inferior man. The German lives exclusively in his science; it is his honour, his employment, his solace, and the sole and sure foundation of durable fame.

May we not then infer, that this power of consecrating a life with undivided zeal to one great object, is a quality so frequently found in Germany, as to be characteristic? In the department of natural history, this quality leads to wonderful accuracy and minuteness of knowledge. Accordingly, the several branches of that interesting portion of science are cultivated by men who spare no pains to be thorough and exact. We might refer to the cabinet of natural science in Berlin, as perhaps the best arranged of any in the world. Not to enumerate many names, we yet must express veneration for the patriarch Blumenbach, a man who surpasses in science all competitors, in that enlargement of mind which distinguishes generous natures. For more than fifty years, he has regularly taught the great branches of natural history and physiology to crowded audiences. The spirit that breathes in all that he utters, is one to awaken interest, and to enkindle the ardour of curiosity. With a mind versed in all that can interest a philosopher, he strays into other departments of science only to illustrate his own.

His pupils cherish towards him mingled sentiments of respect and love; and long after the grave shall have closed on him, they will continue to remember the hours that were passed in his lecture room, as among the most profitable and the most agreeable of their lives. Is it asked by what secret charm he has thus so long gathered around him, from all parts of the world, a throng of curious youth, whose affection he has governed, and whose zeal he has called into action? It is genius, united with singleness of purpose, and cheerful benevolence. No envy ever induced him to detract from foreign merit; no prejudices restrained him in his pursuits of truth; no contracted disposition kept him from adopting the improvements of others. At ease in his own mind, he observed all earnest efforts with delight, and was always fond of benefiting himself by deriving information from every possible source; and while his powers are of a nature

and serene in his own love of goodness ; but he hated all that was opposed to the objects that he loved. Possessed of the spirit of resignation in his own trials, he was irritated by the world around him, and kept in a state of contradiction and discontent. When reproof was forced from him, his censure was not measured. Dislike became antipathy ; disapprobation, angry rejection ; and disdaining all compromise, and refusing to acknowledge even eminent excellence, when it was marred by moral defects, he loathed what he did not admire, and detested what was not in harmony with his feelings. In this way his peace was disturbed, and his life embittered. Having no objects but noble ones, he yet fell into injustice. When he held up the torch to search out the defects and faults of others, he held it with an unsteady hand, and it was truly said of him, that "the dark flame, throwing out sparks in every direction, injured himself the worst."

Herder possessed vivacity, but not cheerfulness ; a kind nature, but not a happy one ; great susceptibility, but no content. Being of a melancholy nature, he carried his elegance of taste into mournful themes. He muses on the grave, but covers it with flowers ; his imaginings are of death, but he bodies forth its angel as a beautiful youth, with whom he could even grow familiar. He used to long to see a spirit, and was doubtless in earnest in the desire. His imagination has been compared to the night-blooming Ceres.

He was fond of nature, for nature soothes irritable minds by her permanent loveliness. To his eye, the meanest flowret opened views into Paradise. In advanced life he visited Italy. The country round Naples operated upon his sensitive system to such a degree, that the excitement was followed by an attack of profound melancholy.

Herder, we have said, was never contented. Injustice operated upon his mind, as some lively poisons do on the system. Infidelity he combated like a man who throws away his shield, as he runs impetuously to battle. He would commit acts of indiscretion and blunders, in defending the side of good feeling. He ventured boldly against the clamorous brood, who in his time disseminated fatal doctrines. And when the serpents of the age turned and hissed at him, he kept his ground, in haughty defiance, and struck passionate blows, without good aim, at those against whose venom he took no pains to protect himself.

All his intercourse with man was attended with irritation ; and he had little practical talent, and no tact in the management of ordinary concerns. At one time, when he was in the service of the prince of Bückeberg, the sovereign directed him, as the head of the church in the principality, to ordain a person who had not the requisite qualifications. Herder was so agitated, that

sity of which he was a member. We accidentally find a letter\* from him to Herder, in which he describes his mode of life. "I see company," says he, "hardly three times a year," and he declares that "all his colleagues, except the fools," thus live within themselves. He was accustomed to rise at five, and was so closely employed during the morning, that he did not see his family till the time for dinner. This was a hasty meal. At tea, he spent with his family a quarter of an hour, and that only in his advanced age. At eight came the evening repast, to which he willingly gave an hour. After this, he continued his employments till half past ten or eleven. In this way he was able to read three or four lectures of an hour's length, daily, to write more than a thousand letters a year, to publish elaborate works, of which the titles cover twenty octavo pages, and finally, to write at least eight thousand articles in the *Review* of which he was the editor, besides many contributions to other journals. Such a career may appear hardly enviable; and he may seem to have renounced all the comforts of social life. Yet Heyne was beloved in his family, and tenderly respected and cherished by his children. Perhaps his fortunes and condition were hardly commensurate with his endowments, and his habits of business, and his astonishing industry. His external circumstances were, for a part of his life, severe in the extreme. When a boy, he was not able to raise three cents a week to pay for instruction, so indigent was his father. At the university of Leipzig he was sometimes compelled to sustain existence on what a compassionate servant in the house could spare him. Nay, after the spendthrift Bruhle had invited him to Dresden, and had failed to keep his promise in giving him sufficient employment, Heyne was obliged repeatedly to gather refuse pea-pods, and boil them for sustenance. But at last he found a safe place of refuge. Having acquired by his wisdom the direction of the most respected university of the continent, he beheld all its institutions thrive under his management; his name spread through the world; even in his lifetime the greatest of the Roman poets was introduced into the United States, in the text which his industry had amended, and most of all, his method of treating ancient authors, assisted in breaking down the wall of pedantry, and introducing the student, who before had been kept in the entrenchments of grammatical precision, into the very garden of the Muses. The merit of Heyne extends to a reform in learning. The necessity of grammatical precision continued to be acknowledged, but taste ceased to be neglected, and proofs of fine feeling, and a lively sensibility to all the beauty and excellence, contained in the written monuments of antiquity, found their way into the works of commentators. It was

\* In the life of Herder, by C. L. Ring.

in his school, and following in his steps, that the seed was sown for the rich harvest which is now gathering in Germany, in every branch of philological research.

One peculiar merit of Heyne we cannot forbear mentioning. He was the librarian of the Georgia Augusta, and an excellent one. To those who think it the easiest matter in the world to select a librarian, this may seem small praise. We regard it otherwise. There are probably at this time not six good librarians in the world. In this country, we never knew but one or two. It requires devotedness; and further, a good librarian must be conversant with all the sciences, must possess the very spirit of order, great activity and vigilance, and an almost intuitive judgment, to make new purchases with prudence, and preserve a proportion in the several departments. Heyne began under no peculiarly favourable auspices; yet he was chief librarian for forty-nine years, with almost unlimited influence in the regulations of the concerns of the library. And he left the collection, which on entering upon his office was but a respectable one, the very best, decidedly the best arranged, and the most judiciously put together, in the world. The royal library at Paris is a chaos to it. We speak in sober earnest. In a collection of about 300,000 volumes, there is not one on which even a younger clerk cannot readily lay his hand. Yet we must tell the whole. Connected with the library, was the university church; Heyne longed to see one splendid saloon; times were hard; money was scarce; the French were in power in the ephemeral kingdom of Westphalia. Heyne persuaded the government to give him the church for his purposes; and presently a floor was extended so as to divide the upper and lower parts of the Gothic pile; a large, but rather dark hall was formed below; a really noble saloon above. And this was appropriated to the department of history. It was a temple consecrated to Clio, exclaims the historical professor, not observing the antithesis of the holier service from which it had been taken.

Wolff, the illustrious rival of Heyne, is reported to have begun his career with industry. In after life, he used to say of himself, that it was his object to be an instructor, not an author. And we find the testimony of one of his pupils bears, that at times it was with difficulty he could make his way through the crowd to his chair, and his hearers "hung upon his lips with such attention and love, that you might hear their hearts beat under their shaggy coats." This statement may be a little exaggerated, but proves the veneration which his hearers cherished for him. Wolff was exceedingly amiable, full of jests, and full of benevolence; and during the best years of his life, he was doubtless a severe student. When the French attacked Prussia, he refused to be enrolled as a soldier, and his patriotism became

wisely and as morally as Hamlet and the church-yard clowns put together; like them he is as likely to sing at grave-making as at any time, and would be as ready to defend religion with a jest as with an argument. He is more absolutely mad, and not less musing, than the Prince of Denmark himself; and poor Yorick could not have surpassed him in infinite jest and excellent fancy.

In ascribing this character to Jean Paul, we would not deny him the praise of possessing a well-disciplined understanding, and of having arrived at clear results in his reasonings on morals and letters. He has even very great merits as a critic, apart from his original inventions. He is bold and decided in his literary creed, and has developed it with much eloquence in a separate work, which is replete with sound doctrine, novel illustrations, profound thought, and the strongest combinations. Yet in his madness, reason is still supreme; the form is wild, but the spirit is one of sober judgment. This treatise (*Vorschule der Aesthetik*) will perhaps commend itself to an American reader, more than any of his novels. The first impression produced by almost any of his works, will be a bewildering one; but he who is once initiated into his manner, will readily acknowledge him to be one of the most original and able writers of our time. In his own country he has but gradually acquired popularity, and is but recently established in undisputed favour.

We must not here forget to name Hoffman, for he has had Jean Paul for his advocate, and in some respects followed in the steps of that singular man. But Hoffman had not the deep philosophy, nor the fine moral sense of his master. With less genius, he was more bold in his manner, and more given to the wonderful; and while he strives after supernatural interest, he not unfrequently degenerates into commonplaces. In his efforts at sublimity he is impetuous and extravagant. His enthusiasm is foaming and turbulent, without any of the deep collectedness of secret passion. His eloquence is but in flashes; and his feverish fondness for unnatural excitement in literary composition, led him rather to success in fantastic inventions, than in the higher walks of literature.

His life was the life of a spendthrift Epicurean, his death the death of a Stoic. Nothing that he has written is of such terrific power, as his own conduct and words in the illness which followed on his excesses and terminated his life. The scaffold has often rung with jests; but Hoffman's stoicism was, as if the criminal when the wheel crushes him, were to grin at the executioner.

The taste of Hoffman was that of a man, who seeks no rest of mind or enjoyment, who has no firm principle of life or conduct, who heightens his pleasures by all means within his reach, and gives whole nights to carousals; yet, courting sensual gratifica-

tions without self-denial, still adds to them the refinement of intellectual pleasures. His was at once the madness of the musician, the man of letters, and the libertine; his mind was as free from restraints, as his life from rule; and as he could have but few sympathies with man, he delighted rather in the terrors and excitements of supernatural existences. Hence his spirit kept company with devils and hobgoblins, and the beings with which a licentious family people the invisible realms of space. His Helicon was not gin and water, but wine; and so his writings have wildness, incoherency, a strained and unnatural character, with occasional gleams of eloquence and splendid success. In music, all agree his taste was admirable; no one has so well illustrated the beauties of Mozart's *Don Juan*; no one so humorously and dramatically represented the sorrows of the masters of melody.

Shall we pass the volumes of Bürger without a tribute? His best ballads are well known to the English reader; of that which Scott has been willing to translate, it is not becoming to speak irreverently. His private history and character were too wretched to admit of scorn, and too pitiful to win respect. We give no sort of weight to the excuses furnished by the consideration of a sensitive poetic temperament. His vices were the vices of a coarse nature, incapable of delicate sentiments or exact morality. We leave his domestic sins punished as they were by abject misery; but we cannot set much value upon poems, when we feel only contempt and pity for the poet.

The poems of Bürger were made the subject of a review by Schiller, in which the great bard has developed his own views of his art, with too much, perhaps, of speculative criticism, but with a noble sublimity of feeling. The critique condemned Bürger, as a poet deficient in delicacy and the conception of ideal beauty; as having no notion, for example, of female loveliness, beyond physical charms; no conception of love, but as a gross desire. In short, the review denies him every quality which constitutes the essence of poetry. It is usual to charge Schiller with an error of judgment, resulting from his temporary addiction to the study of Kant's philosophy. But whatever objections may be brought against Schiller's abstract reasonings; we think his judgment on Bürger's poetry decidedly just, and in no wise too severe.

The "Song of the Paragon" (*das Hope Lied der Einzigen*) written on account of his second marriage, much extolled as it has been by many, and in part respectable voices, is, we acknowledge, highly finished in its style and elegant in its manner, but essentially coarse, grossly voluptuous, and unworthy of exciting sympathy. Take for example the first verse.

"Heart of the lady of my choice, listen to my most beautiful song, Ah! a song of one, who has gained new life, respecting the



sweet bride whom God has *at last* given him! As from hopeless chains, as from night and the mouldering darkness of a deep dungeon, he feels in joyousness his resurrection to the light and air of spring!"

This means, in plain English, that *at last* his first wife is dead, and he can now marry a woman whom he all along liked better. That woman, was his first wife's sister, and the poem seems to set forth, that they had plighted their troth, while the lover was still in the hopeless chains and damp dungeons of matrimony. No elegance of versification can turn such coarseness of passion into poetry.

It does not seem to us, that the Stolbergs have any claim to be remembered out of their own country; and, we must also honestly confess it, we think the good, rural, homely, plain-spoken Voss, never tasted the stream of Helicon, and surely was a very learned, very accurate, very independent, and very deserving man, and a first rate translator, and editor, but in truth no inventive poet.

Nor has either of the Schlegels, the successful founders of a critical school, written in the walks of invention, any thing which can claim general admiration. Their extraordinary merit as critics, displayed both in contributions to public journals, and in elaborate works on literary topics, is cheerfully acknowledged. Still, the light of Lessing outshines them far, and not to them, but to that great master, belongs the credit of having given the impulse which first stirred up the public mind in Germany, and has finally extended its influence throughout the world.

Of the writings of Frederick Schlegel, his lectures on Literature, and those on Modern History, are the best. Still they are not of the highest order, and F. Schlegel has himself so frequently changed his opinions on religion and politics, that his writings lose their moral power, from the acknowledged inconsistency of the man. His brother, A. W. Schlegel, enjoys a higher reputation. He has done much in criticism; and his lectures on Dramatic Poetry are ingenious and interesting, containing bold vindications of distinguished men, and a more copious and intelligent admiration of Shakspeare, than had yet been given by any critic. Still the best of his opinions may be discerned in the works of Lessing, and the highest place belongs to Schlegel only in a subordinate class. Of invention, he is destitute. As a translator, his merit is extraordinary. Shylock, on the German stage, hardly yields to his prototype; and Romeo and Juliet delight as much in Berlin and Vienna, as in London and New-York.

Of Tieck we can observe, that he is an industrious and gifted adherent of the critical school of the Schlegels; eminently *romantic*. His *Genoveva* is the best of his poems, which aim at a general interest. Yet, in the effort to sustain poetic interest,

by the simplicity of a legendary story, he has attained a kind of excellence which will be acknowledged by a literary party, rather than by the public at large. The mind that is imbued with the peculiar spirit which is willing to discover beauties in the stiff Madonnas of the early artists, and again allows itself to be lulled into a pleasing mood by the childish attractions of an artless tale, may admire. The *Alamæ* is deficient in power and rapidity of action.

But most of Tieck's works are destined for the home market. His brightest poetical side is polemical. Whilst the Schlegels criticised, he wrote humorous and ironical dialogues, poems, and tales. He contributed essentially to the emancipation of literature from pedantic rules, though at the same time the tendency of his works, and of those of his school generally, has likewise been to produce a feeble and affected imitation of natural excellence. Apart from his original works, Tieck has made an approved translation of *Don Quixote*; and he is now engaged in completing A. W. Schlegel's translation of *Shakspeare*. To the illustration of this author, Tieck has devoted many years; and an elaborate work on the bard of Avon is expected from him.

Novalis, (*Hardenberg*,) is not at all to our taste. In the statue of *Laocoon*, the mouth of the figure is open, as if to shriek. Of the admirers of sculpture, there have not been wanting those, who have esteemed this a fault. The anguish of such ungovernable woe, may be entitled to thrill us with sympathy, when it is forced to break out into exclamations. But when a young man, not peculiarly severely tried, attempts to excite an interest in an affected, or at any rate a sickly melancholy, it requires some charity to lend him a willing ear. Yet, in a gloomy hour, the detached thoughts of Novalis and his atrabilarious songs, will be read with interest.

No poet ever possessed the affection of his countrymen in a higher degree than Schiller. Not that his productions have always been received with indiscriminate approbation, but his fame has invariably been cherished with a tenderness approaching to a personal attachment. Schiller's nature was frank, earnest, and virtuous; and strong respect for the man, who sacrificed every thing to his art, and the culture of his genius, was united to the delight which his poems could not but inspire. When the news of his untimely death was promulgated, men mourned as at a private loss, and sincere grief pervaded his country, as though each family had lost a favourite inmate. Schiller's life was one continued struggle. The severest censures ever passed upon his faults, have been pronounced by himself; and he strove with unceasing zeal to emancipate himself from the influence of every thing which could diminish the pure splendour of his muse. Her bright rays were to him the beams

of truth, the effluence of celestial light. His uneasy mind toiled to free itself from every quality, which could prevent his uniting in himself as a poet, the highest moral and poetic perfection.

He is, in an eminent degree, a popular poet. Every poor man that can read, and can spare a few shillings, certainly buys a work of Schiller's. And yet his poetry is marked by dignity, not less than grace, and the light of philosophy sheds over it a gentle lustre. He has written in such a manner, that the scrupulous taste of the most cultivated and speculative minds selects him as their favourite; and yet he charms the many. In the meanest hovel, if you ask for a book, you will be apt to find, next to a Bible and a book of devotion, some tragedy of Schiller's.

His theory of poetry, led him to consider beauty as something independent of the passions which it can excite; and the genius of the poet, as destined to pursue a high career, above the common sympathies of mankind. The poet was, in his mind, a superior being, upon whom the bright sunshine of inspiration poured directly from above; he might, indeed, stoop to his fellow-mortals, but it was only in attempting to lift them to the elevated regions of greater purity in which he moved. These views were the result of patient study; they commended themselves to an acute and speculative mind, which, from its own constitution, took no part in the ordinary bustle of existence. But, when Schiller came to write, he was not restrained by cold rules, within the icy limits of an austere and ascetic, or metaphysical sublimity. In his theory he derided nature, and longed to depict the *ideal*; when he invented, his theory gave him dignity, correctness, and a noble firmness of character; but his feelings hurried him to throw himself as a penitent at the feet of nature, and she, like a doating mother, readily forgiving him his temporary absence, had more joy in his return, than in many of her sons who had never been undutiful.

An only child of fond parents, Schiller was, from early life, sensitive to every noble quality, and disdainful towards all that is common and mean. His education was military, and opposed to his natural tastes, which he could nourish only in secret. Entirely cut off from the world, knowing none but his fellow-students, wholly unaccustomed to female society, he ventured to write a play, while yet a minor, and to publish it, a few months after he came of age. Every body knows the play of the "Robbers." Mr. Fairscribe could not lay the volume down, till he had finished it, business notwithstanding. The play is truly a marvel. It was composed by one almost a boy; who had never seen any except the inmates of his school, which was governed by mechanism, and who had no knowledge of the world. So it

describes extremes; every thing is sketched in strong and glaring colours; all vices and virtues are exhibited in their greatest excesses. The work is composed of light and darkness, with no intermediate shades. A German critic compares Schiller in this production to Titan, endeavouring to take the Heaven of invention by storm. It is a monstrous production; but spirit and genius move in it, and impart to it permanent life. His maturer taste was not able to improve it. The merits and faults are so mingled, that it is now printed in its first and boldest form.

Schiller attempted the career of an actor, but without success. He published two other tragedies, having the faults, but not the grandeur, of the "Robbers." After some years, he gave the world *Don Carlos*, in which tragedy he unfolds his own heart, and, in the eloquence of a person of the drama, gives the noblest lessons of liberty and public justice. The play is admirable, but not dramatic; having more of eloquence than of action, and more of the careful and elaborate views of a fine mind, than free displays of passion after the manner of real life.

The events of Schiller's life led him to the pursuits of history, for he became the successor of Eichhorn, at the university of Jena. Speculative science had also interested the poet, and Kant and abstract philosophy won his earnest attention. He applied himself to these pursuits seriously, for his object was to satisfy his inquisitive and impatient spirit. His lyre lay by his side almost untouched, while he was making every effort to acquire within himself that harmony which can alone result from clear convictions. His irritable nature, which rejected the realities of being, and longed for ideal goodness, wasted the powers of life; and the result of his irregular and too great application, was an illness from which he never entirely recovered, and which contributed to impart more of gentleness to his intellectual character. He now strove to reconcile himself with the world. At this period, his character may be considered as fully established in all its great outlines. A noble nature, improved by careful study of the records of mankind, and raised to great contemplative excellence by the zealous and solemn pursuit of philosophy, was now restored to the career of poetry. A series of most beautiful lyric poems, some of which are among the best in the literature of the world, were gradually published, and won universal favour. But the results of his investigations in history and speculative science were to be embodied in one grand production. Not in the history of the Thirty Years' War, it is in the tragedy of *Wallenstein*, that the peculiarities of Schiller's mind, at this time, are most clearly reflected. In the English drama, *Macbeth* is the production with which it has the nearest analogies. In general character, in the display of men, hurried to their ruin, by a moral necessity, existing in them-

selves, they are alike. But the scene in the play of the inimitable master is laid in remote and apocryphal history ; in *Wallenstein*, we have real men, and events all too true ; and this union of historic dignity and dramatic excellence, was a triumph reserved for Schiller. It has been published in French by the celebrated Benjamin Constant, who has, however, rather imitated than translated it. In English, we have a most spirited, but not very faithful version, by Coleridge.

Mary Stuart, and the Maid of Orleans, rapidly followed. In the first of these, Schiller has succeeded better than in any of his works, in delineating woman. It has in a less degree than *Wallenstein* the stern sublimity which is imparted by the unseen influences of an avenging destiny ; but it makes a more direct appeal to the human heart, and has therefore acquired a wider popularity.

The Maid of Orleans is written in the spirit of romance ; it is legendary, rather than exact, full of varied interest, striking contrasts, and marvellous interpositions, rather than a careful representation of human agencies and passions. The opening scene is in a noble spirit of elevated declamation ; in parts of the play much tenderness is displayed ; but the narrative interest is throughout predominant. In point of style, the diction is highly wrought, and varied ; the melody of language is an attraction which it eminently enjoys. The fine scene in *Ivanhoe*, where the Jewess observes the battle, and tells the hero the incidents of the contest, is analogous to a very admirable one in Schiller's drama.

The speculative tendency of Schiller's mind, led him to make an experiment of introducing the Greek chorus into modern tragedy. The experiment failed, and the *Bride of Messina* is sustained by the splendour of its several parts, not by its general merits. But Schiller returned at once to the right path, and history again lent itself to his genius to exhibit a nation. *William Tell* is one of the most remarkable plays ever written ; the interest gathers round the action more than the man ; Switzerland and the Swiss character are delineated in unaffected simplicity ; and a work of the sublimest character is founded on the virtues of a commonalty of peasants and herdsmen. The play is rational, and breathes the air of liberty. It was the last which Schiller lived to finish. He died just as a series of successful efforts had brought him to high perfection in his art ; just as the world was hoping from his maturity a series of works that might be associated with the best of the literary treasures which it has taken ages for human genius to accumulate.

And yet he has been declared happy in the period of his death. In the memory of coming generations, men live as they are at the moment when the angel of death summoned them away. Is

streets, who have not been baptized; and he might perhaps regard us as little better than a nation of heathens, were he to learn that our children, (at least those of the great majority of the nation,) are never confirmed, and that the rite of confirmation itself is of evil odour to the uncompromising descendants of the pilgrims. Let us not make rash judgments, where the difference may be chiefly in the forms, or where the sources of objection would be removed, by a just allowance for the force of long-established customs.

Nor shall we venture at present to attempt an analysis of the great principles of the masters in German philosophy. The effects on the nation at large, of this earnest and continued study of metaphysics, is as manifest as that of Edwards and Hopkins on the intellectual habits of the people of New-England. So various are the systems of the recent German philosophers, that a man must be very fastidious, if he cannot find a theory to his taste, either in the lessons of Kant, who annihilates the empire of imagination, and the influence of feeling, investigates with exactness the sources of knowledge, measures the boundaries of the human understanding, sets up the land-marks between positive knowledge and idle speculation, and then deduces the laws of taste, the principles of justice, the doctrines of virtue, and the truths of religion, from the understanding itself, and the ultimate laws of human existence; or, in the audacious Fichte, who leaves the ideal Berkeley far in the rear, annihilates earth and heaven, knows of no actual existence but himself, and deems the universe and its glories as but creations and images, which his own mind has called into being; or in Schelling, who claims existence for the external world, and, after exhibiting it in the splendours of its actual being, falls down and worships it, as though it were the divinity itself; or in Hegel,\* who dresses

\* We shall not pretend to speak of Hegel with a respect which we do not feel. His philosophy is at best but the triumph of acute logical deduction over common sense; but, we think, it is equally deficient in logic and in plain reason. We find it mentioned by one of his admirers, that, in the night preceding the battle of Jena, Hegel, then an instructor in the university of that place, was employed in completing an elaborate philosophical treatise. This may to some be an evidence of the possession of that talent for abstraction, which is the happiness and the condition of contemplative excellence; to us it seems but sorry affectation. We remember in one of the notes to Gibbon's History, it is related of the Abbot of Clairvaux, that he walked for a day on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, without being conscious of it. We believe the story with difficulty; for St. Bernard was not destitute of an eye for the beauties of nature. But then it was a quiet walk; he was surrounded by friends and admirers, was engaged in thought and discussion, and for a few hours he may have been blind to one of the sublimest scenes in our world. But when the liberties of one's country are at issue, an invading army within cannon shot, on the eve of a battle, which was to decide the destiny of many states, and seriously affect the liberties of Europe, between the encampments of the armies, which the morning's light was to summon to the battle-field, to sit and write abstract nonsense, belongs to a philosophy for which the world can have little need.

Kotzebue excelled in bringing striking scenes upon the stage—in rare and surprising situations. He is no German in feeling or manner.

Schulze is reported to have actually died for love. He pined away, having first, to immortalize his passion, finished a poem, of which the manner is exquisite, though the execution is defective.

Körner's life is more poetic than any thing he has written. Genuine patriotism, a fervent spirit, self-sacrificing courage, led him to be a martyr for the liberty of his country. His poetry is the expression of his nature; and ceasing to be a dead letter, lives on the lips and in the hearts of thousands of his countrymen.

Müllner has given over writing for the stage. He has some spirit and critical skill, but is a little of a literary coxcomb. His *Guilt* gives him an elevated place among the dramatists below stairs.

To those who desire to see honourable specimens of the dramatic skill of the present writers for the German stage, we recommend the *Golden Fleece* and the *Ottokar* of Grillpazer. They have great value, though they are not in the first rank of the art.

For the great mass of the German novels, we have but little to say. The business of manufacturing romances is carried on very extensively and systematically. The press groans with the weight of rubbish, which is soon transferred to the circulating libraries, and, by a safe process, the capital invested is secured. This branch of industry occupies many idle hands and weak heads, and forms a sort of literature by itself, conducted by the crowds who throng round the foot of Parnassus.

Caroline Pichler and La Mothe Fouqué are higher up the mountain; they are popular, and most prolific. But Scott and our worthy countryman have greater power to charm the German world; and the Red Rover is this moment making more prizes through all the circles of the empire, than any regular production from the workshop of a German novelist. Did time permit, we should, passing over the subordinate departments of polite literature, call attention rather to such works as the *Roman History*, of Niebuhr, the *Ideas on the Politics of Commerce and Antiquity*, by Heeren, the mythological investigations of Creuzer, the *Literary Histories* of Bouterwek, and other works, in which clear understanding, propriety of manner, and vast erudition, are skilfully allied. But we could give nothing more than very vague ideas of these and other works of similar value, except by devoting a separate article to each of them.

And perhaps it ought to be observed, that Prince Hardenberg, the Prussian chanceller, has left a manuscript history of his

times, from 1801 to the peace of Tilsit. The work must have great value and interest, but the world is not to see it till 1850.

In concluding these notices of German men of letters, in which we have been able but hastily to allude to some striking features in their general character, it remains to speak of a poet, who, more than any contemporary, possesses the veneration of his country. Of all living men, who have, in any department of contemplative or active life, attained a degree of eminence, equal, or nearly equal to that which he enjoys, he is the oldest. Almost eighty years have passed over him, and dimmed the lustre of his genius. Though in his youth, there were no adversaries whom he need have feared, and though he was clad in an armour, which seemed to have been the invulnerable gift of a superior nature, he is now too near the grave to wrestle for further palms or resist new aggressions. And his reputation is safe in the hands of the countless throng, to whose minds he has opened the glorious visions of poetry, and whose steps he has guided to the contemplation of beauty.

Does there not belong to his declining years something inexpressibly lovely and majestic? The lyre, which could have given the meed of immortality to any, whom it would honour with a strain, is hushed; the spirit, which was eager in its curiosity to search into every source of inspiration, and strove to gather spoils from all departments of knowledge, is now only able to communicate the results of past experience, with timid glances at contemporary efforts. There was a time, when Goethe could be severe in reproof and bitter in scorn; but now all that he writes in his extreme age, is quiet and mild, and he seems desirous of parting from all mankind in peace. He has come from the field of contest, and, conscious of his approaching end, has laid down his arms, and is preparing for eternal rest from the toils of earth. And all the while, he is an object of astonishment to the civilized world, of admiration to those who have penetrated into the meaning of his works; and more than any sovereign of Europe, has the voluntary homage of his countrymen. The men of greatest rank and power visit him, not as their equal, but as one whom it will always be a grateful reminiscence to have seen, and whom it is a common duty to respect; and the critics have already written about him and his works, more volumes than would fill the lumber room of a library.

Such is the glorious and peaceful close of Goethe's life; it has been his happiness to have lived a brilliant career. From the moment of his entering on the arena of letters, the eyes of men were turned towards him. For a long time, indeed, the world was uncertain what judgment they should pass on his efforts; but attention was never denied, and his early works, especially his *Werther* and *Goetz of Berlichingen* will be remembered, as long



as unhappy love shall continue to excite sympathy, and the contrasts of the middle ages, interest those, who trace to those ages the germs of their national peculiarities and virtues.

The works of Goethe are of the utmost variety. Indeed there are no two, which have the same character. Other writers advance in the career of their choice; Goethe is universal; and in each department, which he has attempted, has left but one example of his powers. But let it not be inferred, that his works are deficient in the exquisite skill of the accomplished master. All that he has attempted, assumes, under his hand, an aspect of beauty. With the step of healthy activity, he passes where he will. His sound judgment, his brilliant, clear, and quick imagination, his feelings, natural, philanthropic, and serene, enable him to move successfully, where other men would be bewildered; and to pass through unknown paths, as if through familiar scenes. He walks, like the enchanted hero of an eastern romance, through the hundred halls of the palace of invention, and all the gates fly open at his approach; but hardly has he entered, when the portals close again, so that none can follow in his footsteps. Does this seem exaggeration? observe the number and diversified character of his works; then count the numerous imitations of them, and observe the vast difference between the productions of Goethe and those of the best of his followers. Scrutinize the defects even of powerful minds in the same department; comparison will lead but to the acknowledgment of Goethe's supremacy.

Is a key to his writings demanded? Something that shall serve to characterize them generally? We have it in this; his truth to nature. Goethe never turned in disgust from the world, in which he has his being. Life and man are his themes. He does not require to annihilate every thing that is clear and individual around him, in order to gain free exercise for fancy in an ideal world. He stands out in open day, and contends for the victory in letters in the distinct light of real life. His eye sees, his heart feels, his genius dares to imitate nature. He is like the fabled giants, who were strongest, when their feet touched the earth. There is in him no trace of sickness of mind, no lines worn by a diseased imagination, no puny worshippings of vulgar weakness. All is clear, individual, and marked; his personages are not fairies, nor sylphs; his characters are not imitations of remote forms of life, where failure in the picture could not be discovered. The beings, who move, speak, and act in his works, are real men and women, of veriest flesh and blood, whose hearts you may hear beat, whose veins you may see swell, whose pulsations you may feel as they throb. Above all poets of his time, he has succeeded in depicting woman, in weakness and in strength, in the pride and comeliness of virtue, in the irresistible charms of imagination and good

sense, in mercy, in sympathy, in love, in sorrow, in hope, and in death. His works are a panorama of human life.

His manner is generally exquisitely finished. Let every young man take lesson from the master in this; he always wrote with difficulty. He held it a duty to labour, and did not take advantage of his talent to write with slovenly facility. Yet he leaves upon his works, no traces of the labour which their preparation cost him; we are introduced at once to a splendid and highly finished edifice, but all the instruments of preparation are removed, and nothing is before us but the beautiful results.

Goethe can never be a favourite with those, who demand the recurrence of a class of ideas, or are pleased only with a certain limited range of character. He delineates not a portion of the world, but the whole. Misfortune moves freely over the earth, and joy selects for itself no aristocracy; in like manner the poet has allowed his inspiration to wander freely into all classes of society, and to bring back likenesses from all.

It is another characteristic of Goethe, that he does not excel in fragments merely. His works, as such, merit admiration. It is not in parts that he deserves praise, so much as in the whole. To the reflecting mind he furnishes abundant lessons; those who clap their hands only at fine lines, and care little for the perfection of workmanship in the whole, Goethe takes no pains to please. He is uniform and sustained; and the noblest passages derive their highest charms from their exact adaptation to the characters and situations where they occur.

The character of Goethe's mind is that of self-possession. No pining passion prostrates the energy of will; no crazed imagination corrupts the healthy exercise of judgment. The author of *Werther* is the very last man, who would have killed himself for love; the poet who has delineated Tasso's exquisite sensibility, was never a misanthrope or a hypochondriac. The stream of life came for him from a clear fountain, and during all its course has reflected the light of day in its natural splendour. This it is, which distinguishes him from Rousseau and from Byron, from Tasso and from Schiller.

Do we therefore express unlimited admiration for all the efforts of Goethe? By no means. The rules of a just morality, remote alike from prudery and fanaticism, would yet condemn several of his productions. His Roman elegies, for instance, are loose and of heathenish voluptuousness; deficient in moral grace, though occasionally beautiful in their forms; they would have won new laurels for Propertius; but nineteen centuries and an uncompromising religion should have led the poet to better scenes than love in a tippling house, though Rome, and the beauties of the arts, and the creations of mythology, are managed in the back-ground, with a skill that almost lulls the scruples of criticism to rest.

sweet bride whom God has *at last* given him! As from hopeless chains, as from night and the mouldering darkness of a deep dungeon, he feels in joyousness his resurrection to the light and air of spring!"

This means, in plain English, that *at last* his first wife is dead, and he can now marry a woman whom he all along liked better. That woman, was his first wife's sister, and the poem seems to set forth, that they had plighted their troth, while the lover was still in the hopeless chains and damp dungeons of matrimony. No elegance of versification can turn such coarseness of passion into poetry.

It does not seem to us, that the Stolbergs have any claim to be remembered out of their own country; and, we must also honestly confess it, we think the good, rural, homely, plain-spoken Voss, never tasted the stream of Helicon, and surely was a very learned, very accurate, very independent, and very deserving man, and a first rate translator, and editor, but in truth no inventive poet.

Nor has either of the Schlegels, the successful founders of a critical school, written in the walks of invention, any thing which can claim general admiration. Their extraordinary merit as critics, displayed both in contributions to public journals, and in elaborate works on literary topics, is cheerfully acknowledged. Still, the light of Lessing outshines them far, and not to them, but to that great master, belongs the credit of having given the impulse which first stirred up the public mind in Germany, and has finally extended its influence throughout the world.

Of the writings of Frederick Schlegel, his lectures on Literature, and those on Modern History, are the best. Still they are not of the highest order, and F. Schlegel has himself so frequently changed his opinions on religion and politics, that his writings lose their moral power, from the acknowledged inconsistency of the man. His brother, A. W. Schlegel, enjoys a higher reputation. He has done much in criticism; and his lectures on Dramatic Poetry are ingenious and interesting, containing bold vindications of distinguished men, and a more copious and intelligent admiration of Shakspeare, than had yet been given by any critic. Still the best of his opinions may be discerned in the works of Lessing, and the highest place belongs to Schlegel only in a subordinate class. Of invention, he is destitute. As a translator, his merit is extraordinary. Shylock, on the German stage, hardly yields to his prototype; and Romeo and Juliet delight as much in Berlin and Vienna, as in London and New-York.

Of Tieck we can observe, that he is an industrious and gifted adherent of the critical school of the Schlegels; eminently *romantic*. His *Genoveva* is the best of his poems, which aim at a general interest. Yet, in the effort to sustain poetic interest,

by the simplicity of a legendary story, he has attained a kind of excellence which will be acknowledged by a literary party, rather than by the public at large. The mind that is imbued with the peculiar spirit which is willing to discover beauties in the stiff Madonnas of the early artists, and again allows itself to be lulled into a pleasing mood by the childish attractions of an artless tale, may admire. The *Alamæ* is deficient in power and rapidity of action.

But most of Tieck's works are destined for the home market. His brightest poetical side is polemical. Whilst the Schlegels criticised, he wrote humorous and ironical dialogues, poems, and tales. He contributed essentially to the emancipation of literature from pedantic rules, though at the same time the tendency of his works, and of those of his school generally, has likewise been to produce a feeble and affected imitation of natural excellence. Apart from his original works, Tieck has made an approved translation of *Don Quixote*; and he is now engaged in completing A. W. Schlegel's translation of *Shakspeare*. To the illustration of this author, Tieck has devoted many years; and an elaborate work on the bard of Avon is expected from him.

Novalis, (*Hardenberg*,) is not at all to our taste. In the statue of *Laocoon*, the mouth of the figure is open, as if to shriek. Of the admirers of sculpture, there have not been wanting those, who have esteemed this a fault. The anguish of such ungovernable woe, may be entitled to thrill us with sympathy, when it is forced to break out into exclamations. But when a young man, not peculiarly severely tried, attempts to excite an interest in an affected, or at any rate a sickly melancholy, it requires some charity to lend him a willing ear. Yet, in a gloomy hour, the detached thoughts of Novalis and his atrabilarious songs, will be read with interest.

No poet ever possessed the affection of his countrymen in a higher degree than Schiller. Not that his productions have always been received with indiscriminate approbation, but his fame has invariably been cherished with a tenderness approaching to a personal attachment. Schiller's nature was frank, earnest, and virtuous; and strong respect for the man, who sacrificed every thing to his art, and the culture of his genius, was united to the delight which his poems could not but inspire. When the news of his untimely death was promulgated, men mourned as at a private loss, and sincere grief pervaded his country, as though each family had lost a favourite inmate. Schiller's life was one continued struggle. The severest censures ever passed upon his faults, have been pronounced by himself; and he strove with unceasing zeal to emancipate himself from the influence of every thing which could diminish the pure splendour of his muse. Her bright rays were to him the beams

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of truth, the effluence of celestial light. His uneasy mind toiled to free itself from every quality, which could prevent his uniting in himself as a poet, the highest moral and poetic perfection.

He is, in an eminent degree, a popular poet. Every poor man that can read, and can spare a few shillings, certainly buys a work of Schiller's. And yet his poetry is marked by dignity, not less than grace, and the light of philosophy sheds over it a gentle lustre. He has written in such a manner, that the scrupulous taste of the most cultivated and speculative minds selects him as their favourite; and yet he charms the many. In the meanest hovel, if you ask for a book, you will be apt to find, next to a Bible and a book of devotion, some tragedy of Schiller's.

His theory of poetry, led him to consider beauty as something independent of the passions which it can excite; and the genius of the poet, as destined to pursue a high career, above the common sympathies of mankind. The poet was, in his mind, a superior being, upon whom the bright sunshine of inspiration poured directly from above; he might, indeed, stoop to his fellow-mortals, but it was only in attempting to lift them to the elevated regions of greater purity in which he moved. These views were the result of patient study; they commended themselves to an acute and speculative mind, which, from its own constitution, took no part in the ordinary bustle of existence. But, when Schiller came to write, he was not restrained by cold rules, within the icy limits of an austere and ascetic, or metaphysical sublimity. In his theory he derided nature, and longed to depict the *ideal*; when he invented, his theory gave him dignity, correctness, and a noble firmness of character; but his feelings hurried him to throw himself as a penitent at the feet of nature, and she, like a doating mother, readily forgiving him his temporary absence, had more joy in his return, than in many of her sons who had never been undutiful.

An only child of fond parents, Schiller was, from early life, sensitive to every noble quality, and disdainful towards all that is common and mean. His education was military, and opposed to his natural tastes, which he could nourish only in secret. Entirely cut off from the world, knowing none but his fellow-students, wholly unaccustomed to female society, he ventured to write a play, while yet a minor, and to publish it, a few months after he came of age. Every body knows the play of the "Robbers." Mr. Fairscribe could not lay the volume down, till he had finished it, business notwithstanding. The play is truly a marvel. It was composed by one almost a boy; who had never seen any except the inmates of his school, which was governed by mechanism, and who had no knowledge of the world. So it

describes extremes; every thing is sketched in strong and glaring colours; all vices and virtues are exhibited in their greatest excesses. The work is composed of light and darkness, with no intermediate shades. A German critic compares Schiller in this production to Titan, endeavouring to take the Heaven of invention by storm. It is a monstrous production; but spirit and genius move in it, and impart to it permanent life. His maturer taste was not able to improve it. The merits and faults are so mingled, that it is now printed in its first and boldest form.

Schiller attempted the career of an actor, but without success. He published two other tragedies, having the faults, but not the grandeur, of the "Robbers." After some years, he gave the world *Don Carlos*, in which tragedy he unfolds his own heart, and, in the eloquence of a person of the drama, gives the noblest lessons of liberty and public justice. The play is admirable, but not dramatic; having more of eloquence than of action, and more of the careful and elaborate views of a fine mind, than free displays of passion after the manner of real life.

The events of Schiller's life led him to the pursuits of history, for he became the successor of Eichhorn, at the university of Jena. Speculative science had also interested the poet, and Kant and abstract philosophy won his earnest attention. He applied himself to these pursuits seriously, for his object was to satisfy his inquisitive and impatient spirit. His lyre lay by his side almost untouched, while he was making every effort to acquire within himself that harmony which can alone result from clear convictions. His irritable nature, which rejected the realities of being, and longed for ideal goodness, wasted the powers of life; and the result of his irregular and too great application, was an illness from which he never entirely recovered, and which contributed to impart more of gentleness to his intellectual character. He now strove to reconcile himself with the world. At this period, his character may be considered as fully established in all its great outlines. A noble nature, improved by careful study of the records of mankind, and raised to great contemplative excellence by the zealous and solemn pursuit of philosophy, was now restored to the career of poetry. A series of most beautiful lyric poems, some of which are among the best in the literature of the world, were gradually published, and won universal favour. But the results of his investigations in history and speculative science were to be embodied in one grand production. Not in the history of the Thirty Years' War, it is in the tragedy of *Wallenstein*, that the peculiarities of Schiller's mind, at this time, are most clearly reflected. In the English drama, *Macbeth* is the production with which it has the nearest analogies. In general character, in the display of men, hurried to their ruin, by a moral necessity, existing in them-



selves, they are alike. But the scene in the play of the inimitable master is laid in remote and apocryphal history ; in Wallenstein, we have real men, and events all too true ; and this union of historic dignity and dramatic excellence, was a triumph reserved for Schiller. It has been published in French by the celebrated Benjamin Constant, who has, however, rather imitated than translated it. In English, we have a most spirited, but not very faithful version, by Coleridge.

Mary Stuart, and the Maid of Orleans, rapidly followed. In the first of these, Schiller has succeeded better than in any of his works, in delineating woman. It has in a less degree than Wallenstein the stern sublimity which is imparted by the unseen influences of an avenging destiny ; but it makes a more direct appeal to the human heart, and has therefore acquired a wider popularity.

The Maid of Orleans is written in the spirit of romance ; it is legendary, rather than exact, full of varied interest, striking contrasts, and marvellous interpositions, rather than a careful representation of human agencies and passions. The opening scene is in a noble spirit of elevated declamation ; in parts of the play much tenderness is displayed ; but the narrative interest is throughout predominant. In point of style, the diction is highly wrought, and varied ; the melody of language is an attraction which it eminently enjoys. The fine scene in *Ivanhoe*, where the Jewess observes the battle, and tells the hero the incidents of the contest, is analogous to a very admirable one in Schiller's drama.

The speculative tendency of Schiller's mind, led him to make an experiment of introducing the Greek chorus into modern tragedy. The experiment failed, and the *Bride of Messina* is sustained by the splendour of its several parts, not by its general merits. But Schiller returned at once to the right path, and history again lent itself to his genius to exhibit a nation. *William Tell* is one of the most remarkable plays ever written ; the interest gathers round the action more than the man ; Switzerland and the Swiss character are delineated in unaffected simplicity ; and a work of the sublimest character is founded on the virtues of a commonalty of peasants and herdsmen. The play is rational, and breathes the air of liberty. It was the last which Schiller lived to finish. He died just as a series of successful efforts had brought him to high perfection in his art ; just as the world was hoping from his maturity a series of works that might be associated with the best of the literary treasures which it has taken ages for human genius to accumulate.

And yet he has been declared happy in the period of his death. In the memory of coming generations, men live as they are at the moment when the angel of death summoned them away. Is

not Warren ever present to us, as he "moved resplendent over the field of his honour, with the rose of Heaven upon his cheek, and the fire of liberty in his eye?" Is not our own Washington enshrined in our recollections in the form and dignity of a mature but healthy age? So will Schiller be ever present, as dying in the noon-day of his glory. No weakness diminished his meridian splendour; his memory lives as of one in the vigour of active and virtuous manhood; and to 'gratitude for all that he was permitted to accomplish, there will ever be united a regret for the lost career which seemed to remain open to him. Yet his death was seasonable; he died before envy had endeavoured to tarnish his laurels, and before a sated nation could grow weary of lavishing on him their affection; he died while yet his love of country had not been wounded by his country's grievous disasters. Another year, and he would have seen the army of a detested enemy in his home, and the flag of foreign tyranny waving in triumph over the fairest parts of the land of his nativity.

If, for the sake of illustration, we should select any English poet with whom to compare Schiller, it would unquestionably be Lord Byron. And yet there is still more room for contrast, than comparison. Both were restless, and found no happiness in the world; but one was happy in himself; both were of wild and irregular habits of mind in early years; but of one the life was pure: both imparted the character of their respective minds to all the objects which they represented; but the one was soured to misanthropy, while the other glowed with benevolence. Schiller has produced nothing that can be compared to the narrative and descriptive poems of Byron; but Byron must yield the palm in the drama. Both are among the best lyric poets of modern times; with a good deal of hesitation, we yet think Schiller unequalled by Byron, in his minor poems. Both died in the vigour of life, the one a martyr to his art, the other to his zeal for liberty. But in their death what a difference! The poet who had always advocated the best interests and purest feelings of humanity, was honoured in his end with the unmingled sorrow of all to whom his works had become known.

Were we to attempt an enumeration of all those who have written with some success, in the last fifty years, in Germany, we should satiate the reader. There are more than twelve thousand living authors in that country; more than a thousand female writers may be enumerated. In 1823, a curious observer was able to count 287 dramatic poets alone. In the sciences, where industry and research conduct to eminence, there is room for the honourable service of men of moderate capacities, but in invention, no writers of a foreign nation, but those of high order, merit to be noticed beyond the limits of their immediate sphere.

Kotzebue excelled in bringing striking scenes upon the stage—in rare and surprising situations. He is no German in feeling or manner.

Schulze is reported to have actually died for love. He pined away, having first, to immortalize his passion, finished a poem, of which the manner is exquisite, though the execution is defective.

Körner's life is more poetic than any thing he has written. Genuine patriotism, a fervent spirit, self-sacrificing courage, led him to be a martyr for the liberty of his country. His poetry is the expression of his nature; and ceasing to be a dead letter, lives on the lips and in the hearts of thousands of his countrymen.

Müllner has given over writing for the stage. He has some spirit and critical skill, but is a little of a literary coxcomb. His *Guilt* gives him an elevated place among the dramatists below stairs.

To those who desire to see honourable specimens of the dramatic skill of the present writers for the German stage, we recommend the *Golden Fleece* and the *Ottokar* of Grillpazer. They have great value, though they are not in the first rank of the art.

For the great mass of the German novels, we have but little to say. The business of manufacturing romances is carried on very extensively and systematically. The press groans with the weight of rubbish, which is soon transferred to the circulating libraries, and, by a safe process, the capital invested is secured. This branch of industry occupies many idle hands and weak heads, and forms a sort of literature by itself, conducted by the crowds who throng round the foot of Parnassus.

Caroline Pichler and La Mothe Fouqué are higher up the mountain; they are popular, and most prolific. But Scott and our worthy countryman have greater power to charm the German world; and the Red Rover is this moment making more prizes through all the circles of the empire, than any regular production from the workshop of a German novelist. Did time permit, we should, passing over the subordinate departments of polite literature, call attention rather to such works as the *Roman History*, of Niebuhr, the *Ideas on the Politics of Commerce and Antiquity*, by Heeren, the mythological investigations of Creuzer, the *Literary Histories* of Bouterwek, and other works, in which clear understanding, propriety of manner, and vast erudition, are skilfully allied. But we could give nothing more than very vague ideas of these and other works of similar value, except by devoting a separate article to each of them.

And perhaps it ought to be observed, that Prince Hardenberg, the Prussian chancellor, has left a manuscript history of his

times, from 1801 to the peace of Tilsit. The work must have great value and interest, but the world is not to see it till 1850.

In concluding these notices of German men of letters, in which we have been able but hastily to allude to some striking features in their general character, it remains to speak of a poet, who, more than any contemporary, possesses the veneration of his country. Of all living men, who have, in any department of contemplative or active life, attained a degree of eminence, equal, or nearly equal to that which he enjoys, he is the oldest. Almost eighty years have passed over him, and dimmed the lustre of his genius. Though in his youth, there were no adversaries whom he need have feared, and though he was clad in an armour, which seemed to have been the invulnerable gift of a superior nature, he is now too near the grave to wrestle for further palms or resist new aggressions. And his reputation is safe in the hands of the countless throng, to whose minds he has opened the glorious visions of poetry, and whose steps he has guided to the contemplation of beauty.

Does there not belong to his declining years something inexpressibly lovely and majestic? The lyre, which could have given the meed of immortality to any, whom it would honour with a strain, is hushed; the spirit, which was eager in its curiosity to search into every source of inspiration, and strove to gather spoils from all departments of knowledge, is now only able to communicate the results of past experience, with timid glances at contemporary efforts. There was a time, when Goethe could be severe in reproof and bitter in scorn; but now all that he writes in his extreme age, is quiet and mild, and he seems desirous of parting from all mankind in peace. He has come from the field of contest, and, conscious of his approaching end, has laid down his arms, and is preparing for eternal rest from the toils of earth. And all the while, he is an object of astonishment to the civilized world, of admiration to those who have penetrated into the meaning of his works; and more than any sovereign of Europe, has the voluntary homage of his countrymen. The men of greatest rank and power visit him, not as their equal, but as one whom it will always be a grateful reminiscence to have seen, and whom it is a common duty to respect; and the critics have already written about him and his works, more volumes than would fill the lumber room of a library.

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as unhappy love shall continue to excite sympathy, and the contrasts of the middle ages, interest those, who trace to those ages the germs of their national peculiarities and virtues.

The works of Goethe are of the utmost variety. Indeed there are no two, which have the same character. Other writers advance in the career of their choice ; Goethe is universal ; and in each department, which he has attempted, has left but one example of his powers. But let it not be inferred, that his works are deficient in the exquisite skill of the accomplished master. All that he has attempted, assumes, under his hand, an aspect of beauty. With the step of healthy activity, he passes where he will. His sound judgment, his brilliant, clear, and quick imagination, his feelings, natural, philanthropic, and serene, enable him to move successfully, where other men would be bewildered ; and to pass through unknown paths, as if through familiar scenes. He walks, like the enchanted hero of an eastern romance, through the hundred halls of the palace of invention, and all the gates fly open at his approach ; but hardly has he entered, when the portals close again, so that none can follow in his footsteps. Does this seem exaggeration ? observe the number and diversified character of his works ; then count the numerous imitations of them, and observe the vast difference between the productions of Goethe and those of the best of his followers. Scrutinize the defects even of powerful minds in the same department ; comparison will lead but to the acknowledgment of Goethe's supremacy.

Is a key to his writings demanded ? Something that shall serve to characterize them generally ? We have it in this ; his truth to nature. Goethe never turned in disgust from the world, in which he has his being. Life and man are his themes. He does not require to annihilate every thing that is clear and individual around him, in order to gain free exercise for fancy in an ideal world. He stands out in open day, and contends for the victory in letters in the distinct light of real life. His eye sees, his heart feels, his genius dares to imitate nature. He is like the fabled giants, who were strongest, when their feet touched the earth. There is in him no trace of sickliness of mind, no lines worn by a diseased imagination, no puny worshippings of vulgar weakness. All is clear, individual, and marked ; his personages are not fairies, nor sylphs ; his characters are not imitations of remote forms of life, where failure in the picture could not be discovered. The beings, who move, speak, and act in his works, are real men and women, of veriest flesh and blood, whose hearts you may hear beat, whose veins you may see swell, whose pulsations you may feel as they throb. Above all poets of his time, he has succeeded in depicting woman, in weakness and in strength, in the pride and comeliness of virtue, in the irresistible charms of imagination and good

sense, in mercy, in sympathy, in love, in sorrow, in hope, and in death. His works are a panorama of human life.

His manner is generally exquisitely finished. Let every young man take lesson from the master in this ; he always wrote with difficulty. He held it a duty to labour, and did not take advantage of his talent to write with slovenly facility. Yet he leaves upon his works, no traces of the labour which their preparation cost him ; we are introduced at once to a splendid and highly finished edifice, but all the instruments of preparation are removed, and nothing is before us but the beautiful results.

Goethe can never be a favourite with those, who demand the recurrence of a class of ideas, or are pleased only with a certain limited range of character. He delineates not a portion of the world, but the whole. Misfortune moves freely over the earth, and joy selects for itself no aristocracy ; in like manner the poet has allowed his inspiration to wander freely into all classes of society, and to bring back likenesses from all.

It is another characteristic of Goethe, that he does not excel in fragments merely. His works, as such, merit admiration. It is not in parts that he deserves praise, so much as in the whole. To the reflecting mind he furnishes abundant lessons ; those who clap their hands only at fine lines, and care little for the perfection of workmanship in the whole, Goethe takes no pains to please. He is uniform and sustained ; and the noblest passages derive their highest charms from their exact adaptation to the characters and situations where they occur.

The character of Goethe's mind is that of self-possession. No pining passion prostrates the energy of will : no crazed imagination corrupts the healthy exercise of judgment. The author of *Werther* is the very last man, who would have killed himself for love ; the poet who has delineated Tasso's exquisite sensibility, was never a misanthrope or a hypochondriac. The stream of life came for him from a clear fountain, and during all its course has reflected the light of day in its natural splendour. This it is, which distinguishes him from Rousseau and from Byron, from Tasso and from Schiller.

Do we therefore express unlimited admiration for all the efforts of Goethe ? By no means. The rules of a just morality, remote alike from prudery and fanaticism, would yet condemn several of his productions. His Roman elegies, for instance, are loose and of heathenish voluptuousness ; deficient in moral grace, though occasionally beautiful in their forms ; they would have won new laurels for Propertius ; but nineteen centuries and an uncompromising religion should have led the poet to better scenes than love in a tippling house, though Rome, and the beauties of the arts, and the creations of mythology, are managed in the back-ground, with a skill that almost lulls the scruples of criticism to rest.

Space fails us to enter upon the analysis of the works of Goethe. Faust is universally acknowledged to be his chief production. It is marked by a potent intellect and an intimate acquaintance with human virtue. In all its scenes, there seems to be reality; in its character, individuality. Vice is described in the fathomless depths of its misery. The details of the work are often gross and offensive; the general effect is beyond that of any other production of poetry, to fill the soul with horror at vice, to make us shudder and shrink from a career, that leads to unsated possession and interminable woe. Milton invests Satan with the majesty of an archangel, but Mephistopheles is a very devil, ridiculing all noble feeling, scoffing at human knowledge and human aspirations, mean, low, and detestable; and yet he holds Faust so rivetted to him, that the poor victim neither can nor will free himself from subjection. Faust pretends to command, and all the while is hurried on by his base companion from one excess to another, till his mind becomes without principle and without hope, an abyss of gloom.

Byron's *Manfred* was probably suggested by Goethe's *Faust*. The poems are as unlike each other as the poets. *Manfred* is a noble spirit, that struggles with himself, corrupts and destroys himself, in the excitement of restless solitude. He is a being whose energies are thrown back upon themselves, and who perishes by the intense action of his own powers. Switzerland, its glaciers, and its innocent inhabitants, its waterfalls, its stern, awful sublimity, are in keeping with the spirit of the piece; but the action, all passes within *Manfred's* own mind. Now Goethe's drama describes the travels of a philosopher through the world, with the devil for his valet. Natural scenery furnishes no part of the attractions of the piece. We see but the man, who wanders among his kind with the foul fiend at his elbow, prompting him to every thing wrong, and turning every generous emotion into torture. The dramatic life which is exhibited in *Faust* is nowhere to be found in Byron. Goethe can send a city out of its gates to celebrate Easter day after European fashion, or carry his reader to a drinking house, or the chamber of a student, or the cottage of an innocent girl, or assemble a throng in the streets; and the beings, whom he calls up, come forth in distinct shapes, full of life and motion, and swayed by human impulses.

And so at the close, we have but again to concede to Goethe that quality, which distinguishes Scott, and in which Shakspeare was of all English writers pre-eminent—Truth in his descriptions. His persons are not creatures of romance and the stage, but are of real life; and as he has drawn his inspiration from the inexhaustible sources of natural feelings, so his reputation will be safe in all the vicissitudes of literary taste.

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ART. VII.—*Johnson's English Dictionary, as improved by Todd, and abridged by Chalmers; with Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary combined: To which is added, Walker's Key to the Classical Pronunciation of Greek, Latin and Scripture Proper Names.* Edited by JOSEPH E. WORCESTER. 8vo. Boston, 1828.

THE present edition of Johnson's Dictionary seems to be entitled to a more particular notice, than the ordinary re-publication of such a work would require; because in point of utility, it is superior to any one hitherto published in this country; and it is, besides, printed in stereotype, with so much accuracy, that it will probably for a long time be the only edition which will be consulted as an *authority*.

We have already had several American editions of Johnson and Walker; but either from faults in the English copies, or from blunders in our reprints, or perhaps from both these causes together, none has come under our notice, upon which such entire reliance could be placed, as on the present. To illustrate this remark by one instance only, which occurs to us at this moment. The word *legislature*, a term which is in continual use from one end of the United States to the other, and the pronunciation of which varies in different parts of our country, has probably remained thus unsettled, in consequence of mere typographical errors in the notation of the dictionaries. In some of the common editions of Walker, both the large and the small, the notation of the final syllable of this word is *ture*, instead of *tshure*; which would naturally lead the reader to consider this syllable as an *accented* one, and of course to pronounce it *legislature*, (sounding the *u* as in *pure*,) or, according to the old-fashioned mode, of the New-England states in particular, *legislatbore*. Yet every one who has attended to the principles of pronunciation, and the analogies of the language, would know, that this final syllable is *un-accented*, and, consequently, whether we place the principal accent on the penultima, *legislature*, (as Johnson and several other lexicographers formerly did,) or upon its first syllable, *législature*, according to the orthoepists of the present day, still the notation of the *final* syllable ought to be like that of the *un-accented* final syllable of other words of the same class, which, according to Walker's method, would be *tshure*, as in *nomenclature*, *nature*, *créature*, etc. Accordingly we find in Walker's *fourth* edition, in quarto, which is the most correct, and the last that was revised by the author himself, the notation of this word is *led-jis-lu-tshure*; which is very properly followed by the present American editor. We have noticed this as one in-



stance in which our lexicographers and critics have idly disputed among themselves, and with the orthoepeists of our mother country, literally about words, and about the authority of Walker as an orthoepeist; some of the disputants condemning him as inconsistent with himself, and as a teacher of a vicious pronunciation, while others have vainly attempted to vindicate him, where his printer and not himself should be held responsible, and where he would never have thought of defending his own work. The editor of the present volume, who has been long and advantageously known to every American reader, as an indefatigable and highly estimated labourer in another department of literature, has very judiciously selected as his standard, Walker's *fourth* edition, already mentioned, and of which the laborious and exact author himself says, with his accustomed modesty—"This edition, the result of much fatigue and anxiety, has, I flatter myself, fewer faults than any work of the same delicacy, extent, and complexity;" a remark, which we believe will be fully warranted by a comparison with any book in our language.

It is by no means our intention, at this day, to attempt the idle task of reviewing the merits of Johnson or Walker. They have both obtained an established character in their respective departments; and the introductory remark of the present editor's preface, is perfectly well founded in regard to both of them—that "to Dr. Johnson is universally conceded the first rank among English lexicographers, and to Mr. Walker is assigned a similar rank among English orthoepeists." We are well aware, that some writers in England and America have denied them any thing like that rank; but the great body of readers and speakers in both countries have acquiesced in giving them that elevated station, and have looked upon the few who have assailed their fame, rather as malcontents in the republic of letters, than as men who were vindicating the essential rights of our language.

To assert that blunders are not to be found in Johnson's dictionary, particularly in the Etymological part, would be to claim for it a degree of perfection, which does not fall to the lot of any human production; and which he, great as his abilities were, would never have claimed with one half the boldness which we have seen in some of his assailants, who have not possessed one half of his merits. Johnson, himself, as Boswell relates, candidly declared that he "had not satisfied his own expectations."

The first and most deeply felt attack ever made upon his Dictionary, was by that second Ishmael, John Horne Tooke, who, with the adroitness of a practised combatant, skilfully selected for his point of attack, the most vulnerable part of the work—the *Etymologies*; and a part, too, for which Johnson could

hardly be held responsible ; because he avowedly relied upon his predecessors for etymological learning ; and upon Junius and Skinner in particular, for the northern or Teutonick etymologies, which Tooke has so mercilessly attacked. The truth is, that for a considerable length of time, English lexicography had been in an extremely low state ; and this first onset of Tooke, being supported by an array of learning drawn from the northern languages of Europe, which had not become an object of study with many English scholars, produced a shock which was then severely felt, and from which the followers of Johnson have not yet entirely recovered. Even Johnson himself, we are told, was so completely overpowered by that tempest of Gothic learning, that he said, if he were to make a new edition of his dictionary, he should (as Tooke states it in unqualified terms,) adopt his derivations." If he had indeed adopted them without exception, he would unquestionably have adopted many false and imperfectly developed etymologies. But it is probable that Boswell's statement of Johnson's remark upon this subject is the most correct—that Johnson said he should adopt "several" of them.

The partisans of Tooke, accordingly, both in England and in our own country, sung the song of triumph. Dr. Darwin, a man of genius, but nevertheless of an ardent temperament, and assuredly a much more competent judge of questions in botany or physic, which he had studied, than of the science of philology, which he had not—Dr. Darwin, we say, in that curious work called *Zoönomia*, proclaimed to the world, that Horne Tooke had "unfolded by a single flash of light the whole theory of language, which had so long been buried beneath the learned lumber of the Schools." The influence of opinions like these would be naturally felt in our country, where philological learning was quite as low, to say the least, as it was in England. Tooke was accordingly hailed as an oracle, and Johnson was decried as a numskull. Our learned countryman, Mr. Webster, who has experienced the fate of a "prophet in his own country," and has not yet been able, even as far as his real learning gave him a right, to guide the opinions of a free country—he, we say, in his earlier life, caught the flame kindled by the "*Diversions of Purley*," and promulgated with the usual ardour of youth, the opinions of Tooke, without that discrimination among them, which his own subsequent researches have obliged him to make. This fervour, however, is now much abated ; the very questions to which Tooke's publication gave rise, obliged the scholars of England to commence the long-neglected study of their own language, and its kindred dialects of the North ; and among them, as well as among the scholars of the continent of Europe, the subject of general philology began to excite attention.

It was, of course, very soon discovered, that in tracing the

author, at his house in Stepney, near the Church." He was, no doubt, a man of considerable philological knowledge, as philology was then studied; but he too often followed the conceits and vagaries of his old-fashioned predecessors, and the whims of his own times; and he thus heaped together an undigested mass of erudition, which, whatever information and amusement it might have afforded to his contemporaries, can impart but little of either to the present age.

The other leading nations of Europe, particularly the French, were far in advance of the English in the study and cultivation of their language, at the time when Johnson undertook his Dictionary. Swift, in his letter to the Earl of Oxford, above an hundred years ago, speaks of our language as *less refined* than those of Italy, Spain, or France, &c.; and he adds, (what now excites a smile,) that "the French, for these last fifty years, has been polishing *as much as it will bear*." The French Academy's Dictionary, (now dedicated with a little too much of what our English mode of thinking would characterize as national vanity—"A l'Immortalité" (!) had already given a considerable degree of *fixedness* to that charming language of social intercourse, which left but little to be done for a long time. This celebrated work, however, had two essential defects, as they would certainly be considered at this day—the total want of *etymologies* and *authorities*; which Johnson supplied, as far as he was able, in his own work. As to the latter of these deficiencies, it is true, that the *forty* French Academicians, (whom Piron with a cutting sarcasm, acknowledged to have *de l'esprit comme quatre*,) were themselves to be the authority; and so far the omissions of the names of authors in their Dictionary was justifiable. But, as to the absence of all *etymologies*, it is to be accounted for, only by the shameful want of philological learning in France at that period. Yet the Academy's Dictionary, considered as a whole, as a systematic performance, (upon a system, indeed, which was vicious,) is, to this day, among the most correct and elaborate works of the kind in any of the European languages. The French themselves boldly assert, "that neither in any other nation, nor in any other age, has there been a similar dictionary of the European languages." But we should differ so far from them on this point, that we should rather adopt the opinion of a liberal English Reviewer, who observes—the *Grammatisch Kritischen Wörterbuch*, or German Dictionary of Adelung, "comes nearer to the idea of a perfect dictionary, than any other effort of individual diligence and culture." The reviewer then gives the learned Gernard credit for his "acute theory of the origin of speech, the erudition of his etymological researches, and the idea latent in the parent-word of the most al-

taphorical ramifications of thought;" and for his "historical familiarity with the migrations and shifting civilization of the tribes, whose confluent jargons have supplied the reservoirs of the German tongue," as well as for his "comprehensive knowledge of the nature of polished style, and of the first literature of his country."\* This great work is, indeed, deserving of as high praise as the reviewer here gives it; and we should feel no hesitation in adding, that no man can study the Northern languages to advantage, unless he is familiar with Adelung's Dictionary. The principal, perhaps the only deficiency in it is, the want of that full information upon Persian and other Oriental affinities, which has been the fruit of discoveries made since the work was planned and published, and which would have enabled the learned author to develop more advantageously and correctly, the analogies and history of the Northern dialects. We may also add, that the German scholars have drawn the same comparison between the labours of united Academicians, and the single unaided effort of Adelung, which the English have done in the case of Johnson; observing, that Adelung had done alone for the German, what it required whole Academies to accomplish for other languages.†

The authority of the French Academy's Dictionary, has, however, been very great; for, though some of its decisions were jeered at by the wits, and others were appealed from by the learned, yet it has maintained a commanding influence for a very long period, in a nation comprising a vast body of men of learning and taste, who would not tolerate any work of the kind which was not worthy of confidence.

The Academy certainly possessed advantages, as a body, which no individual among them could command. And, though we are aware of the common observation, that a work of this kind, like any other, ought to be conceived and executed by one mind alone, yet, there is much weight in the reasoning of the Academicians, by way of reply to this remark. They say, in substance, that there is no word in any language, which is not taken in several different senses; that by one analogy and another, a word passes through one signification to another; that in the arts which most nearly resemble each other, each word receives different meanings; in the mouth of the orator, the historian, and the poet, there are evident though delicate shades of meaning of

\* Monthly Review, vol. 24, p. 559: New Series.

† See the article *Adelung*, in the "Conversations Lexikon," a standard German work, which we rejoice to find is now translating, with additions, in our own country, under the editorship of Dr. Francis Lieber, from Berlin, and Edward Wigglesworth, Esq. of Boston. This noble project will reflect great honour upon the literary character of the metropolis of New-England, and upon the enterprise and spirit of the booksellers of our own city, who have undertaken to publish it.

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the same term, which a good taste distinguishes; and those arts which have no connexion with each other, take possession of the same words; in short, various minds, various talents, every art, and every trade, operate upon each word, and about it, and with it. To the same word, there are a thousand significations; and a dictionary is not well constructed, unless these thousand meanings are collected and brought into connexion with the word which is the sign of them. Now, can one man, who is necessarily a stranger to numerous uses of the same word, be acquainted with the whole force of it? Is it not more reasonable to expect this knowledge from thirty or forty men, whose studies, labour, and talents, are distributed among the various arts and sciences; and who will have met a hundred times with all the acceptations of words, whose common origin, gradually disappearing through the different shades of meaning, finally vanishes? Every man, the Academicians add, will be convinced of these truths, who may have been present at discussions upon the meanings of words. Each man who speaks, fancies that he has seen himself in a word, all that is to be discovered; but in proportion as the number of speakers increases, the points of view and the acceptations of words increase also. Now, if we reflect upon the kind of men, among whom discussions of this sort took place at the Louvre—if we can but be just—if envy and hatred are not to pursue the Academicians to the tombs, both of the Academy and of the monarchy, we must acknowledge that a dictionary which was the result of such discussions, must be the only one to which the French nation and the nations of Europe can with confidence resort, in order to know the usages and laws of our language.

In quoting these sentiments of the Academicians, however, we do not mean to be understood as making any tacit comparison of the labours of these forty individuals, with the labours of Johnson, or of any other man who may have courage enough to undertake the like task alone. On the contrary, such is our veneration for the talents and character of Johnson, that we should be almost ready to subscribe to the sentiment of Garrick's epigram:—

“And Johnson, well arm'd, like a hero of yore,  
Has beat forty French, and will beat forty more.”

Indeed the well-known fact alluded to by Johnson, in his Preface, by way of shielding himself from animadversions on the errors and deficiencies of his Dictionary, cannot be disregarded, in a candid comparison of his work with that of the French Academy—that “the embodied critics of France, when *fifty years* had been spent on their work, were obliged to change its economy, and give their second edition another form.” Johnson, notwithstanding the disadvantage of being *alone*, and un-

der pressing circumstances of want, produced a work, in which he might at that day justly take an honest pride; and he set an example to the French themselves, particularly in the citing of authorities, which they are at last beginning to follow. We have recently seen a new Dictionary of the French language, in which we were gratified to observe an acknowledgment, that a Dictionary upon the plan of Johnson's "had been long-desired" in France; and that want is now supplied by the new editor. It is also no slight testimony in Johnson's favour, that the able scholars of Germany, with all their national feeling, liberally acknowledge, that, although their Adelung's Dictionary surpasses Johnson's in certain respects, particularly in etymologies, yet, that in regard to classical authorities, it is behind Johnson's.\*

The imperfections in the etymological part of Johnson's work, and which, it should never be forgotten, he professes to take from Junius, Skinner, and others, have always been acknowledged even by his friends. His partial biographer, Boswell, frankly says—"the etymologies are not, I think, entitled to the first praise amongst the various parts of this immense work. The definitions have always appeared to me such astonishing proofs of acuteness of intellect and precision of language, as indicate a genius of the highest rank. This it is, which marks the superior excellence of Johnson's Dictionary over others equally or even more luminous." And Mr. Webster, in the Preface to his own Dictionary, observes—that "the excellence of Johnson's work consists chiefly in presenting to the reader the various significations of words, distinctly arranged and exemplified. On this part of the work, the author has bestowed uncommon pains, and has usually displayed critical discernment aided by extensive reading." But we have a remark or two to make upon the subject of the *etymological* part of a dictionary for popular use. We do, in truth, for our part, attach no small value to it; and yet in point of fact, we presume a very small proportion of those persons, who have to consult a dictionary, ever trouble themselves to look at the etymology of a word; their object is, to know the *usage*, the common acceptation of terms in the language: and the very part of Johnson's work, which will prove the most useful to them, is the part which all allow to be the most perfect.

What, we may ask, is etymology?—the history of language—the pedigree of words; in tracing which pedigree, if we are lucky enough to follow it successfully through the mists of antiquity and the mazes of verbal affinities, we too often find, that the descendant differs from its first parent, as much as the natu-

\* Conversations Lexikon, *art.* Adelung.



ral offspring of the human race differ from their father. Researches of this sort, however, are important and necessary in the history of language, for the use of scholars; yet a work, which, like the French Academy's Dictionary, is wholly deficient, or which is ill furnished in this respect, will be quite as useful to a nation at large. Without meaning to give the least countenance to the ridicule which has been thrown upon the subject of etymology, we may be allowed to remark, that the uncertainty of it is become proverbial; though we think great injustice has been done it in this respect. The science of etymology, like other objects of human investigation, has its bounds. Within certain limits, we can be as sure, as we can of any thing, that a single word, or a whole language, is derived from another; because we know by historical evidence, combined with the evidence of affinity, that they are so derived. We know, on this way, for example, that the modern languages of the South of Europe, the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, are derived from the Latin. And in the case of particular words, we know beyond all doubt their origin, affinity, and successive applications to new objects, by the same mode. We know, for example, historically, that the name of the astronomical *orrery*, is derived from the title of Lord Orrery, the nobleman under whose patronage it was brought forward; and, in one of the humbler arts of life, the *Rumford* takes its name from our distinguished countryman, who bore that title. In some instances, the most capricious and unsuspected derivations, and such as could not be traced out by any general process of *etymologizing*, are nevertheless known, *historically*, to be the true ones. We happen to have heard, from a friend in the northern states, an authentic instance of this kind, which we think will amuse our readers as much as it did ourselves—the plain English Christian name and surname of *Benjamin Eaton*, a Spanish boy, derived from his single Spanish *Christian* name of Benito, or Benedict; and this, by a very natural process, though one which would have defied the acuteness of Tooke, and the wit of Swift. When the boy was taken on board ship, the sailors, who are not apt to be fastidious in their attention to the niceties of language, hearing him called *Benito*, (pronounced Beneeto,) made the nearest approximation to the Spanish sound which the case required, and which would give an intelligible sailor's name, by saluting their new shipmate as *Ben Eaton!* which the boy probably supposed was the corresponding English name, and accordingly conformed to it himself, when asked for his name; the next process in the etymological transformation was, that when he was sent to one of our schools, the master, of course, inquired his name, and being answered that it was *Ben Eaton*, and presuming that to be his true name, abbreviated as usual in the familiar

style, directed him, as grammatical propriety required, to write it at full length—*Benjamin Eaton!* This may, indeed, be an extreme case; but it serves to illustrate our argument more strongly, than cases of ordinary occurrence.

We have adduced these examples, not for the sake of joining in the senseless cant of wits and blockheads about the uncertainty of etymological science—for uncertainty belongs to all science connected with *physical* man) but merely to elucidate our general views of this subject; to show that there are limits to this, as to all other parts of human knowledge, and that it is extremely difficult to draw the boundary line between fact and hypothesis; and particularly, that the determination of the meaning of a word now in use, by the meaning of its root, is attended with no small labour and uncertainty. Indeed one of the ultimate problems of philology—by what *indicia*, if any, independently of historical evidence, we may determine which is the descendant and which the parent of two or more given languages—still remains, like some of the transcendental problems in the exact sciences, waiting for its solution by the Vaters and Humboldts of the old world, and the Duponceaus of the new.

We now come to that part of the present volume, which comprises the labours of *Walker*—the *pronunciation* of the English language; a subject embarrassed with intrinsic difficulties in every language, which is obliged to borrow its *written characters* from another, differing entirely in the sounds originally affixed to those characters. In this respect, the English language has been peculiarly unfortunate, and has often been the subject of animadversion with the critics of foreign nations. That lively and sensible, though not always unbiassed French writer, La Harpe, describes it in terms, which we are sure will surprise those persons who have been accustomed to look at our language only with the eyes of natives. He remarks, that English would be half French, were it not for its incomprehensible pronunciation (“son inconcevable prononciation”) which separates it from the rest of the world, and renders applicable to it the verse which Virgil formerly applied to the geographical situation—“Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.” And again—the circumstance, “which to every body but Englishmen, bears the characteristics of barbarism, is the extreme viciousness of their pronunciation, which seems to be in conflict with the articulation of the human voice.” Voltaire, too, with more wit than truth, says in his manner—“An Englishman gains two hours every day, over us Frenchmen, by eating up half his words;” a strange remark, as it seems to us Englishmen, among whom the rapid jabbering of Frenchmen in their own language, has passed into a proverb.

But the difficulties noticed by foreigners, are not the only ones with which we have to contend at the present day, in attempt-

ing to settle our pronunciation. The English language is now spoken by two distinct nations, geographically considered, placed at a vast distance from each other—each having local usages and local necessities, requiring modifications of their common language—each independent of the other—neither of them willing to acknowledge the usage of the other as the standard of their common language, and neither of them being near enough to the other, to enable them to agree upon a common standard for both. In this dilemma what is to be the remedy? No American, who still takes a just pride in claiming the imperishable productions of Shakspeare and Milton, as a part of our English literature, can be reconciled to the idea of having *two* standards of English. Some well meaning persons indeed, with more of an amiable national partiality than of enlarged views, have in times past, wished that we might have a standard for our country, different from that of England; but this sentiment has not at the present day many advocates. If *we* should succeed in establishing such a standard among ourselves, we may rest assured, that the several nations of Europe, who are so much nearer neighbours to England than to us, will not be likely to follow us; because their proximity to England, and their necessary intercourse, will oblige them to study the *European* and not the *American* English; and they will, therefore, naturally govern themselves by that standard and not by ours. We should then have, what could not be sufficiently deprecated, *two* English languages; for the present, therefore, we cannot but consider our two nations, as forming but *one people*, so far as respects language; and the usage of the whole body of the learned and polite portion of this one people must be the standard. If it happens, at the present day, that from greater antiquity, or greater wealth, or any other causes, there is a greater body of learned and highly educated people, in the mother country, than in our young nation, the former would have as good a right to establish the standard, as we should have, if the reverse were the case. This, as we understand him, is the view of Mr. Worcester, in the present work. “He says—

“Though the principle, that the usage of literary and well bred society forms the standard of pronunciation, may not be disputed, still the question is asked, where shall we seek this usage? The English language is spoken in countries remote from each other, each of which has its peculiarities; and even in the different parts of England there are great diversities. It is indeed impossible, that all who speak the language should be made to conform exactly to the same standard. But London is, doubtless, to be regarded not only as the political and commercial metropolis of the British empire, but also the metropolis of English literature; and the usage of her polite speakers is of higher authority, generally, to the numerous and widely dispersed people who speak the English language, than that of any other city; as is the fact with regard to other capital cities; the usage of the polite speakers of Paris and Madrid, for example, being of the highest authority with those who speak the French and Spanish languages. An orthoepist, therefore, who is conversant with the best society of London, has by this circumstance, other things being equal, a superiority over those who do not possess

this advantage. In this respect, no one has been more favourably situated than *Walker*; and in the pronunciation of the great mass of words in the language, he is supported by subsequent writers."

Such an authority for the pronunciation of the English language, is *Walker*; "on which subject," as Mr. Worcester justly observes, "no other person, probably, ever bestowed so much attention." Suppose in our country, the question was, in what method we should obtain the best pronouncing dictionary of the language as spoken among ourselves? Is it not too plain to require an argument, that the man who should be daily conversant with the best educated and most polite part of the nation, and continually hearing the pronunciation of the parents and teaching it to their children, would, other things being equal, be best able to give us the usage of that portion of society, which is the standard? This usage is a mere matter of fact, and the orthoepeist would have only to register faithfully and honestly that fact. Assuredly such a one as we have just described, could do it much better than any recluse, who only studies the language in books, or within the precincts of a provincial village. Now this was exactly the case with *Walker*; no man could have had better opportunities of knowing what the *usage* was. His employment, says Mr. Worcester, "as a teacher of elocution, was among the *higher classes and best educated people of England*;" and if we wanted any *authorities* to support his reputation, it would be enough to cite the opinion of *Burke*, a consummate master of the English language. That great man, as we are informed by his biographer, *Prior*, (cited by Mr. Worcester) employed *Walker* to give lessons in elocution to his only son, of whose talents and future distinction he had formed such high anticipations; and, on one occasion, upon introducing *Walker*, he announced him in the following remarkable manner—"Here my Lord *Berkely* is Mr. *Walker*, whom not to know by name at least, would argue want of knowledge of the harmonies, cadences, and *proprieties* of our language." What a eulogy, and from what a eulogist!

We are aware it is sometimes asserted, that *Walker* is not acknowledged as an *authority* in England. But we must not be misled by words; in one sense of the term, it may be true, but in another, and in that understood by the public, it is utterly unfounded. If by *authority* is meant, that *Walker's* individual opinion alone would suffice to decide a disputed point in orthoepey, it may be true, that he would not be so far deferred to; neither the opinion of *Walker*, or any other one man would be so regarded. *Walker* has done nothing more than to register with scrupulous care, the pronunciation of the English language as adopted and settled (so far as it can be settled) by the polite and well educated people of England; as the reporter of the Supreme Court of the United States registers the decisions of that tribunal

upon disputed points in law. It is not the reporter himself, but the Court which makes those decisions, that is the authority. Just so it is with Walker; he professes to register the decisions of the polite and well educated upon questions of pronunciation; and the strict fidelity with which he has done this, has given his Dictionary higher authority than any other; we venture to say, without qualification, higher than any other extant.

In this last particular, however, we are aware, that our countryman, Mr. Webster, whom we name because his speculations form a considerable part of the discussions of this subject, in an address to the public above two years ago (March 14, 1826,) says, and in very strong language, which we fear will be misunderstood—"I have made a visit to England, and partly with a view to ascertain the real state of the language. I now know what I before suspected, that *no book* whatever is considered and received in that country as a standard of orthoepy. There is no standard in England, except the pronunciation which prevails among respectable people; and this, though *tolerably uniform*, is not precisely the same. *Walker's scheme does not give this usage*; it deviates from it as much as Sheridan's, and even more." In another and more recent publication, (December 1827,) the same learned writer asserts in very unmeasured language, and which he must permit us to say, is much stronger than we believe the facts will authorize—that "Walker's Dictionary is full of inconsistencies from beginning to end; and the attempt to make it a standard, *has done more to corrupt the language*, than any event that has taken place for five hundred years past. No book is taken as the *ultimate standard* in England; and Walker's pronunciation is *so erroneous*, that no less than three dictionaries have been published to correct it; all of them approaching much nearer to actual usage than Walker's. English gentlemen, with great unanimity declare, that Walker is *not* their standard. Sheridan, Walker, Jones, Perry, and Jameson, all have their advocates, they all have their merits; but of all these, *Walker is the most incorrect*" (!) In the same publication he observes—"No one English book is in accordance with other books, or with the prevailing usage in England; and what is worse, no English book is consistent with itself."

If a writer will allow himself to deal in such unqualified censure, he has no doubt prepared himself to encounter whatever his adversaries may mete out to him. It is not our business, nor have we any disposition to chastise, as partisans would feel justified in doing; but it is our duty, though assuredly not a pleasant one, differing as we do from Mr. Webster on this point, and believing that we possess as much impartiality as men in general, to express our dissent, and to correct what we deem to be fallacious statements, even when coming from the highest autho-

city, and however strong and positive such statements may be; at least we may exhibit to the candid reader, the evidence upon any subject, and thus give him the means of judging for himself. Now, when on the one hand, this learned writer, (from whom we dissent with diffidence,) ventures to make the strong assertions just quoted, as, that of all the orthoëpists, Walker is the most incorrect—while, on the other hand, Mr. Worcester unequivocally declares—that Walker holds *the first rank* among English orthoëpists, and that in the pronunciation of the great mass of the words in the language, “*he is supported by subsequent writers*”—which of these two authorities are we to rely upon? When, again on the one side, Mr. Webster, after a residence of “*eight months*” in England, asserts, that the attempt to make Walker’s work “*a standard, has done more to corrupt the language, than any event that has taken place for five hundred years past;*” and, on the other side, Edmund Burke, (who, if any man ever did, certainly knew the whole power of the English language,) declaring, that “*not to know Walker, by name at least, would argue a want of knowledge of the harmonies, cadences, and proprieties of our language*”—have we not reason to doubt whether Walker merits these recent censures of Mr. Webster, or those which he dealt out twenty years ago, much in the same strain, and long before his “*eight months*” residence in England?

We read Mr. Webster’s remarks in his Dictionary a long time ago, with much surprise, because they were directly contrary to our own observations, made with much care, during a residence of two years in London; which, however, we do not venture to oppose to Mr. Webster’s residence of “*eight months;*” because one man may see as much in eight months, as another may in eight years. Our wonder has not at all abated, at seeing those opinions repeated, in still more exaggerated and highly coloured language; and in language calculated, but we cannot suppose intended, to make a very false impression upon readers in general; who will not understand them with the implied qualifications, which would naturally be made by persons as intimately acquainted with the history of the controversy, and the force of language, as the learned author himself is.

Now, whatever we may think of *following* the pronunciation of the English, all will agree that it is desirable for us to *know* the English usage. To whom, then, shall we resort, in order to be correctly informed of the simple *fact*—what that usage is? We must, of course, look to *English* authorities for this *fact*; just as we should to French ones, if we would know the actual usage of the French. We should hardly be willing to rely upon the statement even of a learned traveller, who had passed “*eight months*” in England, when put in competition with a native

Englishman. To what English authority, then, shall we have recourse? But for Mr. Webster's opinions, we should answer at once to Walker. But Mr. Webster unfortunately considers him "the most incorrect of all English orthoepists." Mr. Worcester, however, on the other hand, asserts, that Walker stands in the very first rank. The truth is, that from some cause or other, Mr. Webster, many years ago, and long before his visit to England, seems to have imbibed strong opinions against Walker; and his visit to England, seems only to have confirmed him in them. From some cause or other, too, he continues to express himself with a considerable degree of that sensitiveness which he has displayed, on former occasions, arising (apparently so, we mean, for we do not profess to know the true cause,) from a suspicion that his countrymen were not well disposed to receive a dictionary, even of real merit, from an American author. He accordingly betrays a little of this feeling, (which is not well adapted to conciliate his American readers,) in one of the addresses before quoted: he says—"If the people of this country *will* have an English book to follow—if *nothing but English* will answer, I would recommend Jones's Dictionary for this purpose. Jones is a later author, who seems to have followed Walker for the express purpose of correcting his errors; and his work, for the simplicity and consistency of his scheme, is far preferable to any other British publication."

Far different from this, we believe, is the estimate of the comparative merits of Walker and Jones in England; and far different would be our own estimate of them. We know nothing of Mr. Jones personally; but we have not so much faith in him as Mr. Webster appears to have. So far as he is corroborated by Walker, he may be safely followed; but we should not feel quite secure in going farther with him. We have not entire confidence in his disinterestedness; he was directly and distinctly charged, in harsh language, indeed, by a well-known and respectable contemporary author, with what is no uncommon trick among the book-wrights of England—that is, with having aimed at "making a book cheaper and smaller than any of a similar kind; and to this he sacrificed every other consideration, not caring whether the public should, or should not, discover that he was an impostor."\* How well founded this charge was, is not for us to decide—"non nostrum tantas componere lites." But, independently of this, his criticisms on his predecessors are marked with carelessness, or want of exactness, which tend to lessen our confidence in his unsupported assertions. After all, Jones himself professes great respect for Walker, and is really

\* Sheridan's Dictionary Improved, &c. by N. Salmon, author of *Stemmata Latinitis*, and various other works.

very much indebted to him; he says—"I have not been implicitly guided by any of my predecessors. I have occasionally been indebted to them; but *chiefly, I gratefully* acknowledge it," (as he said in his edition of 1802, but in 1825, simply and coldly, "*I acknowledge*) to Mr. Walker."

A few words of explanation will reconcile many of these apparent difficulties. Dr. Witherspoon remarked many years ago—"I shall also admit, though with some hesitation, that gentlemen and scholars in Great Britain, speak as much with the vulgar in *common chit-chat*, as persons of the same class do in America; but there is a remarkable difference in their public and solemn discourses. I have heard in this country, in the senate, at the bar, and from the pulpit, and see daily in dissertations from the press, errors in grammar, improprieties and vulgarisms, which hardly any person of the same class, in point of rank and literature, would have fallen into in Great Britain."\* Every man is sensible of a difference in the degree of *exactness* and precision used in speaking, when in public, or in common conversation. It is often justly compared to the difference between a man's dress, when he goes into company, and when he is at home, or as many classes of people would make between a Sunday and an every-day dress; the dress is cut after the same fashion, and is to all practical uses the same; but yet, from the greater care used in adjusting it, and in the carriage of the person when in public, there is a manifest difference in the effect produced. It is so with our language; no man, who has any ambition of producing the best effect by his speaking in public, would, for example, be willing to use positively bad grammar, or grossly rustic and coarse pronunciation. Now, we fear, there has been with many persons, who have attempted to follow Walker, some degree of misconception, which has proceeded from a want of attention to the difference between *private* and *public* speaking, and has led to the misapplication of Walker's rules and examples. Those persons have not always reflected, that Walker meant to give the precise, exact pronunciation of *public speakers*, in Parliament, at the Bar, in the Pulpit, and on the Stage; but not the more careless and slovenly utterance of familiar conversation; and we are inclined to think, that the attempt of some persons to utter themselves, *nimis Atticé*, (as Walker expresses it,) in familiar discourse, has given an air of affectation and stiffness to their pronunciation, and has been the occasion of more censure upon Walker, whom they professed to follow, than was warranted by any of his remarks.

It surely cannot be supposed, for a moment, that "the most

\* Druid, No. V. in Witherspoon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 181, Philadelphia edition of 1801.



incorrect" of all English orthoepists would be tolerated for such a length of time as Walker has been. In weighing the merits of the different orthoepists, who are held up as *authorities*, it is essentially necessary to know of what part of Great Britain they were natives, or where they were brought up. For our part, we feel no great deference for any *Scottish* authority, as to the pronunciation of English; unless in the case of a Scot, who has been brought up and educated in England, so as to have become in fact an Englishman, as far as respects his organs of speech. We have already had in this country great numbers of Scottish and Irish teachers; and they, together with Scottish Dictionaries and Spelling Books, have had no inconsiderable influence in the Middle States, upon our pronunciation and language; particularly in the misuse of those little puzzling words *shall* and *will*, and *should* and *would*, which are continually misapplied in the Middle States, even by some well educated persons. We have an unfeigned respect for Scottish learning and science, and for the estimable men of that nation who have taken up their abode with us; but although that intelligent and yankee-like people, can (as an English Reviewer has observed,) master all human science, they cannot master the familiar distinction between *shall* and *will*, and *should* and *would*. In that high Scottish authority, the Edinburgh Review, we find perpetual violations of our English idiom in the use of these words; and even the professed rhetoricians of that nation, Dr. Blair, and Dr. Campbell, have committed the same error. We cannot, therefore, safely follow their dictionary-makers and spelling book-makers, as guides in ascertaining the delicacies and proprieties of the English language. On this account, we have much less confidence in such writers as Scott, and Fulton, and Knight, with numerous others, than we have in John Walker alone. From what part of the island Mr. Jones comes, (his name is Welsh,) we know not; and not knowing this fact, nor his previous studies, we cannot place so much reliance as we otherwise might, upon his statements, where he differs from Mr. Walker. But it is the less necessary to scrutinize, very minutely, the weight of authority due to these several individuals, because, as we are informed by Mr. Worcester, they all acknowledge themselves to be much indebted to Walker, and speak of him in high terms; and, what is of more consequence in the present question, that *they agree with Walker* as to "*the great mass of the words*" in the language. In this, we may add, Mr. Worcester is also corroborated by American gentlemen who have travelled in England, and who (with rare exceptions,) inform us, that as to the great body of the words contained in Walker's Dictionary, there can be no doubt—that all concur in giving them the same pronunciation that he does.

We know not how to account for the difference of opinion upon this point, except upon the supposition of a difference of *ear*; for we do not suppose that Mr. Webster, or those who agree with him, intend to misstate the fact. We do not personally know, what we ought, in order to judge upon this point, how good an ear he has; if good originally, it must at his present advanced age be less susceptible and less sure than in earlier life.

But to the objections made against Walker, Mr. Worcester has given a full and satisfactory answer in his valuable Preface. He introduces his comparison of Walker and the other orthoepeists, with a remark, which has already occurred in this article, but is too important to be lost sight of; that when Walker and other orthoepeists exhibit their notation of sounds, they intend to give the reader that exact and finished pronunciation which would be used in public speaking, and not the more lax and careless utterance which is often heard in common conversation. Mr. Worcester then proceeds to observe, on some particular objections. He says—

“Walker has been thought to be too sparing in the use of his second or Italian sound of *a* as heard in *father*. In the following words and their compounds, he pronounces *a* with its fourth sound, as in *fat*; but Nares and Jones give it the sound of *a* in *father*.” (Mr. W. here gives a list of words, *advance*, *advantage*, *after*, &c. being eighty-one in all.) “With regard to most of the words in the preceding list, *Perry* agrees in his pronunciation with Nares and Jones. Fulton and Knight also agree with them as it respects a considerable part; but with regard to a portion of these words, they adopt an intermediate sound of *a*, not so short as *a* in *fat*, nor so broad as *a* in *father*.” To these remarks of Mr. Worcester, we would add one other—that although *Jones* differs from Walker as to some of the words in this list, yet it is evident from his own remarks, that the *modern* usage is beginning to incline against him, if not positively settled. His words are—“I must venture to express my humble opinion, that giving to these and similar words the flat, dead sound of *a* in *lack*, *latch*, *pan*, &c., is encouraging a mincing *modern* affectation, and departing from the genuine euphonical pronunciation of our language.” And Walker states, (Principles No. 79, note,) that Mr. Smith, a distinguished orthoepeist, who does not approve of this pronunciation of the vowel *a*, candidly admits it to be “the general pronunciation of the polite and learned world.”

Mr. Worcester further remarks—that “Walker has been censured for not making a distinction, in his notation, between the sound of *a* in *bare*, *sure*, *hair*, *pair*, &c., and in *fate*, *pale*, *name*, &c. This, however, is not a defect peculiar to Walker, but is common to him with other orthoepeists. No distinction is

made in the sound of *a* in these words by Kenrick, Sheridan, Nares, Jones, or Fulton and Knight; and our countryman, Mr. Webster, in his Spelling Book, places them all under the first or long sound of *a*."

We shall detain the reader by a few additional remarks only, upon these matters of detail. Mr. Worcester observes—that "the manner in which the sounds of the vowels are affected by being followed by the letter *r* in words of one syllable, or in words of more than one syllable, when the following syllable begins with any other consonant than *r*, has not always been sufficiently attended to. Sheridan has not introduced in any instance, what Walker designates as the *second* sound of *a*, as in *far* and *father*, but marks *a* in *far*, *par*, *cart*, *part*, &c., with the same sound as in *hat*, *carry*, *parry*, &c.; nor does Perry introduce what Walker marks as the *third* sound of *o* in *nor*; but he marks *o* in *border* and *sordid* with the same short sound as in *borrow* and *sorrow*; and both he and Sheridan mark *o* in *for* and *nor* with the short sound, as in *lot*." Mr. Worcester adds, as a remark of his own, and we believe it is so, that "there is an obvious difference in the sound of *u* as heard in *cur*, *curb*, *fur*, *hurdle*, &c., from its proper short sound in *burrow*, *curry*, *furrow*, *duck*, &c.; but we do not know that this difference has been noticed by any orthoepist."

The orthoepists have all adopted systems of *notation*, which, like the alphabet itself, are in some degree incomplete. The distinction to which the editor here alludes, in the sounds of the vowels, will, perhaps, upon a closer examination, be found in most, if not all instances, to be rather a difference in the *quantity* or length, than in the *quality* or character of the vowel-sound. The vowel is, in fact, so much more lengthened when followed by *r*, than it is by the other letters, that even monosyllables, with that consonant, produce much the same effect upon the ear, as words which are acknowledged to be dissyllables. The following examples will abundantly show this:—*lair*, *lurer*; *mare*, *mayor*; *dire*, *dyer*; *hire*, *higher*; *sore*, *sower*; your *or* *urc*, *ever*; *lyre*, *liar*, *etc.* In consequence of this tendency of the letter *r* to lengthen the vowel preceding it, and thus to produce the effect of a dissyllable, the noun *fire*, which we always treat as a monosyllable, and which ought to have its adjective a *dis*-syllable, does in fact make its adjective a *trisyllable*, *fi-e-ry*, instead of *firey*, as analogy would require, and as we recollect to have seen it printed in some English work of the last century. If, then, upon a more exact analysis, it should be found, that this modified sound of the vowels before *r*, in certain combinations, is only a difference in the *quantity*, it will deserve consideration, how far any *practical* system of notation should exhibit the difference in *quantity* as well as in the *quality* or character of the sounds.

In the grisly group of objectionable sounds, as some of our orthoepists seem to consider them, stands conspicuous that of the vowel *u*, in *nature*, *fortune*, &c. The general pronunciation of this class of words in England, as laid down by *Walker*, is, *na-tshure*, *for-tshune*, &c., which, as our orthoepists remark, is certainly different from that which had long prevailed among us, at least in the Northern States; for there it used to be universally, and is now so among the uninstructed, *natur*, *fortun*, or *fort'n*, &c.; a mode of pronouncing, which is considered in England as vulgar, and to be avoided. Yet we find, that this pronunciation, novel as it is imagined to be by some of our writers, is laid down as correct, both by Scottish and English orthoepists. Here, then, we have the simple fact, that such is the pronunciation in Great Britain; the only remaining inquiry therefore is, whether *we* shall adopt it or not. Some British orthoepists, it is true, have attempted to make a slight change in the mode of denoting this sound of *u*, and accordingly express the last syllables of the words in question, by *tyure*. But this distinction is rather to the eye, than to the ear; for unless we should be extremely precise in uttering these words, the organs of speech naturally slide into a sound, which, for all practical purposes, is better expressed by *tshure*, than by *tyure*. Of this any one may convince himself, by taking two distinct words, where the combination of sounds is exactly the same as in these examples, but where the ear is not misled by the eye; as in the colloquial expressions, *can't you*, *won't you*, which fall upon the ear like *can't tshoo*, *won't tshoo*. It is true, that we can, by an effort, contrary to ordinary practice, sound them *can't tyoo*, *won't tyoo*, &c.; but the impression made in the ordinary utterance of them, is what we have stated.

One or two remarks of a more general nature shall close this article, already extended to a length which nothing would perhaps have excused, with many of our readers, but an earnest wish, if possible, to put an end to the continual disputes between English and American orthoepists, upon points on which they do not differ very widely, if they would candidly endeavour to understand each other.

Among other things, it has always appeared extraordinary to us, that any man should contend, that the pronunciation of *Old* and *New* England was the same; for, without going into particulars, we all know, that even the illiterate in our country will distinguish an Englishman by his pronunciation, and will designate him as an "old countryman," as we have often heard them do.

Again; it is often asserted, that the uniform pronunciation throughout New-England, is the true English pronunciation, handed down from past ages. But this we much doubt. We believe it has been brought about, if not entirely, yet principally, by

means of the Scotch dictionary of Perry; which, as Mr. Worcester justly observes, "has heretofore had a very extensive circulation in this country, and has been of great influence in fixing the prevailing pronunciation, especially in the *Northern States*." We may add, that its influence has been extended to the *Middle* and *Southern States*, by our native instructors, who, in times past, have mostly come from the North. We believe, too, it will be found, that where we differ from the English, particularly in some of the vowels, it will be found that we agree with the Scotch.

It is also a very common error to suppose, that Sheridan and Walker introduced a pronunciation that was entirely new. In the first place, it would appear very absurd for a dictionary-maker to publish a work, either with entirely new meanings, or a new system of pronunciation; he would be sure of not finding a very ready market for it. But further; it is the opinion of English scholars, that their pronunciation has remained without any material change for the last century, at least; and the facts stated by Walker, from Steele and Ben Johnson, (see Walker's principles, No. 92) seem to indicate, that even some of the supposed innovations may be traced back to an early date. Walker himself, in his preface, gives it as the result of his inquiries—that "except a very few single words, which are generally noticed in the following dictionary, and the words where *e* comes before *r* followed by another consonant, as *merchant*, *service*, &c. the pronunciation of the language is probably in the same state in which it was a century ago."

A principal cause of the irregularities in our pronunciation is, the irregularity of our orthography, or the ever-varying powers of our letters, particularly the vowels. Swift complained of this embarrassment a century ago, in his letter to the Earl of Oxford, (before cited) as one of the things, which "had contributed not a little to the maiming of our language." But his sound judgment would give no countenance to the projectors of that age, who would have spelled the words "exactly as we speak;" which he denounces as "a foolish opinion;" and which, he adds, "beside the obvious inconvenience of utterly destroying our etymology, would be a thing we should never see an end of. Not only the several towns and counties of England have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in London, they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the suburbs; and in a few years, it is probable, will all differ from themselves, as fancy or fashion shall direct; all which reduced to writing would entirely confound orthography." Johnson very justly remarks, that "anomalous formations" will be found in every language; and that Milton, "in his zeal for analogy," wrote *hight* instead of *height*.

But he adds—"Quid te exempta juvat spinis de plurimis una— to change all would be too much, and to change one is nothing." In order to make such a change too, as would remedy the inconveniences complained of, we must first settle the powers of all our alphabetic characters; otherwise, we shall only multiply embarrassments. If, for instance, we should attempt to reform that "incorrigible" word *colonel*, what should be its orthography? Shall we write it, in the first place, with *c* or *k*; and then what vowel shall we use in the first and second syllables? Shall we say *curnal*, *curnel*, *curnil*, *curnol*, or *curnul*? But if we spell it with a *k*, then we shall have fifteen more varieties; for the final syllables may be written as in the examples just given, and the first syllable may be either *ker*, *kir*, or *kur*; thus making twenty different modes of spelling it.

The truth is, that our orthography and pronunciation mutually act upon and corrupt each other; sometimes the former is correct, and sometimes the latter; and we are not agreed which of the two shall govern. In words, whose etymology is not known or not obvious, we acquiesce in the corruption, from whichever of the two causes it proceeds. Hence, in proper names, (for this and perhaps other reasons) nobody thinks of making a change, however much the orthography and pronunciation may be at variance. So it is with terms in the mechanic arts, in navigation, commerce, and all the other arts of life. Nobody, for example, would think it worth while, at this day, to change the orthography of another "incorrigible" word, the term *isinglass*, (fish-glue) though it is as corrupt as any in the language, if we are to regard the written etymology. Johnson, indeed, fancifully but absurdly derives it "from *ice* or *ise* and *glass*"; but it has nothing to do with either. The true word is of Northern origin, *hausen-blase*, pronounced nearly *howzen blaz*, literally, *sturgeon's bladder*, that is, the internal membrane or *sound* of the fish, from which *isinglass* was originally made, and which resembles a sturgeon. Our daily beverage, *tea*, has widely departed from its original Chinese name *chah* or *tshah*, which is preserved in only one language, we believe, of all the European families, the Portuguese. Even that unlucky outcast, *sparrow-grass*, (as it appears in some of the old English writers) will not appear to be so shocking a corruption as our lexicographers have considered it, if we should, as in thousands of other words, regard its *proximate* Northern or modern etymology, instead of its remote Latin or Greek one. In all the Northern dialects, we believe, it begins with an *s*; as in German, *spargel*, Upper-Saxon, *spargen*, *sparges*, Lower-Saxon, *sparges*, or *sparjes*, (pronounced *sparyes*, which somewhat resembles the vulgar pronunciation in English, and from which we may originally have taken our word) Dutch, *sparjes*, Bohemian, *spargl*, &c. According to the general analogy of our language,

therefore, the word ought to *begin* with *s*, whatever may be the orthography or pronunciation of the rest of it. An intelligent English lexicographer says—"I rather think *sparrow-grass* to be the proper English name of the plant, than a corruption of the Latin *asparagus*; and in this I am supported by Miller in his Gardener's Dictionary."\*

But we forbear any further details of this kind, and conclude our remarks upon this head, with the following opinion of that eminent philologist of our country, Mr. Duponceau, whom we have before mentioned. "It is," says he, "of very little consequence, whether the words *spoken*, are, or are not accurately represented as to sound by the characters of the *graphic* language; the combinations of which, however incongruous or discrepant from the original application, never fail to impress on the mind, the ideas with which habit has associated them. I am not, therefore, one of those who wish to see any innovation introduced into the alphabet or orthography of the English language.—Let our written language still retain its venerable garb, *nos anciens habits de sauvages*, as M. de Voltaire would call them, but still more decent than the masquerade dresses, under which men of more fancy than reflection, would disguise the immortal thoughts of Milton and Shakspeare, so that the eye would no longer at once recognise them, and the straight and well-trodden path, by which they now, without difficulty, reach the mind, would be made crooked, hard of access, and overspread with brambles and thorns."†

We ought to add, in respect to the particular advantages, which the present publication possesses over all former editions, besides its superior correctness—that it contains an *Appendix* of all the additional words which Mr. Todd has inserted in his very recent edition (1827) of Johnson; and also, numerous *Americanisms*. So that, on the whole, this volume, in its vocabulary, is the most extensive of any extant. In order to make it still more useful as a manual, *Walker's Key to the Pronunciation of Proper Names* is added; upon which last we ought further to observe, that the Editor has bestowed much attention in correcting the errors of former editions, and has also given a list of those names, in the pronunciation of which, Walker, Perry, and Fulton and Knight differ. The volume is closed with a "List of most of the Authors cited as authorities," showing the period when they wrote; this is an indispensable appendage for those persons who are not sufficiently familiar with the history and usage of our language to decide for themselves.

\* Vocabulary of Words of dubious or unsettled Accentuation—*London*. 1797.

† Duponceau's Essay on English Phonology; in the *Transact. Philos. Soc. of Philad.* vol. i. p. 236. New Series.

ART. VIII.—*Narrative of a Second Expedition to the shores of the Polar Sea ; in the years 1825, 1826, and 1827.* By CAPTAIN FRANKLIN, R. N., F. R. S., &c. *Commander ; and Dr. RICHARDSON, F. R. S., &c. ; Surgeon and Naturalist to the Expedition. Published by authority of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs.* London: John Murray: 1825.

IN our last number, we presented our readers with a sketch of the various attempts which had been made, down to the present time, to discover a North-west Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean ; and to ascertain accurately, the geography of the northern coast and portion of the American continent. We return again to the subject, for two reasons ; in the first place, because we look upon it as a most important and laudable undertaking, which does credit to the spirit and intelligence of the age ; and in the next place, because, either the zeal for pursuing it has abated, or the opinion of its importance has diminished, or the failure of entire success has disheartened its promoters, at the very moment, when, in our opinion, the problem was on the eve of solution. To endeavour to penetrate through straits and passages, closed by ice during nine and ten months of the year, and acquire geographical knowledge of countries scarcely to be approached by human beings, may appear to many persons a wild and useless attempt ; but those who have reflected on the manner in which science has made its advances, the gradual progress, the apparently accidental steps, the very trifling circumstances that have attended them, will hesitate before they decide on what discoveries are unaccompanied with practical benefits. Let us look back one hundred years, and remember our ignorance of all that related to the Southern Ocean, how little of useful result the casual observer could see in long voyages made into unknown seas, round the wild, tempestuous, and dangerous promontory of Cape Horn, and among little islands surrounded by coral reefs, and inhabited by an uncivilized people ; let us then compare with it, the extensive and valuable commerce, which now spreads over those seas the canvass of many nations, and brings those islands, and the shores of the neighbouring continents, into advantageous and frequent intercourse with the older world ; after so doing, we shall be less inclined to assert the uselessness of efforts to point out new passages, and survey new regions in the north.

When the vast territories which belong to the United States, on the western shore of America, shall be brought, as they must be, at no distant time, into communication with those on the east, and their interests in a commercial point of view, come to be consulted as part of the same vast empire. it is not to be



believed that a coast not much farther from Columbia river than that of the White Sea is from Bristol in England, and requiring to reach it, a voyage through no higher northern latitudes, will be suffered to remain, not merely unexplored, but without that profitable intercourse which adventurous commerce never fails to discover in a traffic with regions, apparently the most inhospitable and desolate. It is not to be believed that the British, who through their fur companies have carried on, chiefly by tedious and expensive journeys over land, and in a spirit of commercial concealment, jealousy and monopoly, a lucrative trade over extensive countries approaching within a few hundred miles of the shores of the Polar Ocean, would not derive immense benefit from the certain knowledge of a communication by sea, laid down from actual and accurate surveys, with those regions, even though the chance of using or passing through it should be frequently uncertain, and confined to a very short season. It is not to be believed that the Russians, who are so keenly disposed to retain every portion of their vast empire, and seem to guard with as much care, and extend with as much patient perseverance, its limits towards the pole, as along the shores of the Caspian and Black Seas, can be insensible to the advantages which would be opened by a communication between their capital and the eastern extremity of their dominions, considerably less distant in fact, than the present one, and one half of which is through an open and well known sea, traversed in latitudes ten or fifteen degrees lower than that which bounds the empire on the north ever can be.

We are indeed well convinced that the survey of the shores of the Polar Sea, is very important in a commercial and national point of view, especially to the three nations we have mentioned; but we confess, that were such not the case, we should look upon these voyages as not in the slightest degree less honourable and useful in other respects. Every thing which enlarges the boundaries of science, confers in the end some benefit. Grand and valuable theories are the result of practical examinations; and the collection of a variety of facts, acquired under a variety of circumstances, is necessary to their correct formation. Many branches of knowledge are yet in their infancy; of magnetism, the greatest discovery perhaps of modern times, we yet know but little; we are indeed acquainted with a few of its obvious incidents, but those which appeared to be the most certain, as they were the most striking, have been found by subsequent observations to be subject to great, and as yet unaccountable variations; meteorology is a science of daily and hourly interest; yet its principles are confessedly still unsettled; how much have we yet to learn of chemistry, of geology, of natural history, even of the character and habits of those of our own race, who have

been placed beyond the limits of ordinary observation? The utility and necessity of information on these points will not be denied, and it is to be acquired only by expeditions such as those to which we have referred. The results obtained from the voyages made by direction of the British government, during the last ten years, are gratifying to every friend of science; and the liberality exhibited in their organization, and the skill with which they have been carried into effect, are as honourable to those who planned, as to the gallant, enterprising and intelligent men intrusted with their execution.

Nor should the zeal thus displayed in them be suffered to abate, until the great end is accomplished. To suppose that expeditions directed by human foresight, and without the benefit of experience, can always attain their object at once, is to judge without reflection or knowledge. The accidents that have hitherto attended those to which we are alluding, have been fewer and less disastrous than might have been anticipated; the information gained, perhaps greater. Of this any one will be convinced, who, looking at a map ten years old, sees the blank space between Baffin's bay and Behring's straits, and compares it with one containing the discoveries that have been since made; and who also examines the important facts with regard to the mariner's compass, the currents of the ocean, botany, geology, natural history, and other branches of science which are collected and detailed in the several volumes hitherto published. Of a space occupying eighty or ninety degrees of longitude, entirely unexplored, if we except the slight observations of Mackenzie and Hearne, there now remain but twenty-four degrees which have not been examined, and as to the greater portion accurately surveyed, and this in a few years, by a few voyages, and with almost no sacrifice of health or human life. Under these circumstances we cannot but regret, that the spirit which has hitherto promoted these expeditions seems to have abated. We would willingly believe, that this has arisen rather from the turbulent state of the British government during the last two years, than from a less degree of liberality and zeal in the councils which succeeded Lord Liverpool's administration—one which its opponents and perhaps the world generally, with what truth we need not remark, were in the habit of considering as little attentive to the great and liberal interests of their country.

As to our own government, we are ashamed to say with what slender hope we look forward to any measure, having for its end the extension and benefit of science. It is notorious that we have had but one president who possessed sufficient influence to induce congress to foster such objects; and we believe that among the many virtues and illustrious qualities which will make Mr. Jefferson more dear to his countrymen, as his actions

come to be seen, less obscured by the spirit of cotemporary party, none will stand higher than the noble and ardent zeal, with which he endeavoured to open new sources of knowledge, and to promote the advance of science. The subsequent expeditions to the west, have indeed been conducted with skill; they do credit, however, not to the legislature, but to the intelligent officer of the government who contrived to bring within the scope of his official duties, what should have been effected with open-handed liberality, by the representatives of the nation. The appropriation of last winter, for an expedition to the southern ocean, limited as it was in amount, and confined as its objects seem to be, we would gladly hail as the harbinger of a new spirit in congress, and we trust it is only the first step towards a just regard, not merely to commercial advantages, but to the promotion of all branches of science. Such a course, while honourable to them, would be in full unison with the wishes and interests of their constituents. The enterprise and adventure of the American people are not exceeded by any upon earth. We have men who would devote themselves as intensely as Herschel or Laplace to the useful investigations of science, could they be aided by the patronage of their country; we have officers in our army and navy as prudent, intelligent, and skilful as Parry, and as bold, energetic, and undaunted as Franklin; many of them are now wasting their time in dock-yards or distant stations, who would deeply feel the honour of being intrusted with a scientific enterprise, and bring back information, that would prove that the people of America think of something more than eternal conflicts about elections, and the mere promotion of her individual interests. We would impress, if we could, on our statesmen, that the fame of a successful politician is transient, that of a benefactor of mankind eternal—that the names of ministers and courtiers, as skilful and famous in their own day as any can now hope to be, are scarcely remembered, while beings more obscure are familiar to us as benefactors of all future time—that in general, the noblest reputation they can acquire, is connected only with the transitory events of a particular country and age, while he who devotes his influence and talents to the extension of science, becomes an actor, whose theatre is the world, and whose fame is the grateful tribute of unborn generations, equally as of those among whom he has chanced to live.

In the article in our last number, to which we have already referred, our readers have found a brief notice, taken from private letters, of the results of the voyage we are now about to consider more at large. It will appear too, from that article, that the expeditions sent out by the British government to discover a north-west passage, were twofold; by sea, and by land. Of the former, those of captain Parry had for their object

to proceed along the shores and coasts already known, from the eastward ; those of captain Beechey in like manner from the westward ; but as it was wisely and truly conjectured, that ignorance of the channels, obstructions by ice, and the shortness of the seasons, might prevent these expeditions from reaching the same central point, it was deemed proper to make a third and intermediate exploration over land to that point, and thence along the coast in both directions, towards each of the navigators. The conduct of this enterprise was committed to captain Franklin, who has zealously pursued it in two successive voyages, and though he has not yet attained the main end of arriving at the surveys made by his fellow labourers, he has advanced so far towards it, and with so much success, as to hold out very strong probability of its ultimate accomplishment. The naval expedition of captain Beechey traced the sea-coast from the Pacific as far as  $156^{\circ} 21'$  of west longitude. Captain Parry, in his third voyage, penetrated from the Atlantic to cape Garry, in longitude  $92^{\circ} 9'$  W. and latitude  $72^{\circ} 32'$  N. In his second voyage, he laid down, with the aid of the Esquimaux, the regular coast of the continent to the south-west shore of Melville peninsula, in latitude  $66^{\circ}$  N. and longitude  $89^{\circ}$  W. ; he had indeed, in his first voyage, reached as far as  $113^{\circ}$  W., but it was under a latitude so far to the north, that it is most probable the coast will be found rather to connect with the shores along which he passed in his two subsequent voyages. Fixing, therefore, the extreme points of the naval expeditions at  $92^{\circ}$  and  $156^{\circ}$ , it left a line of coast to be discovered, stretching nearly along the seventieth degree of north latitude, for a distance of sixty degrees of longitude, or less than fifteen hundred miles. This coast was entirely unexplored and unknown, before the examinations of captain Franklin, with the exception of two points, the one in longitude  $115^{\circ} 36'$  W., near the mouth of Coppermine river, where Hearne thought he saw the sea, in 1771 ; and the other in longitude  $134^{\circ}$  W., where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in July 1779, reached the tide water of the Polar ocean, though he never entirely left the banks of the river, which he had descended.

It was under these circumstances that captain Franklin made his journey, in the year 1819, from York Factory, at the south end of Hudson's bay, to the Polar sea, at the mouth of Hearne's or Coppermine river. Of this expedition we have already given a sufficient sketch, and it will here be necessary merely to repeat, that it resulted in the complete survey of the coast from that point eastward to cape Turnagain, which is in longitude  $109^{\circ} 25'$  W., and only about four hundred and fifty miles from the Atlantic survey of captain Parry. The return of the party was attended with some heart-rending incidents, and with scenes of almost unparalleled suffering ; but these arose from peculiar

amusement until daylight, to the music of bagpipes, relieved occasionally by the Jew's harp. These men, indeed, seem to retain all the vivacity of their French ancestors, unchilled by the cold regions in which they dwell, unabated by the life of excessive labour which they lead. No sight is more pleasing, than to behold them, clad in their gray cloaks, with pointed hoods hanging down the back, singing gaily as they guide their canoes down the rapids, or collect on the shores at evening, to eat their simple and frugal meal. They are fond of amusement, being always ready for a dance, and generally carrying in their pockets a pack of soiled cards, with which they will sit, and play together in little groups, whenever accident permits. They are however active, enterprising, and laborious to a remarkable degree, while engaged in the arduous duties of their voyages, which are attended with uncommon hardships. At Fort Resolution, also, captain Franklin met two Copper Indian chiefs, whom he had known on his previous journey, and who, having heard of his coming, had been waiting two months, for the express purpose of seeing him. They displayed their delight at again meeting him and his companions, by repeatedly seizing their hands, pressing them against their hearts, and exclaiming, "How much we regret that we cannot tell what we feel for you here!" They assured him, that, though they had been at war with the tribe of Dog-Ribs, for the last three years, they had consented to make peace, from a desire that no impediment might be placed in the way of his expedition; and when asked whether they would go to hunt for the party, when they should arrive at winter-quarters on Bear lake, which lay near the hunting-grounds of their enemies, they replied, "Our hearts will be with them, but we will not go to those parts where the bones of our murdered brethren lie, for fear our bad passions might be aroused at the sight of their graves, and we should be tempted to renew the war, by the recollection of their death. Let the Dog-Ribs who live in the neighbourhood of Bear lake, furnish them with meat, though they are our enemies."

On Sunday the 31st of July, they left Fort Resolution, and crossing Slave lake, entered Mackenzie, or Grand river, as it is called by the hunters, which flows from its north-western extremity. Sailing down this river, they reached on the 7th of August, Fort Norman, another post of the Hudson Bay company, five hundred and seventy-four miles from Fort Resolution. The arrival of the party had been so rapid, that, although they were now within four days' journey of Bear lake, where they had proposed stopping until the succeeding spring, they had yet five or six weeks of open season, and every prospect of favourable weather. Captain Franklin resolved, under these circumstances, on pushing forward at once, towards the sea, to collect.

for the benefit of their voyage next year, whatever information he could relative to the Indians on the coast, the state of the ice, and the prospect of a supply of provisions. He left Dr. Richardson, with a small party, to explore the shores of Bear lake, where it approached nearest to Coppermine river, and to fix on a place to which he might return the following year, should he find it expedient, from the mouth of that river; while lieutenant Back remained with the residue of the men, to prepare all that was necessary for the comfortable residence of the expedition, at the spot which had been selected for winter-quarters. This was named Fort Franklin, and is at the point where the river which runs from Bear lake, into the Mackenzie, debouches from the lake. It is in latitude  $65^{\circ} 11' 56''$  N., and in longitude  $123^{\circ} 12' 44''$  W.

Captain Franklin and his small party accordingly left their companions in one of the English boats, on the 8th of August, and proceeded with a fair wind and a current of two miles and a half per hour, swiftly down the river, which generally varied in width from two to four miles. They met and received supplies of fresh meat from occasional parties of Indians who inhabit the banks, but these were few in number, and in a state of great wretchedness and poverty, possessing neither the haughty, gallant and adventurous spirit of the more southern tribes, nor the shrewdness, ingenuity, inquisitiveness and audacity, which characterize the Esquimaux. On the 10th they reached Fort Good Hope, the most northern of the Hudson Bay company's establishments, distant about two thousand miles from Cumberland House, and two hundred from the ocean. About ninety miles below this post, they entered the delta of Mackenzie river, and opposite its mouth, at sunset, on the 16th of August, in latitude  $69^{\circ} 29'$  N. longitude  $135^{\circ} 41'$  W., the boat touched Garry island, on the beach of which the Polar sea rolled in all its majesty, entirely free from ice, presenting no visible obstruction to navigation, and filled with seals, and black and white whales, which sported freely on its waves.

"The men," says Captain Franklin, "pitched the tent on the beach, and I caused the silk union-flag to be hoisted, which my deeply lamented wife had made and presented to me, as a parting gift; under the express injunction that it was not to be unfurled before the expedition reached the sea. I will not attempt to describe my emotions as it expanded to the breeze; however natural and for the moment irresistible, I felt that it was my duty to suppress them, and that I had no right, by an indulgence of my own sorrows, to cloud the animated countenances of my companions. Joining, therefore, with the best grace that I could command, in the general excitement, I endeavoured to return, with corresponding cheerfulness, their warm congratulations on having thus planted the British flag on this remote island of the Polar Sea.

"Some spirits which had been saved for the occasion, were issued to the men; and with three fervent cheers, they drank the health of our beloved monarch, and the continued success of our enterprise. Mr. Kendall and I had also reserved a little of our brandy, in order to celebrate this interesting event: but Baptiste

(one of the Canadian voyageurs attached to the expedition) in his delight at beholding the sea, had set before us some salt water, which having been mixed with the brandy before the mistake was discovered, we were reluctantly obliged to forego the intended draught, and to use it in the more classical form of a libation poured on the ground.

"Baptiste, on discovering that he had actually reached the ocean, stuck his feathers in his hat, and exultingly exclaimed, "now that I am one of the *gens de la mer*, you shall see how active I will be, and how I will crow over the *gens du nord*," the name by which the Ashabaskan voyagers are designated."

The next morning, two letters were written to captain Parry, with an account of the progress already made, one of which was deposited at the foot of a signal pole, so erected as to attract his notice should he reach that part of the ocean, and the other was encased in a water-proof box, and committed to the waves.

On the 18th of August, a gale having set in from the north-west, and the thermometer rapidly fallen from 68° to 51°, it was deemed prudent to turn again towards the south. Though they fell in with many Indians along the shores, they saw no Esquimaux whom they were particularly desirous to meet and conciliate, and reached Fort Franklin on the evening of the 5th of September, where it may be supposed they were joyously welcomed by Dr. Richardson, lieutenant Back, and the rest of their companions.

The residence of the party during the winter months, in the midst of snows, cannot of course afford much that requires notice. They contrived, however, by constant and useful occupation, to make it pass pleasantly away. The officers made many scientific observations, and their variety and accuracy merit the highest praise. The hunters and men attached to the expedition, found employment in procuring provisions, in building a new boat, and in occasional excursions to the neighbouring posts of the Hudson Bay company, and the fisheries at different parts of Bear lake. The number of persons belonging to the establishment amounted to fifty, consisting of five officers, nineteen British seamen, mariners, and voyagers, nine Canadians, two Esquimaux, five Chipewyan hunters, three women, six children, and one Indian lad. In addition to these, there were constantly parties of Dog-Rib Indians who hung about the fort, to beg what they could, and when nothing was to be procured in that way, to steal from the fishing nets, and even seize the offal that was thrown out. Their state, indeed, was one of great degradation; they hunted little, were for the most part idle and worthless, though not offensive, subsisting precariously and chiefly on fish, and wandering about from place to place as want compelled them, in small parties, and often perishing from hunger. A fact which captain Franklin records, affords a striking instance of their wretched lives and precarious existence, as well as of the callousness of feeling which they produce.

"In March, some Chipewyan hunters attached to the expedition, who had been absent since Christmas, returned to Fort Franklin with their families, and brought with them a Dog-Rib girl, about twelve years old, who had been deserted by her tribe. When they found her, she was in the last stage of weakness from famine, sitting by the expiring embers of a fire, and but for their timely appearance, death must soon have ended her sufferings. They fed and clothed her, and waited until she gained strength to accompany them. The wretches who had abandoned the poor creature, were on their way to a fishing station, which they knew to be very productive, and not above a day's march distant. She was unable to keep the pace at which they chose to proceed, and having no near relation but an aged aunt, who could not assist her, they left her at an encampment without any food. The hunters met this party of Indians about a month afterwards, when they were living in abundance. The girl, by that time, had perfectly recovered her strength, and they desired that she should be restored to them, but the hunters firmly resisted their importunity, and one of them adopted her as his own child. It is singular, that she was the only female of the tribe that could be called good looking. Her Indian name was Aton-larree, which the interpreter translated Burnt-weed. When the Indians came to the fort, I took the first opportunity of their being assembled in the hall, to send for the hunters and their wives, and to reward them by a substantial present of clothing and ammunition. I also gave them some neat steel instruments, consisting of gimblets and other useful articles, which they were desired to preserve, and show to other Indians, as a testimony of our approbation of their humanity. A present was also bestowed upon the girl, and then the Dog-Ribs were addressed as to their unfeeling conduct towards her. They listened quietly, and merely stated her weakness as the cause. There is little doubt but that the transactions of this day, were canvassed afterwards, and it is to be hoped that the knowledge of our sentiments gaining circulation, may induce a discontinuance of their inhuman practices."

Whenever opportunity offered, captain Franklin in the same manner seized the occasion with true benevolence, to add to the comforts of these poor creatures, and enlighten them by practical advice and instruction; nor is it to be doubted, that in many points, their habits will be improved by his efforts. This effect has, indeed, been already produced even by the residence among them of the traders, wild and irregular as their lives and habits must necessarily be; and a very considerable melioration is perceptible in the moral character of the savages, since the time of Mackenzie and Hearne. Infanticide is mentioned by the latter, as a common crime among the northern Indians; captain Franklin, however, states that it is now very rarely practised, and but one instance is recorded by him, as falling within his own knowledge; this too was among the Dog-Ribs, the most indolent and dishonest tribe with which he had dealings, when they were reduced by famine to extreme suffering. Even this instance also, is compensated by a melancholy and interesting scene, which occurred during their winter residence at Fort Franklin.

"The wife of one of the Dog-Rib hunters, brought her only child, a female, for medical advice. As she entered the room, it was evident that the hand of death was upon it. In the absence of Dr. Richardson, who happened to be out, all the remedies were applied that were judged likely to be of service; and as soon as he returned, there being yet a faint pulsation, other means were tried, but in vain. So gentle was its last sigh, that the mother was not at first aware of



its death, and continued to press the child against her bosom. As soon, however, as she perceived that life had fled, she cast herself on the floor in agony, heightened by the consciousness of having delayed to seek relief till too late, and by apprehension of the anger of her husband, who was dotingly attached to the child. The Indians evinced their participation in her affliction, by silence, and a strong expression of pity in their countenances. At the dawn of day, the poor creature, though almost exhausted by her ceaseless lamentation, carried the body across the lake for interment."

To the occupations of the party, occasional amusements were added, especially during the long winter evenings; a school was opened three times a week, and the men attached to the expedition were taught by the officers; Dr. Richardson delivered a weekly course of lectures on geology; the hall of the large building was thrown open for the men to play any game they chose, being always cheerfully joined by the officers; dances, enlivened by the music of a violin and bag-pipes, were frequent; and at Christmas and New-Year the festivities were as good humoured, lively and gay, as if the travellers had been sporting around their own firesides. It is not indeed often that a party so various in language and manners meet under the same roof—there were Englishmen, Highlanders, Canadians, Esquimaux, Indians, and hunters; and English, Gaelic, French and Indian were indiscriminately heard, from the lips of those who were engaged in the same innocent revels.

On the 15th of June, the new boat, named the *Reliance*, of similar dimensions to the *Lion*, the largest of those brought from England, was launched; and on Saturday, the 24th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the whole party set sail on Bear lake river. They pursued their course down the Mackenzie, as captain Franklin had done with his small party the preceding summer, until they arrived at point Separation, the commencement of the delta, where the two divisions were to part, the one to explore the western, and the other the eastern coast. After dividing the stores and equipments between them, and each being fully provided for a voyage of three months, captain Franklin and lieutenant Back embarked with fourteen men, including Augustus, the excellent Esquimaux interpreter, in the *Lion* and *Reliance*, on the western channel, leaving Dr. Richardson and lieutenant Kendall, with the other Esquimaux and nine men, to pursue their voyage down the eastern outlet.

Captain Franklin reached the ocean, on the 7th of July, and on the same day fell in with the Esquimaux for the first time. A large body or tribe of this nation, which dwelt on the eastern bank of the Mackenzie, had passed over for the purpose of fishing, and were now encamped on the sea shore. They appear never before to have seen a white man, and at first were disposed to hold a friendly intercourse. Every effort was made to conciliate and keep on the best terms with them, by prudent beha-

viour, kind language, and numerous presents. Augustus, the Esquimaux attached to the expedition, understood their language, except in a few instances, it being only a different dialect of his own; indeed, they resembled strongly, and in all prominent points, the other tribes of Esquimaux, who had been visited and described by captain Parry. Accident, however, brought to their knowledge the quantity and variety of articles, highly valuable to them, which were in the boats, and which had been prudently concealed; they became immediately so inflamed with a desire to possess them, that they at once proceeded to attack and rob the boats, and concerted a plan for the murder of the whole party. This was completely frustrated by the admirable conduct of the commander, which is above all praise, and presents, in our opinion, an instance of one of the most prudent and benevolent, as well as successful interviews with a tribe of hostile savages, we have ever met with. The behaviour of his noble little interpreter is not less praiseworthy, and his speech to the plunderers is an admirable specimen of native logic, eloquence, and courage. We shall give our readers an extract, which though long, will not, we are sure, in the least fatigue them.

"The water had now ebbed so far, that it was not knee deep at the boats, and the younger men wading in crowds around us, tried to steal every thing within their reach; slyly, however, and with so much dexterity, as almost to escape detection. The moment this disposition was manifested, I directed the crews not to suffer any one to come alongside, and desired Augustus to tell two chiefs, who remained seated in the Lion, that the noise and confusion occasioned by the crowd around the boats, greatly impeded our exertions; and that if they would go on shore and leave us for the present, we would hereafter return from the ship, which we expected to meet near this part of the coast, with a more abundant supply of goods. They received this communication with much apparent satisfaction, and jumping out of the boats, repeated the speech aloud to their companions. From the general exclamation of '*teyma*' which followed, and from perceiving many of the elderly men retire to a distance, I conceived that they acquiesced in the propriety of the suggestion, and that they were going away; but I was much deceived. They only retired to concert a plan of attack, and returned in a short time, shouting some words which Augustus could not make out. He soon however discovered their import, by two of the three chiefs who were on board the Reliance, jumping out, and with the others who hurried to their assistance, dragging her towards the south shore of the river.

"As soon as I perceived this, I directed the Lion's crew to endeavour to follow her; but our boat remained fast, until the Esquimaux lent their aid, and dragged her after the Reliance. Two of the most powerful men jumped on board at the same time, seized me by the wrists, and forced me to sit between them; and as I shook them loose two or three times, a third Esquimaux took his station in front, to catch my arm whenever I attempted to lift my gun, or the broad dagger which hung by my side. The whole way to the shore, they kept repeating the word '*teyma*,' beating gently my left breast with their hands, and pressing mine against their breasts. As we reached the beach, two oomiaks full of women arrived, and the '*teymas*' and vociferations were redoubled. The Reliance was first brought to the shore, and the Lion close to her, a few seconds afterwards. The three men who held me now leaped ashore, and those who had re-

mained in their canoes, taking them out of the water, carried them to a little distance. A numerous party then drawing their knives, and stripping themselves to the waist, ran to the *Reliance*, and having first hauled her as far up as they could, began a regular pillage, handing the articles to the women, who, ranged in a row behind, quickly conveyed them out of sight. Lieutenant Back and his crew strenuously but good humouredly resisted the attack, and rescued many things from their grasp, but they were overpowered by numbers, and had even some difficulty in preserving their arms. One fellow had the audacity to snatch Vivier's knife from his breast, and to cut the buttons from his coat, whilst three stout Esquimaux surrounded lieutenant Back with uplifted daggers, and were incessant in their demands for whatever attracted their attention, especially the anchor buttons which he wore on his waistcoat. In this juncture, a young chief coming to his aid, drove the assailants away. In their retreat they carried off a writing desk and cloak, which the chief rescued, and then seating himself on lieutenant Back's knee, he endeavoured to persuade his countrymen to desist, by vociferating '*teyma, teyma*,' and was indeed very active in saving whatever he could from their depredations. The *Lion* had hitherto been beset by smaller numbers, and her crew, by firmly keeping their seats on the cover spread over the cargo, and by beating the natives off with the but-ends of their muskets, had been able to prevent any article of importance from being carried away. But as soon as I perceived that the work of plunder was going on so actively in the *Reliance*, I went with Augustus to assist in repressing the tumult; and our bold and active little interpreter rushed among the crowd on shore, and harangued them on their treacherous conduct, until he was actually hoarse. In a short time, however, I was summoned back, for the Esquimaux had now commenced in earnest to plunder the *Lion*, and on my return, I found the sides of the boat lined with men as thick as they could stand, brandishing their knives in the most furious manner, and attempting to seize every thing that was moveable, whilst another party was ranged on the outside, ready to bear away the stolen goods. The *Lion*'s crew still kept their seats, but as it was impossible for so small a number to keep off such a formidable and determined body, several articles were carried off. Our principal object was to prevent the loss of the arms, oars, or masts, or any thing on which the continuance of the voyage, or our personal safety depended. Many attempts were made to purloin the box containing the astronomical instruments, and Duncan, after thrice rescuing it from their hands, made it fast to his leg with a cord, determined that they should drag him away also, if they took it.

"The struggle was now beginning to assume a more serious complexion, when on a sudden the whole of the Esquimaux fled, and hid themselves behind the drift timber and canoes on the beach. It appears that by the exertions of the crew, the *Reliance* was again afloat, and lieutenant Back, judging that this was the proper moment for more active interference, directed his men to level their muskets, and had thus produced the sudden panic. The *Lion* happily floated soon after, and both were retiring from the beach, when the Esquimaux having recovered from their consternation, put their kayacks in the water, and were preparing to follow us; but I desired Augustus to say that I would shoot the first man who came within range of our muskets, which prevented them.

"It was now about eight o'clock in the evening, and we had been engaged in this harassing contest for several hours, yet the only things of importance which they had carried off, were the mess canteens and kettles, a tent, a bale containing some blankets and shoes, one of the men's bags, and the gib sails. The other articles they took, could well be spared, and they would in fact have been distributed among them, had they remained quiet. The place to which the boats were dragged, is designated as Pillage point.

"I was now determined, however, to keep them at bay, and to convince them, if they made any further attempts to annoy us, that our forbearance arose from good will, and not from the want of power to punish them. We had not gone above a quarter of a mile from Pillage point, when our boats again took the ground, at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the shore; and, having ascertained by the men wading in every direction, that there was no deeper

water, we made the boats fast side by side, and remained in that situation five hours.

"Shortly after the boats had been secured, seven or eight of the natives walked along the beach, and, carrying on a conversation with Augustus, invited him to a conference on shore. I was at first very unwilling to permit him to go, but the brave little fellow entreated so earnestly, that I would suffer him to land and reprove the Esquimaux for their conduct, that I at length consented, and the more readily, on seeing that the young chief who had acted in so friendly a manner, was among the number on the beach. By the time that Augustus reached the shore, the number of Esquimaux amounted to forty; and we watched with great anxiety, the animated conversation he carried on with them. On his return, he told us that its purport was as follows:—'Your conduct,' said he, 'has been very bad, and unlike all other Esquimaux. Some of you even stole from me, your countryman, but that I do not mind; I only regret, that you should have treated in this violent manner, the white people who came solely to do you kindness. My tribe were in the same unhappy state in which you now are, before the white people came to Churchill, but at present they are supplied with every thing they need, and you see that I am well clothed; I get all that I want, and am very comfortable. You cannot expect, after the transactions of this day, that these people will ever bring goods to your country again, unless you show contrition, by returning the stolen goods. The white people love the Esquimaux, and wish to show them the same kindness that they bestow upon the Indians: do not deceive yourselves, and suppose that they are afraid of you; I tell you they are not, and that it is entirely owing to their humanity that many of you were not killed to-day; for they have all guns with which they can destroy you, whether near or at a distance. I also have a gun, and can assure you, that if a white man had fallen, I would have been the first to revenge his death.'

"The veracity of Augustus was beyond all question with us; such a speech delivered in a circle of forty armed men, was a remarkable instance of personal courage. We could perceive by the shouts of applause with which they filled the pauses in his harangue, that they assented to his arguments, and he told us that they had expressed great sorrow for having given us so much cause for offence, and pleaded, in mitigation of their conduct, that they had never seen white people before; that every thing in our possession was so new and so desirable, that they could not resist the temptation of stealing; and begged him to assure us that they never would do the like again, for they were anxious to be on terms of friendship with us, that they might partake of the benefits which his tribe derived from their intercourse with the white people. I told Augustus to put their sincerity to the test, by desiring them to bring back a large kettle and the tent, which they did, together with some shoes, having sent for them to the island whither they had been conveyed. After this act of restitution, Augustus requested to be permitted to join a dance to which they had invited him, and he was for upwards of an hour engaged in dancing and singing with all his might, in the midst of a company who were all armed with knives, bows, and arrows. He afterwards told us, that he was much delighted in finding that the words of the song, and the different attitudes of the dances, were precisely similar to those used in his own country, when a friendly meeting took place with strangers.

"This account would be incomplete, without mentioning some communications made to us in the month of August following. We then learned that the Esquimaux were actuated by the most friendly feelings towards us, until one of them, accidentally discovering what the boats contained, proposed to the younger men to pillage them. This suggestion was buzzed about, and led to the conference of the old men, when I desired them to go away, in which the robbery was decided upon, and a pretty general wish expressed that it should be attended with the total massacre of the whole party. Providentially, a few suggested the impropriety of including Augustus, and for a reason which could scarcely have been imagined. 'If we kill him,' said they, 'no more white people will visit our lands, and we shall lose the opportunity of getting another supply of their

valuable goods; but if we spare him, he can be sent back with a story we shall invent, to induce another party of white people to come among us.' This argument prevailed at the time; but, after the interviews with Augustus at the dance, they retired to their island, where they were so much inflamed by the sight of the valuable articles which they had obtained, that they all, without exception, regretted they had allowed us to escape. While in this frame of mind, a very artful plan was laid for the destruction of the party, including Augustus, whom they conceived to be so firmly attached to us, that it was in vain to attempt to win him to their cause. Through the blessing of Providence, their scheme was frustrated."

The expedition had not proceeded many miles farther along the coast, when they met with another encampment of Esquimaux. With these they held the most friendly and peaceable communication for two days. Augustus becoming perfectly domesticated among them, and passing the night at their tents. They received the presents offered to them with great delight, purchased fish-hooks, awls, rings, &c. which they hung about their persons as ornaments, sat with the utmost complacency to have their pictures taken, and promised to give their aid against any attack that might be threatened by the adjoining tribe. They seem to be farther advanced in the arts necessary for subsistence and comfort, than the Indians among whom the expedition wintered; and their houses, which are built of driftwood, appeared extremely close and warm.

The party now pushed forward along the coast, with great industry, cultivating as occasion served, a friendly intercourse with the natives whom they met from time to time, and making their astronomical, geographical and scientific observations, with the utmost regularity and care. This attention, indeed, renders captain Franklin's narrative invaluable, and though the great object of the expedition be not completely attained, the results thus acquired fully compensate, for the labour, expense, and time bestowed on it. The coast proved to be much more unfavourable to the rapid prosecution of their voyage, than might have been expected. On account of the lowness and shallowness of the shores, fields of ice, not indeed very lofty, or large, but still effectually impeding navigation, stretched so far out, and were intersected by such narrow channels, as constantly to force the boats aground, or compel the crews to draw them from one pool to another. Whether on this account it might not have been found more useful to stretch farther out to sea, we are not prepared to say, but certainly there seems nothing in the narrative to contradict a belief, that a more open and regular passage would there have been obtained. Fogs, too, were more than usually prevalent during this summer, and greatly impeded the progress of the expedition. The coast was low and swampy, extending in a perfect flat for a considerable distance inland, to the base of the Rocky mountains, which rose in detached ridges, presenting peaks of great sharpness and irregularity of outline, covered for

the most part with snow. A range of small islands, generally mud banks elevated fifteen or twenty feet above the water, extended parallel with the shore, and the innumerable reefs which ran out from them, were obstacles at once unavoidable and dangerous.

On the 31st of July, in longitude 141° W., the expedition passed point Demarcation, the boundary between the British and Russian dominions on the northern coast of America. This point seemed to be much resorted to by the Esquimaux, as many winter houses and several large stages were found there, on which bundles of seal and deer skins, and snow shoes netted with cords of deer skin, similar to those used by the Indians on the Mackenzie, were deposited. Three days after, they saw several other huts, and sledges lying near them, which indicated a recent encampment, but they met with no human beings. On the 4th, however, as they doubled point Manning, they descried a collection of tents planted on a low island, with many oomiacks, kaiyacks and dogs around them. The Esquimaux being fast asleep, Augustus was desired to hail them, and after two or three loud calls, a female appeared in a state of nudity; after a few seconds, she called out to her husband, who awoke at the first sound of her voice, and shouted out that strangers were close at hand; the alarm was instantly caught, and the whole space between the tents and the water was in a few minutes covered with armed, though naked men. It is easier to imagine than describe the consternation and wonder of the people, thus suddenly roused from sleep, to behold a race of beings so different in appearance, of whose existence they had never heard. Captain Franklin had the boats rowed immediately towards the shore, and Augustus informed the savages, who the strangers that had so unexpectedly appeared before them, were, and the purpose of their visit; the information was received with a burst of acclamation and an immediate invitation to land. This, however, was prudently declined, from the number of persons assembled, their state of evident excitement and surprise, the temptations and opportunities to steal which would be afforded them, and the impossibility of furnishing so many, with the presents and articles they would desire. Four kaiyacks, however, were allowed to come along side, and presents were given to the men, with which they were highly delighted, and when the boats left them, they loudly vociferated the usual cry of *teyma, teyma*, the signal of friendship. It appeared from the information gained in this short interview, that this tribe inhabited the shore farther east, and that they had come to the present place of encampment, for the purpose of meeting a tribe of western Esquimaux, and exchanging the furs &c., they had collected, for iron, beads, and other articles, which the latter obtained, they said, from some "Kabloon-

act" (white people) who resided far to the west. From the circumstance, that the articles he saw were not of British manufacture, and very unlike those sold by the Hudson Bay company to the Indians, captain Franklin thought there was no doubt they were obtained from the Russian fur traders, who receive in return all the furs collected on the northern coast; indeed part of the Russian iron work is conveyed to the Esquimaux, dwelling on the coast east of the Mackenzie.

On the 17th of August, forty days after their departure from the Mackenzie, they had sailed 374 miles, and extended their discoveries to cape Beechey, in latitude  $70^{\circ} 24' N.$ , longitude  $149^{\circ} 37' W.$ , only one hundred and sixty miles from the point to which the boat of the Blossom penetrated from the Pacific in the same month. Of this, however, captain Franklin was ignorant, and the lateness of the season, the extreme difficulty of the passage, and the impossibility of wintering on that wild coast, warned him to return. It now wanted but nineteen days of the time when they had last year gone into winter-quarters, and they had to make a journey which had just occupied fifty-four days, with, in all probability, much more favourable weather. There was no nearer spot than Fort Franklin, at which any stores had been collected or preparations made for their reception. The Esquimaux had disappeared, none of their winter habitations had been for some time seen, and if they could be met with, it was almost certain that neither their means nor disposition would lead them to supply so large a party for ten months. No time was to be lost, for the signs of winter were rapidly appearing, the thermometer sunk to  $37^{\circ}$ , ice of considerable thickness formed at night, the wild geese had commenced their flights to the south, and the deer only waited the first fall of snow, to hasten from the inhospitable shore. On the 18th of August, therefore, captain Franklin reluctantly, but very prudently, began to retrace his steps towards the east, and in thirteen days he again reached the mouth of the Mackenzie. Whether this greater celerity in passing over the same route, arose from their not finding it necessary to stop so frequently, from their more accurate knowledge of the channels, from the ice being broken off from the shores, or from the prevalence of westerly winds, is not mentioned; nor is any thing said of the existence of a current from the west, though this and other circumstances strongly incline us to believe it was no trifling cause of the rapidity of their return. In all his observations on the tide, captain Franklin never could satisfactorily determine in what direction the flood made. On the 21st of September, the whole party reached Fort Franklin in good health.

Dr. Richardson and lieutenant Kendall, in the boats *Union* and *Dolphin*, after parting with their companions at point Separation, on the 4th of July 1826, took their course along the east-

ern outlet of the Mackenzie; they passed the sacred island of the Esquimaux, where they found many corpses wrapped in skins, and loosely covered with drift wood, their heads laid towards the west; and got into brackish water on the 7th, where the channel widened into a sound between Richard's island and the main. On a point of the former, they discovered four or five Esquimaux tents, with several skin canoes lying on the beach. The natives made several attempts, as in the case of captain Franklin to rob the boats, and showed much dexterity in stealing and secreting different articles; they displayed, however, none or little of the ferocity of the western tribe, and seemed anxious to get what they could from perceiving its value, being attracted by its novelty, or excited by wonder and curiosity, which were excessive; when they were detected they cheerfully returned the article taken, laughing at their own want of skill; and they were not unwilling to barter even their weapons, for beads, copper-kettles, and fire-steels. Their language, with some variations, was the same as that used on Melville peninsula, and on the farthest coast where they were seen by Franklin. They were much delighted with the idea of trading with the whites, all their commerce being confined to a slight intercourse with the Indian tribes, a short distance up the Mackenzie. They displayed considerable tact in their commerce; perfect justice in their intercourse with each other; no form of government whatever; great curiosity in general, and especially relative to the construction and navigation of the boats, which they quickly comprehended; a kindness and indulgence uncommon among savages, to their women, who dressed carefully, and spared no pains to ornament their persons; a fondness for building and dwelling in villages; and social habits, and a readiness to adopt the customs of civilized life, far beyond the Indians. All this Dr. Richardson very justly attributes to the necessity of associating in numbers for the capture of the whale, and collecting large stores in particular places for support, during their long winters.

"The females," says Dr. Richardson, "unlike those of the Indian tribes, had much handsomer features than the men; and one young woman would have been deemed pretty, even in Europe. Our presents seemed to render them perfectly happy, and they danced with such ecstasy in their slender boats, as to incur more than once great hazard of being upset. A bundle of strings of beads being thrown into an oomiak, it was caught by an old woman, who hugged the treasure to her breast with the fondest expression of rapture, while another elderly dame, who had stretched out her arms in vain, became the very picture of despair. On my explaining, however, that the present was for the whole, an amicable division instantly took place; and to show their gratitude, they sang a song to a pleasing air, keeping time with their oars. They gave us many pressing invitations to pass the night at their tents, in which they were joined by the men; and to excite our liberality, the mothers drew their children out of their wide boots, where they are accustomed to carry them naked, and holding them up, begged beads for them. Their entreaties were, for a time, successful;



(one of the Canadian voyageurs attached to the expedition) in his delight at beholding the sea, had set before us some salt water, which having been mixed with the brandy before the mistake was discovered, we were reluctantly obliged to forego the intended draught, and to use it in the more classical form of a libation poured on the ground.

"Baptiste, on discovering that he had actually reached the ocean, stuck his feathers in his hat, and exultingly exclaimed, "now that I am one of the *gens de la mer*, you shall see how active I will be, and how I will crow over the *gens du nord*;" the name by which the Ashabaskan voyagers are designated."

The next morning, two letters were written to captain Parry, with an account of the progress already made, one of which was deposited at the foot of a signal pole, so erected as to attract his notice should he reach that part of the ocean, and the other was encased in a water-proof box, and committed to the waves.

On the 18th of August, a gale having set in from the north-west, and the thermometer rapidly fallen from 68° to 51°, it was deemed prudent to turn again towards the south. Though they fell in with many Indians along the shores, they saw no Esquimaux whom they were particularly desirous to meet and conciliate, and reached Fort Franklin on the evening of the 5th of September, where it may be supposed they were joyously welcomed by Dr. Richardson, lieutenant Back, and the rest of their companions.

The residence of the party during the winter months, in the midst of snows, cannot of course afford much that requires notice. They contrived, however, by constant and useful occupation, to make it pass pleasantly away. The officers made many scientific observations, and their variety and accuracy merit the highest praise. The hunters and men attached to the expedition, found employment in procuring provisions, in building a new boat, and in occasional excursions to the neighbouring posts of the Hudson Bay company, and the fisheries at different parts of Bear lake. The number of persons belonging to the establishment amounted to fifty, consisting of five officers, nineteen British seamen, mariners, and voyagers, nine Canadians, two Esquimaux, five Chipewyan hunters, three women, six children, and one Indian lad. In addition to these, there were constantly parties of Dog-Rib Indians who hung about the fort, to beg what they could, and when nothing was to be procured in that way, to steal from the fishing nets, and even seize the offal that was thrown out. Their state, indeed, was one of great degradation; they hunted little, were for the most part idle and worthless, though not offensive, subsisting precariously and chiefly on fish, and wandering about from place to place as want compelled them, in small parties, and often perishing from hunger. A fact which captain Franklin records, affords a striking instance of their wretched lives and precarious existence, as well as of the callousness of feeling which they produce.

"In March, some Chipewyan hunters attached to the expedition, who had been absent since Christmas, returned to Fort Franklin with their families, and brought with them a Dog-Rib girl, about twelve years old, who had been deserted by her tribe. When they found her, she was in the last stage of weakness from famine, sitting by the expiring embers of a fire, and but for their timely appearance, death must soon have ended her sufferings. They fed and clothed her, and waited until she gained strength to accompany them. The wretches who had abandoned the poor creature, were on their way to a fishing station, which they knew to be very productive, and not above a day's march distant. She was unable to keep the pace at which they chose to proceed, and having no near relation but an aged aunt, who could not assist her, they left her at an encampment without any food. The hunters met this party of Indians about a month afterwards, when they were living in abundance. The girl, by that time, had perfectly recovered her strength, and they desired that she should be restored to them, but the hunters firmly resisted their importunity, and one of them adopted her as his own child. It is singular, that she was the only female of the tribe that could be called good looking. Her Indian name was Aton-larree, which the interpreter translated Burnt-weed. When the Indians came to the fort, I took the first opportunity of their being assembled in the hall, to send for the hunters and their wives, and to reward them by a substantial present of clothing and ammunition. I also gave them some neat steel instruments, consisting of gimblets and other useful articles, which they were desired to preserve, and show to other Indians, as a testimony of our approbation of their humanity. A present was also bestowed upon the girl, and then the Dog-Ribs were addressed as to their unfeeling conduct towards her. They listened quietly, and merely stated her weakness as the cause. There is little doubt but that the transactions of this day, were canvassed afterwards, and it is to be hoped that the knowledge of our sentiments gaining circulation, may induce a discontinuance of their inhuman practices."

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its death, and continued to press the child against her bosom. As soon, however, as she perceived that life had fled, she cast herself on the floor in agony, heightened by the consciousness of having delayed to seek relief till too late, and by apprehension of the anger of her husband, who was dotingly attached to the child. The Indians evinced their participation in her affliction, by silence, and a strong expression of pity in their countenances. At the dawn of day, the poor creature, though almost exhausted by her ceaseless lamentation, carried the body across the lake for interment."

To the occupations of the party, occasional amusements were added, especially during the long winter evenings; a school was opened three times a week, and the men attached to the expedition were taught by the officers; Dr. Richardson delivered a weekly course of lectures on geology; the hall of the large building was thrown open for the men to play any game they chose, being always cheerfully joined by the officers; dances, enlivened by the music of a violin and bag-pipes, were frequent; and at Christmas and New-Year the festivities were as good humoured, lively and gay, as if the travellers had been sporting around their own firesides. It is not indeed often that a party so various in language and manners meet under the same roof—there were Englishmen, Highlanders, Canadians, Esquimaux, Indians, and hunters; and English, Gaelic, French and Indian were indiscriminately heard, from the lips of those who were engaged in the same innocent revels.

On the 15th of June, the new boat, named the *Reliance*, of similar dimensions to the *Lion*, the largest of those brought from England, was launched; and on Saturday, the 24th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the whole party set sail on Bear lake river. They pursued their course down the Mackenzie, as captain Franklin had done with his small party the preceding summer, until they arrived at point Separation, the commencement of the delta, where the two divisions were to part, the one to explore the western, and the other the eastern coast. After dividing the stores and equipments between them, and each being fully provided for a voyage of three months, captain Franklin and lieutenant Back embarked with fourteen men, including Augustus, the excellent Esquimaux interpreter, in the *Lion* and *Reliance*, on the western channel, leaving Dr. Richardson and lieutenant Kendall, with the other Esquimaux and nine men, to pursue their voyage down the eastern outlet.

Captain Franklin reached the ocean, on the 7th of July, and on the same day fell in with the Esquimaux for the first time. A large body or tribe of this nation, which dwelt on the eastern bank of the Mackenzie, had passed over for the purpose of fishing, and were now encamped on the sea shore. They appear never before to have seen a white man, and at first were disposed to hold a friendly intercourse. Every effort was made to conciliate and keep on the best terms with them, by prudent beha-

viour, kind language, and numerous presents. Augustus, the Esquimaux attached to the expedition, understood their language, except in a few instances, it being only a different dialect of his own; indeed, they resembled strongly, and in all prominent points, the other tribes of Esquimaux, who had been visited and described by captain Parry. Accident, however, brought to their knowledge the quantity and variety of articles, highly valuable to them, which were in the boats, and which had been prudently concealed; they became immediately so inflamed with a desire to possess them, that they at once proceeded to attack and rob the boats, and concerted a plan for the murder of the whole party. This was completely frustrated by the admirable conduct of the commander, which is above all praise, and presents, in our opinion, an instance of one of the most prudent and benevolent, as well as successful interviews with a tribe of hostile savages, we have ever met with. The behaviour of his noble little interpreter is not less praiseworthy, and his speech to the plunderers is an admirable specimen of native logic, eloquence, and courage. We shall give our readers an extract, which though long, will not, we are sure, in the least fatigue them.

"The water had now ebbed so far, that it was not knee deep at the boats, and the younger men wading in crowds around us, tried to steal every thing within their reach; slyly, however, and with so much dexterity, as almost to escape detection. The moment this disposition was manifested, I directed the crews not to suffer any one to come alongside, and desired Augustus to tell two chiefs, who remained seated in the Lion, that the noise and confusion occasioned by the crowd around the boats, greatly impeded our exertions; and that if they would go on shore and leave us for the present, we would hereafter return from the ship, which we expected to meet near this part of the coast, with a more abundant supply of goods. They received this communication with much apparent satisfaction, and jumping out of the boats, repeated the speech aloud to their companions. From the general exclamation of '*teyma*' which followed, and from perceiving many of the elderly men retire to a distance, I conceived that they acquiesced in the propriety of the suggestion, and that they were going away; but I was much deceived. They only retired to concert a plan of attack, and returned in a short time, shouting some words which Augustus could not make out. He soon however discovered their import, by two of the three chiefs who were on board the Reliance, jumping out, and with the others who hurried to their assistance, dragging her towards the south shore of the river.

"As soon as I perceived this, I directed the Lion's crew to endeavour to follow her; but our boat remained fast, until the Esquimaux lent their aid, and dragged her after the Reliance. Two of the most powerful men jumped on board at the same time, seized me by the wrists, and forced me to sit between them; and as I shook them loose two or three times, a third Esquimaux took his station in front, to catch my arm whenever I attempted to lift my gun, or the broad dagger which hung by my side. The whole way to the shore, they kept repeating the word '*teyma*,' beating gently my left breast with their hands, and pressing mine against their breasts. As we reached the beach, two oomiaks full of women arrived, and the '*teymas*' and vociferations were redoubled. The Reliance was first brought to the shore, and the Lion close to her, a few seconds afterwards. The three men who held me now leaped ashore, and those who had re-

mained in their canoes, taking them out of the water, carried them to a little distance. A numerous party then drawing their knives, and stripping themselves to the waist, ran to the *Reliance*, and having first hauled her as far up as they could, began a regular pillage, handing the articles to the women, who, ranged in a row behind, quickly conveyed them out of sight. Lieutenant Back and his crew strenuously but good humouredly resisted the attack, and rescued many things from their grasp, but they were overpowered by numbers, and had even some difficulty in preserving their arms. One fellow had the audacity to snatch Vivier's knife from his breast, and to cut the buttons from his coat, whilst three stout Esquimaux surrounded lieutenant Back with uplifted daggers, and were incessant in their demands for whatever attracted their attention, especially the anchor buttons which he wore on his waistcoat. In this juncture, a young chief coming to his aid, drove the assailants away. In their retreat they carried off a writing desk and cloak, which the chief rescued, and then seating himself on lieutenant Back's knee, he endeavoured to persuade his countrymen to desist, by vociferating '*teyma, teyma,*' and was indeed very active in saving whatever he could from their depredations. The *Lion* had hitherto been beset by smaller numbers, and her crew, by firmly keeping their seats on the cover spread over the cargo, and by beating the natives off with the but-ends of their muskets, had been able to prevent any article of importance from being carried away. But as soon as I perceived that the work of plunder was going on so actively in the *Reliance*, I went with Augustus to assist in repressing the tumult; and our bold and active little interpreter rushed among the crowd on shore, and harangued them on their treacherous conduct, until he was actually hoarse. In a short time, however, I was summoned back, for the Esquimaux had now commenced in earnest to plunder the *Lion*, and on my return, I found the sides of the boat lined with men as thick as they could stand, brandishing their knives in the most furious manner, and attempting to seize every thing that was moveable, whilst another party was ranged on the outside, ready to bear away the stolen goods. The *Lion's* crew still kept their seats, but as it was impossible for so small a number to keep off such a formidable and determined body, several articles were carried off. Our principal object was to prevent the loss of the arms, oars, or masts, or any thing on which the continuance of the voyage, or our personal safety depended. Many attempts were made to purloin the box containing the astronomical instruments, and Duncan, after thrice rescuing it from their hands, made it fast to his leg with a cord, determined that they should drag him away also, if they took it.

"The struggle was now beginning to assume a more serious complexion, when on a sudden the whole of the Esquimaux fled, and hid themselves behind the drift timber and canoes on the beach. It appears that by the exertions of the crew, the *Reliance* was again afloat, and lieutenant Back, judging that this was the proper moment for more active interference, directed his men to level their muskets, and had thus produced the sudden panic. The *Lion* happily floated soon after, and both were retiring from the beach, when the Esquimaux having recovered from their consternation, put their kayacks in the water, and were preparing to follow us; but I desired Augustus to say that I would shoot the first man who came within range of our muskets, which prevented them.

"It was now about eight o'clock in the evening, and we had been engaged in this harassing contest for several hours, yet the only things of importance which they had carried off, were the mess canteens and kettles, a tent, a bale containing some blankets and shoes, one of the men's bags, and the gib sails. The other articles they took, could well be spared, and they would in fact have been distributed among them, had they remained quiet. The place to which the boats were dragged, is designated as Pillage point.

"I was now determined, however, to keep them at bay, and to convince them, if they made any further attempts to annoy us, that our forbearance arose from good will, and not from the want of power to punish them. We had not gone above a quarter of a mile from Pillage point, when our boats again took the ground, at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the shore; and, having ascertained by the men wading in every direction, that there was no deeper

water, we made the boats fast side by side, and remained in that situation five hours.

"Shortly after the boats had been secured, seven or eight of the natives walked along the beach, and, carrying on a conversation with Augustus, invited him to a conference on shore. I was at first very unwilling to permit him to go, but the brave little fellow entreated so earnestly, that I would suffer him to land and reprove the Esquimaux for their conduct, that I at length consented, and the more readily, on seeing that the young chief who had acted in so friendly a manner, was among the number on the beach. By the time that Augustus reached the shore, the number of Esquimaux amounted to forty; and we watched with great anxiety, the animated conversation he carried on with them. On his return, he told us that its purport was as follows:—'Your conduct,' said he, 'has been very bad, and unlike all other Esquimaux. Some of you even stole from me, your countryman, but that I do not mind; I only regret, that you should have treated in this violent manner, the white people who came solely to do you kindness. My tribe were in the same unhappy state in which you now are, before the white people came to Churchill, but at present they are supplied with every thing they need, and you see that I am well clothed; I get all that I want, and am very comfortable. You cannot expect, after the transactions of this day, that these people will ever bring goods to your country again, unless you show contrition, by returning the stolen goods. The white people love the Esquimaux, and wish to show them the same kindness that they bestow upon the Indians: do not deceive yourselves, and suppose that they are afraid of you; I tell you they are not, and that it is entirely owing to their humanity that many of you were not killed to-day; for they have all guns with which they can destroy you, whether near or at a distance. I also have a gun, and can assure you, that if a white man had fallen, I would have been the first to revenge his death.'

"The veracity of Augustus was beyond all question with us; such a speech delivered in a circle of forty armed men, was a remarkable instance of personal courage. We could perceive by the shouts of applause with which they filled the pauses in his harangue, that they assented to his arguments, and he told us that they had expressed great sorrow for having given us so much cause for offence, and pleaded, in mitigation of their conduct, that they had never seen white people before; that every thing in our possession was so new and so desirable, that they could not resist the temptation of stealing; and begged him to assure us that they never would do the like again, for they were anxious to be on terms of friendship with us, that they might partake of the benefits which his tribe derived from their intercourse with the white people. I told Augustus to put their sincerity to the test, by desiring them to bring back a large kettle and the tent, which they did, together with some shoes, having sent for them to the island whither they had been conveyed. After this act of restitution, Augustus requested to be permitted to join a dance to which they had invited him, and he was for upwards of an hour engaged in dancing and singing with all his might, in the midst of a company who were all armed with knives, bows, and arrows. He afterwards told us, that he was much delighted in finding that the words of the song, and the different attitudes of the dances, were precisely similar to those used in his own country, when a friendly meeting took place with strangers.

"This account would be incomplete, without mentioning some communications made to us in the month of August following. We then learned that the Esquimaux were actuated by the most friendly feelings towards us, until one of them, accidentally discovering what the boats contained, proposed to the younger men to pillage them. This suggestion was buzzed about, and led to the conference of the old men, when I desired them to go away, in which the robbery was decided upon, and a pretty general wish expressed that it should be attended with the total massacre of the whole party. Providentially, a few suggested the impropriety of including Augustus, and for a reason which could scarcely have been imagined. 'If we kill him,' said they, 'no more white people will visit our lands, and we shall lose the opportunity of getting another supply of their

valuable goods; but if we spare him, he can be sent back with a story we shall invent, to induce another party of white people to come among us.' This argument prevailed at the time; but, after the interviews with Augustus at the dance, they retired to their island, where they were so much inflamed by the sight of the valuable articles which they had obtained, that they all, without exception, regretted they had allowed us to escape. While in this frame of mind, a very artful plan was laid for the destruction of the party, including Augustus, whom they conceived to be so firmly attached to us, that it was in vain to attempt to win him to their cause. Through the blessing of Providence, their scheme was frustrated."

The expedition had not proceeded many miles farther along the coast, when they met with another encampment of Esquimaux. With these they held the most friendly and peaceable communication for two days, Augustus becoming perfectly domesticated among them, and passing the night at their tents. They received the presents offered to them with great delight, purchased fish-hooks, awls, rings, &c. which they hung about their persons as ornaments, sat with the utmost complacency to have their pictures taken, and promised to give their aid against any attack that might be threatened by the adjoining tribe. They seem to be farther advanced in the arts necessary for subsistence and comfort, than the Indians among whom the expedition wintered; and their houses, which are built of driftwood, appeared extremely close and warm.

The party now pushed forward along the coast, with great industry, cultivating as occasion served, a friendly intercourse with the natives whom they met from time to time, and making their astronomical, geographical and scientific observations, with the utmost regularity and care. This attention, indeed, renders captain Franklin's narrative invaluable, and though the great object of the expedition be not completely attained, the results thus acquired fully compensate, for the labour, expense, and time bestowed on it. The coast proved to be much more unfavourable to the rapid prosecution of their voyage, than might have been expected. On account of the lowness and shallowness of the shores, fields of ice, not indeed very lofty, or large, but still effectually impeding navigation, stretched so far out, and were intersected by such narrow channels, as constantly to force the boats aground, or compel the crews to draw them from one pool to another. Whether on this account it might not have been found more useful to stretch farther out to sea, we are not prepared to say, but certainly there seems nothing in the narrative to contradict a belief, that a more open and regular passage would there have been obtained. Fogs, too, were more than usually prevalent during this summer, and greatly impeded the progress of the expedition. The coast was low and swampy, extending in a perfect flat for a considerable distance inland, to the base of the Rocky mountains, which rose in detached ridges, presenting peaks of great sharpness and irregularity of outline, covered for

the most part with snow. A range of small islands, generally mud banks elevated fifteen or twenty feet above the water, extended parallel with the shore, and the innumerable reefs which ran out from them, were obstacles at once unavoidable and dangerous.

On the 31st of July, in longitude 141° W., the expedition passed point Demarcation, the boundary between the British and Russian dominions on the northern coast of America. This point seemed to be much resorted to by the Esquimaux, as many winter houses and several large stages were found there, on which bundles of seal and deer skins, and snow shoes netted with cords of deer skin, similar to those used by the Indians on the Mackenzie, were deposited. Three days after, they saw several other huts, and sledges lying near them, which indicated a recent encampment, but they met with no human beings. On the 4th, however, as they doubled point Manning, they descried a collection of tents planted on a low island, with many oomiacks, kaiyacks and dogs around them. The Esquimaux being fast asleep, Augustus was desired to hail them, and after two or three loud calls, a female appeared in a state of nudity; after a few seconds, she called out to her husband, who awoke at the first sound of her voice, and shouted out that strangers were close at hand; the alarm was instantly caught, and the whole space between the tents and the water was in a few minutes covered with armed, though naked men. It is easier to imagine than describe the consternation and wonder of the people, thus suddenly roused from sleep, to behold a race of beings so different in appearance, of whose existence they had never heard. Captain Franklin had the boats rowed immediately towards the shore, and Augustus informed the savages, who the strangers that had so unexpectedly appeared before them, were, and the purpose of their visit; the information was received with a burst of acclamation and an immediate invitation to land. This, however, was prudently declined, from the number of persons assembled, their state of evident excitement and surprise, the temptations and opportunities to steal which would be afforded them, and the impossibility of furnishing so many, with the presents and articles they would desire. Four kaiyacks, however, were allowed to come along side, and presents were given to the men, with which they were highly delighted, and when the boats left them, they loudly vociferated the usual cry of *teyma, teyma*, the signal of friendship. It appeared from the information gained in this short interview, that this tribe inhabited the shore farther east, and that they had come to the present place of encampment, for the purpose of meeting a tribe of western Esquimaux, and exchanging the furs &c., they had collected, for iron, beads, and other articles, which the latter obtained, they said, from some "Kabloon-

act" (white people) who resided far to the west. From the circumstance, that the articles he saw were not of British manufacture, and very unlike those sold by the Hudson Bay company to the Indians, captain Franklin thought there was no doubt they were obtained from the Russian fur traders, who receive in return all the furs collected on the northern coast; indeed part of the Russian iron work is conveyed to the Esquimaux, dwelling on the coast east of the Mackenzie.

On the 17th of August, forty days after their departure from the Mackenzie, they had sailed 374 miles, and extended their discoveries to cape Beechey, in latitude  $70^{\circ} 24' N.$ , longitude  $149^{\circ} 37' W.$ , only one hundred and sixty miles from the point to which the boat of the Blossom penetrated from the Pacific in the same month. Of this, however, captain Franklin was ignorant, and the lateness of the season, the extreme difficulty of the passage, and the impossibility of wintering on that wild coast, warned him to return. It now wanted but nineteen days of the time when they had last year gone into winter-quarters, and they had to make a journey which had just occupied fifty-four days, with, in all probability, much more favourable weather. There was no nearer spot than Fort Franklin, at which any stores had been collected or preparations made for their reception. The Esquimaux had disappeared, none of their winter habitations had been for some time seen, and if they could be met with, it was almost certain that neither their means nor disposition would lead them to supply so large a party for ten months. No time was to be lost, for the signs of winter were rapidly appearing, the thermometer sunk to  $37^{\circ}$ , ice of considerable thickness formed at night, the wild geese had commenced their flights to the south, and the deer only waited the first fall of snow, to hasten from the inhospitable shore. On the 18th of August, therefore, captain Franklin reluctantly, but very prudently, began to retrace his steps towards the east, and in thirteen days he again reached the mouth of the Mackenzie. Whether this greater celerity in passing over the same route, arose from their not finding it necessary to stop so frequently, from their more accurate knowledge of the channels, from the ice being broken off from the shores, or from the prevalence of westerly winds, is not mentioned; nor is any thing said of the existence of a current from the west, though this and other circumstances strongly incline us to believe it was no trifling cause of the rapidity of their return. In all his observations on the tide, captain Franklin never could satisfactorily determine in what direction the flood made. On the 21st of September, the whole party reached Fort Franklin in good health.

Dr. Richardson and lieutenant Kendall, in the boats Union and Dolphin, after parting with their companions at point Separation, on the 4th of July 1826, took their course along the east-

ern outlet of the Mackenzie; they passed the sacred island of the Esquimaux, where they found many corpses wrapped in skins, and loosely covered with drift wood, their heads laid towards the west; and got into brackish water on the 7th, where the channel widened into a sound between Richard's island and the main. On a point of the former, they discovered four or five Esquimaux tents, with several skin canoes lying on the beach. The natives made several attempts, as in the case of captain Franklin to rob the boats, and showed much dexterity in stealing and secreting different articles; they displayed, however, none or little of the ferocity of the western tribe, and seemed anxious to get what they could from perceiving its value, being attracted by its novelty, or excited by wonder and curiosity, which were excessive; when they were detected they cheerfully returned the article taken, laughing at their own want of skill; and they were not unwilling to barter even their weapons, for beads, copper-kettles, and fire-steels. Their language, with some variations, was the same as that used on Melville peninsula, and on the farthest coast where they were seen by Franklin. They were much delighted with the idea of trading with the whites, all their commerce being confined to a slight intercourse with the Indian tribes, a short distance up the Mackenzie. They displayed considerable tact in their commerce; perfect justice in their intercourse with each other; no form of government whatever; great curiosity in general, and especially relative to the construction and navigation of the boats, which they quickly comprehended; a kindness and indulgence uncommon among savages, to their women, who dressed carefully, and spared no pains to ornament their persons; a fondness for building and dwelling in villages; and social habits, and a readiness to adopt the customs of civilized life, far beyond the Indians. All this Dr. Richardson very justly attributes to the necessity of associating in numbers for the capture of the whale, and collecting large stores in particular places for support, during their long winters.

"The females," says Dr. Richardson, "unlike those of the Indian tribes, had much handsomer features than the men; and one young woman would have been deemed pretty, even in Europe. Our presents seemed to render them perfectly happy, and they danced with such ecstasy in their slender boats, as to incur more than once great hazard of being upset. A bundle of strings of beads being thrown into an oomiak, it was caught by an old woman, who hugged the treasure to her breast with the fondest expression of rapture, while another elderly dame, who had stretched out her arms in vain, became the very picture of despair. On my explaining, however, that the present was for the whole, an amicable division instantly took place; and to show their gratitude, they sang a song to a pleasing air, keeping time with their oars. They gave us many pressing invitations to pass the night at their tents, in which they were joined by the men; and to excite our liberality, the mothers drew their children out of their wide boots, where they are accustomed to carry them naked, and holding them up, begged beads for them. Their entreaties were, for a time, successful;



but being desirous of getting clear of our visitors before breakfast time, we at length told them that our stock was exhausted, and they took leave.

"These Esquimaux were as inquisitive as the others we had seen, respecting our names, and were very desirous of teaching us the true pronunciation of theirs. They informed us that they had seen Indians, and had heard of white people, but had never seen any before. My giving a little deer's meat to one of them, in exchange for fish, led to an inquiry as to how we killed the animal. On which Ooglibuck showed them his gun, and, obtaining permission, fired it off, after cautioning them not to be alarmed. The report astonished them much, and an echo from some neighbouring pieces of ice, made them think that the ball had struck the shore, then upwards of a mile distant. The women had left us previously; several of the men departed the instant they heard the report, and the rest in a short time followed their example. They applied to the gun the same name they give to their harpoons for killing whales."

On Atkinson island, in longitude 130° 43' W. they discovered a village of seventeen deserted winter houses, erected by the natives, under the shelter of a row of sand-hills, and among them a large building which Dr. Richardson thought was a sort of council house, but which, we think with more probability, Ooglibuck (the Esquimaux sailor) considered as an eating room, though he said his tribe erected no such buildings. As they appeared to have no chiefs, nor any regular form of government, it may perhaps have been, either a large store-house, or place for preparing blubber for winter, which is confirmed by the circumstance, that the skulls of a number of whales were found around it, and not elsewhere. The form of the larger dwelling-houses is thus described :—

"The centre is a square of ten feet, having a level flooring with a post at each corner to support the ridge poles on which the roof rests. The recesses on each side are intended for sleeping places. Their floors have a gentle inclination inwards, and are raised a foot above the central flooring. Their back walls are a foot high, and incline outwards like the back of a chair. The ridge poles are six feet above the floor, the roof being flat over the centre, and sloping over the recesses. The inside of the building is lined with split wood, and the outside is strongly but roughly built of logs, the whole being covered with earth. An inclined platform forms the ascent to the door, which is in the middle of one of the recesses, and four feet high, and the threshold being on a level with the central flooring, is raised three feet above the surrounding ground, to guard against inundations. There is a square hole in the roof intended for ventilation, or for an occasional entrance. As we observed no fire places in these dwellings, it is probable that they are heated, and the cookery performed, in winter, with lamps. Some of the houses were built front to front, with a very narrow passage between them, leading to the doors which were opposite to each other. This passage must form a snug porch in the winter, when it is covered with slabs of frozen snow, and one end stopped up. Some of the larger houses which stood single, had log porches to shelter their doors; and near each, there was a square or oblong pit, four feet beneath the surface of the ground, lined and covered with drift timber, evidently intended for a store house. The large building for an assembly room was in the interior a square of twenty-seven feet, having the log roof supported on two strong ridge poles, two feet apart, and resting on four upright posts. The floor in the centre, formed of split logs, dressed and laid with great care, was surrounded by a raised border about three feet wide, which was no doubt meant for seats. The walls, three feet high, were inclined outwards for the convenience of leaning the back against them, and the ascent to the door which was on the south side, was formed of logs. The outside, covered with

earth, had nearly a hemispherical form, and round its base were ranged the skulls of twenty-one whales. There was a square hole in the roof, and the central log of the floor had a basin-shaped cavity, one foot in diameter, which was perhaps intended for a lamp. The general attention to comfort in the construction of the village, and the erection of a building of such magnitude, requiring an union of purpose, in a considerable number of people, are evidences of no small progress towards civilization. Whale skulls were confined to the large building, and to one of the dwelling-houses, which had three or four placed round it. Many wooden trays, and hand-barrows for carrying whale blubber, were lying on the ground, most of them in a state of decay."

There is a striking resemblance in the general form of these dwellings, to those of the Esquimaux of Melville peninsula, as described by captain Parry; both having the central room and the four projecting recesses. They differ, however, in shape, those being circular, and these square. These, too, appear to be built with much more skill, and above all, are of wood, in the preparation of which considerable care has been bestowed, while those of the more eastern tribes, it may be remembered, are constructed of snow.

The party continued to navigate along the shore, passing by a number of islands, between which were the outlets of a very large lake, extending, as was supposed on good grounds, a hundred and forty miles to the south, and communicating with the Mackenzie, and other rivers of the interior. They also passed the mouths of several large streams, but the direction of the coast continued towards the north-east, until they reached cape Bathurst, in longitude  $127^{\circ} 35' W.$ , which was the most northerly point of America reached by the expedition, being in latitude  $70^{\circ} 30'$ , a few miles farther north than the Return reef of captain Franklin. From cape Bathurst the general direction of the coast was south-east, all the way to the Coppermine river, which they reached on the 8th of August, exactly one month from the day they left the mouth of the Mackenzie, and after having traversed, by the route they pursued, nine hundred and two statute miles. They were never materially obstructed by the ice, and when they were, it arose from their being compelled to keep close in shore, along which sheets are constantly driven by the wind, and where it remains long aground; but out at sea, during the whole voyage, there appeared nothing to impede the navigation of large vessels. Opposite Coronation gulf, the estuary of Coppermine river, runs an extensive coast, named Wollaston land, which it was supposed might extend to the north as far as Banks's land, or unite with some part of the shores of Barrow's strait. It appears to us probable, however, that there is a large archipelago occupying the unexplored space between Melville peninsula on the east, the Georgian islands on the north, and the sea explored by the present expedition on the west, through

ty shortly after landed at Portsmouth, with the exception of two individuals who had died, one by consumption, and the other by being drowned accidentally on the return from Bear lake.

Having thus given a rapid outline of this expedition, though indeed without being able to do sufficient justice, either to the skill and intelligence displayed in its conduct, or the information to be derived from it, we shall only detain our readers, while we note down a few observations that have occurred to us in perusing the narrative, not with an intention of forming any particular theory, but merely for the purpose of pointing out some circumstances which appear to us particularly deserving of notice.

Most of the views expressed in the former article, have been confirmed, we think, by the discoveries of captain Franklin. They render the existence of a north-west passage no longer a matter of doubt, and establish conclusively the practicability of its ultimate accomplishment. They have reduced the distance of coast not actually surveyed, and laid down from fifteen hundred to six hundred miles. They have proved the polar sea to be free from ice, for a very considerable length of time, indeed for a much longer season than could have been supposed, and far more than sufficient for a vessel to run from the Pacific to the bays of the Atlantic. They show that it is free from icebergs of the large size, which were so frequently met with by captain Parry, in the more eastern seas; that it is thickly inhabited by whales, at least for several months, which, it is known, can only exist in an open sea; that even where the shores run far to the north, as at cape Bathurst, the ocean beyond remains perfectly clear; and that in fact the sole obstacles to a passage, are found in the large masses of ice which are collected about the narrow straits at its extremities—these once passed, navigation is open, and apparently not dangerous. It is evident that a very slight change in the arrangements made for captain Franklin, would have enabled him to reach the Pacific. Had the Blossom been directed to winter at Icy cape, instead of returning to the south, he would without doubt have reached her, for the weather continued perfectly favourable for a time longer than was necessary for a voyage from cape Beechey to that cape; he saw nothing before him to impede his progress; and it was only the distance from Fort Franklin, and the uncertainty of meeting the Blossom, that obliged him to retrace his steps. We look upon this as a decided error in the arrangements of the British government.

We observe nothing in this narrative to confirm our observations relative to an easterly current, unless it is the fact of the much greater rapidity of captain Franklin's return from cape Beechey, than his voyage to that point, and that Dr. Richardson passed over a greater space in a time considerably less; there is

however nothing to oppose the strong arguments we have adduced; and the circumstance of its not being observed by the present expedition, may, and probably did arise, from their navigation being confined to the flats along shore.

The Esquimaux on this coast are intelligent, disposed to be friendly, and, after a slight intercourse, would be found serviceable in assisting and providing the expeditions along the coast, while the posts of the Hudson Bay company have approached so near, as to be capable of affording much aid; Fort Good Hope is only two hundred miles from the ocean, and Fort Enterprise still less. Indeed one cannot fail being struck with the singular fact, that, while the trading companies have approached so near, they have so long left this coast unexplored, and kept the world in such complete ignorance of all that region of country.

The whole beach is plentifully supplied with drift wood for fuel, and the erection of dwellings where necessary; there are numerous streams of fresh water pouring in all along; and in several bays, eastward of the Mackenzie, safe harbours may be found for wintering, or refitting the vessels.

These facts, we think, establish fully the possibility of navigating successfully the polar basin; the only question is as to the mode of doing it to most advantage. To do this, we think, that, in the first place, a party similar to that of captain Franklin should be sent out to Fort Churchill, where they might carry directly, in one of the vessels of the Hudson Bay company, complete equipments and stores, and arrive in season to winter at some convenient post, similar to Fort Franklin, perhaps at the head of Chesterfield inlet, or Wager river. From there, they might pursue their route the following summer, to the sea opposite Repulse bay, and coasting along the shore to cape Turnagain, return by Back's river, making a journey of less distance than that performed by Dr. Richardson; or still more easily by commencing from Back's river, and proceeding eastward, they might reach Melville peninsula, cross and embark in a vessel sent out to meet them, by the first of September, three weeks earlier than captain Parry found it necessary to leave the same seas. Or perhaps the whole survey might be accomplished in a single season, by sending out a party with boats and every thing prepared, who should reach Repulse bay by the 10th of July, ten days later than the ice broke up there in 1822, and proceed thence across the peninsula, which is not more than two days' journey: from this place to Coppermine river, is not so far as the voyage made by Dr. Richardson, and they might safely calculate on reaching it by the 20th of August, and, pursuing his route over land and across Bear lake, arrive at Fort Norman, or Fort Franklin, before winter set in. This survey being made and accurately laid down, a navigator would have full confidence

in entering Behring's straits, which he should be prepared to do by the middle of August, when captain Franklin not only found the ice broken up within the sphere of vision, but a heavy swell rolling from the northward, and indicating a sea unincumbered either by islands or ice. As there is some doubt as to the depth of water, his vessel should be one of small draught, though strongly built, (indeed we never could see the use of such large vessels and numerous crews as captain Parry had,) which, while it would have an advantage over captain Franklin's boats, in the comfort and security it afforded the men, as well as in its strength to resist the dangers of sea and ice, would not be stopped by narrow and shallow channels; perhaps the use of a steam vessel, with her wheels fixed in the stern, might not be found impracticable. Two or three weeks would probably bring this vessel to Melville peninsula, or cape Garry; but should any unforeseen obstacle arise, she might winter at the mouth of Coppermine river, being supplied from the contiguous posts of the Hudson Bay company.

The narrative of the Expedition is followed by an Appendix, containing some very well written and highly interesting scientific notices by Dr. Richardson, and a number of useful tables of observations by him, captain Franklin, and the other officers of the party. These are well worthy of a minute examination; we have room however here, for nothing more than one or two incidents which appear to us particularly striking.

In the geological notice, Dr. Richardson remarks that the whole country north of the St. Lawrence is divided into three portions; by the Rocky mountains towards the western side of the continent, and by a range seven hundred miles east of them, in latitude  $50^{\circ}$ , but gradually approaching them as it runs north, until it terminates towards the shores of the Polar ocean, leaving the intermediate valley very narrow. These ridges are both primitive, and between them flows the Mackenzie, through a secondary formation. We are led to notice this particularly, because exactly the same general arrangement is pursued through the United States. The Eastern primitive range, crosses the St. Lawrence, and spreading to considerable width in New-England and the north part of New-York, diminishing in the middle states, but again enlarged as it proceeds southward, forms the eastern boundary of the vast secondary basin, corresponding to that of the Mackenzie, through which the Mississippi flows, and which again in like manner is bounded by the Rocky mountains on the west. This general similarity in the geological features of the continent, north and south of the St. Lawrence, has however led Dr. Richardson into an error, which it is well to correct; following the authority of Dr. Bigsby, he supposes that the eastern primitive range, after crossing the St. Lawrence,

"joins with the Alleghanies and their southern continuations." This is a mistake; the Alleghany mountains consist entirely of transition rocks; the primitive region lies considerably to the east, until it reaches the state of Virginia, and then only joins the Blue ridge, a low, and the most eastern range of them.

From a table of the duration and direction of the winds, kept at Fort Franklin from October to April 1825-6, and from October to January, 1826-7, it appears that north-westerly winds prevailed one third of the whole time, and that next to them, south-easterly winds were much the most frequent. During those eleven months, snow fell seventy-one days.

A register of the temperature and seasons, made at the same place, presents some curious phenomena. The mean heat in the shade during the summer was greater than would probably be supposed, being  $50^{\circ}.40$ ; and a series of observations on solar radiation, may fix the additional heat at mid-day at  $20^{\circ}$  more; the mean temperature of the spring was found to be  $14^{\circ}.43$ , of autumn  $22^{\circ}$ , and of winter  $16^{\circ}.81$  below zero. At Carlton House, a post of the Hudson Bay company, in latitude  $52^{\circ} 51'$ , or about 860 miles farther south, the mean temperature of the spring months was found to be  $29^{\circ}.86$ . At Fort Franklin, by the twentieth of October, the brown ducks, (*anas fusca*,) the last birds, had taken flight, the smaller trees were nearly frozen through, the Great Bear lake began to freeze, and the sun was less than nine hours above the horizon. On the 22d of December, the day had shortened to two hours and thirty-eight minutes; and the refraction of the atmosphere was occasionally so great, as to give many objects in the horizon an inverted position. On the 17th of March it began first to thaw; on the 31st the willows were observed to swell; on the 17th of April a house-fly was seen in the open air; on the 6th of May swans arrived; on the 17th the forests were enlivened by the notes of singing birds; and on the 20th the streams broke their icy fetters, and the days had become nineteen hours long. The intensity of cold was found to operate sensibly on the transmission of sound through the atmosphere, and after a variety of experiments, the retardation was fixed at 1.167 feet for every degree of decrease of Fahrenheit's thermometer when below the freezing point, and the mean velocity at that point, 1118.5 feet per second.

The magnetic variation is very minutely recorded; the least observed, along the northern coast, was at Return reef, where it was only  $41^{\circ} 20'$  E., and the greatest near Parry's point, where it amounted to  $56^{\circ} 33'$  E. It had increased  $15^{\circ}$  at the mouth of the Mackenzie, since it was observed there by Sir A. Mackenzie, in 1789, which is an average of  $25'$  a year. Contrary to the observations of captains Parry and Foster, in Prince Regent's inlet, the needle was found to be strongly influenced by the Auro-

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The magnetic variation is very minutely recorded; the least observed, along the northern coast, was at Return reef, where it was only  $41^{\circ} 20'$  E., and the greatest near Parry's point, where it amounted to  $56^{\circ} 33'$  E. It had increased  $15^{\circ}$  at the mouth of the Mackenzie, since it was observed there by Sir A. Mackenzie, in 1789, which is an average of  $25'$  a year. Contrary to the observations of captains Parry and Foster, in Prince Regent's inlet, the needle was found to be strongly influenced by the Auro-



ra Borealis, especially when it was very vivid, exhibiting the prismatic colours, and darting rapid streams of light; but it ought to be recollected, that the appearance of the Aurora at port Bowen was seldom or never thus accompanied, and that its corruscations and brilliancy are by no means increased in a very high northern latitude.

In concluding our remarks on the valuable scientific observations, made during this expedition, we cannot avoid recording two circumstances, which appear to possess some interest, the result of a perusal of the volume before us, and some reflections on the subjects of which it treats. So far as we can perceive, they have not occurred to the intelligent travellers themselves, nor do we recollect to have seen them noticed, in any work of science that has fallen under our observation.

The first of these relates to the shallowness of the ocean around the pole. The truth of this fact, as we have already mentioned, has been pretty fully ascertained in the previous voyages to the northern seas. The observations of captain Franklin and Dr. Richardson confirm it, as far as they went, and it is understood that captain Beechey noticed it, to the same extent that Cook and Kotzebue had done before him. Now it appears to us, that this is a phenomenon, not confined merely to the shores and outlets, but one that will be found to pervade the whole polar basin, to a greater or less degree, and that it is evidently deducible from a great general cause. This cause we take to be the spheroidal figure of our globe; its increased velocity at the equator having had a greater influence on the fluid than the solid portion of the earth, and having thus deprived those regions of their proportion of water, and accumulated it upon the equatorial diameter; and in consequence, the polar regions, in very high latitudes, will probably be found, at all times, in some degree unfavourable to navigation.

The other observation which has occurred to us, is one connected with the astronomical situation of the planet we inhabit. A very extraordinary fact will be observed, in referring to a geographical view of the earth—that the discoveries of navigators have reached to latitudes so much higher in the northern than in the southern regions, while in both they have been only bounded by the same perpetual obstructions of polar ice. Thus in the former, they have extended to  $83^{\circ}$  N., while in the latter they have been limited by about  $72^{\circ}$  S., leaving a difference between them of eleven degrees, or nearly eight hundred miles; within the arctic zone, extensive countries have been explored, but beyond the antarctic circle lies a vast and unknown space. The cause of this is unquestionably to be found in the astronomical fact, that in the annual revolution of the earth round the sun, its northern surface is turned towards him during one hundred and eighty-seven days,

out of three hundred and sixty-five; for the sun enters Aries on the 20th of March, and Libra, not until the 22d of September. The consequence is, that the northern regions enjoy the influence of the solar heat, eight days in every year, longer than those south of the equator. It is hardly necessary to say, that this is accounted for in the elliptical form of the earth's orbit, and that its effect is to render the northern latitudes of the globe, warmer and more habitable than the same southern parallels.

We are not disposed to draw hasty inferences with regard to the designs of Providence, from partial and limited facts, but when we observe the much larger portion of the terrestrial surface, included within the northern hemisphere, this difference of warmth cannot but seem to be a provision, in favour of that part of the globe which is destined for the habitation of mankind, and on which fertility is in consequence more widely diffused; while over those latitudes where earth is wanting, heat is less necessary, and a broad ocean is left open to answer for the purposes of commerce, and as the means of communication between the various collections of the human race. Had this channel been closed to the south, as to the north, by the extension of the continent to the ices which surrounded the poles, how changed would have been the situation of men! how different the intercourse which now exists, and which is destined so much more widely to spread from east to west! how barren and deserted those regions of inhospitable land, that must have occupied the scene of active navigation and profitable enterprise!

It is thus in all the investigations of science, that we are able to trace, not merely in the vast theories resulting from long observation and study, but in the accidental development of facts apparently trifling, the hand of infinite wisdom; to learn, indeed, that all chance is direction which we cannot see; to feel that we are deriving benefits, of which we are ignorant, from causes that are yet unknown; to perceive that discoveries, which we hail with rapture, are only some further views of the great provisions upon which the mighty systems of the universe have been conducted from all previous creation; to expect in this and future states of being, knowledge still more various and extended, powers of acquisition and perception still more vast, and sources of pleasure still more unalloyed; and to indulge not merely from enthusiasm, but from the full conviction of reason, those feelings of gratitude and devotion which are apt, so often, to spring uncalled for from the heart.

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ART. IX.—*Reise Seiner Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, durch Nord-Amerika, in den Jahren 1825 und 1826. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Luden. Weimar, 1828. Travels of his Highness Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, through North-America, in the years 1825 and 1826. Edited by Henry Luden. Weimar, 1828. 2 vols. Royal Octavo, bound in one, xxxii, 317 & 323 pp. With 16 Vignettes, 4 Copperplate Engravings, and 2 Maps.*

THE celebrated Zimmerman, whose charming book upon Solitude has never yet, we believe, prevented a young lady from going to a ball, nor a gentleman to a dinner party, wrote also a treatise upon national pride, in which he proves in the most conclusive manner that this weakness is common to all the nations that exist, or ever existed on the surface of the earth. One alone he excepts from this general condemnation; a singular association of men, differing in this respect from all the rest of the world. And who, do you suppose, gentle reader, is this favoured people? Why, no other than the author's own dear countrymen, the Swiss, whom he thinks to exculpate from the charge of being proud, by proudly asserting their solitary exemption from this common failing of our nature. He could not more effectually have proved the truth of his general proposition.

We are apt to suspect that all mankind are Swiss in this particular, if we judge from the eagerness with which nations seem disposed to fix this charge upon their neighbours, and to repel it from themselves. At most, when we affect to be very candid, we may admit that we are proud; (and who is not, that has a proper feeling of attachment to his country?) but we call *vanity* the same feeling in our fellow men, and we exult in the vast difference that there is between our own dignified pride, and the foolish vanity of others. While the Englishman boasts of his *glorious* roast beef,\* he smiles at other not less childish vanities of the neighbouring nations, while the fact is, that these follies are pretty much equalized throughout the world. But nobody likes to acknowledge this truth as applied to themselves, and this is so true, that in the genuine spirit of a Zimmerman, we cannot, as Americans, resist this opportunity of boasting, that however, in other matters, we may be justly taxed with national vanity, or pride, we have not, at least, yet gone so far as to hold up our culinary preparations to the admiration of the universe. The English have their roast beef and their plum-pudding, the French their *pâtés de Périgord*, the Scotch their *haggis*, and the

\* The *glorious* roast beef of England.—Hall's Travels to Chili and Peru.

Germans their *sour crout* ; but we, alas ! have no *dish* by means of which we may assert our superiority over the rest of mankind. In this, it must be owned, that we have very much degenerated from the dignity of our British ancestors.

Be that as it may, it is certain that we have not escaped, any more than other nations, the charge of national vanity. Amongst other things, it is said that we are most feelingly alive to what is told of us, and of our manners and customs, by travellers from other countries. But those who tax us in this manner, and we believe they are chiefly inhabitants of the British Islands, ought, in the first place, to look at home. They should remember the terrible outcry that was made in all the British Journals, when a certain General Pillet published a picture of that nation, which, to be sure, was by no means a flattering one, and we will go so far as to admit was a shocking caricature ; but not more so, we are sorry to say, than the descriptions which English writers make of other countries, and particularly of our own. There has always been some nation towards whom the English have felt, or affected to feel, a particular dislike, and who were made the objects of their constant satire. Under Elizabeth, it was the Spaniards ; under Cromwell, the Dutch ; afterwards, and for a long time, the French ; but now they have made a truce with their European neighbours, and the full vial of their gall is poured on their American descendants. There seems to be a fixed design in their travellers and journalists, with a very few exceptions, to revile this nation, and degrade it in the eyes of the world. It is but lately, that the Quarterly Review, a British periodical, held in just estimation for the skill and talent with which it is conducted, warned a distinguished traveller, who, it is understood, intends on his return to England, to publish an account of his journeyings through this country, to take care lest he should be influenced by the attentions which he received from our citizens, to paint every thing that he had seen *en couleur de rose*. Can we see these things without some degree of feeling ? Is this not an indirect threat held out to the gentleman to whom we alluded, in case he should be disposed to speak favourably of us ? Is it not as much as telling him that a book on America which should not be strongly spiced with calumny and scandal, would not gratify the taste of a British public ? Why is this cry of *Tally-ho* raised against us ? Why are travellers thus spurred and excited by the most prominent Journals of Great Britain, to slander the American nation ? and why is our kind treatment of an individual made a subject of alarm, lest he should not furnish his expected quota of abuse ? This is as unmanly as it is unjust, and the consequence of it must necessarily be, that whoever shall after this attempt to write about this country, will, unless he possess an extraordinary degree of fortitude,

do it under the influence of *fear* ; for the Quarterly Review is a *power*, which an author in England can seldom resist with impunity.

Fortunately there is no Quarterly Review at Weimar, and the writer of the work before us being the son of the sovereign of the country, has had no fear before his eyes but that of God and the impartial world. Therefore we have a book in which no attempt is made to hold us up to hatred or to ridicule. The author writes as he feels ; he relates or describes all that attracted his observation, at every stage of his long journey through these states ; he makes no general reflections, no invidious comparisons between this and other countries ; he states facts, as they appeared to him, and leaves the world to decide upon their results. When he is pleased, he frankly avows it, and when he is not, he politely abstains from too strong an expression of his feelings. We could not expect less from a man so elevated by his rank in life, as to be far above the views and motives by which ordinary writers are too often influenced, who are always ready to flatter their countrymen at the expense of others, and who think their own opinions of more importance to the world, than the simple facts which they are expected to relate.

Bernard, Duke of Saxe Weimar Eisenach, the author of these travels, is the youngest son of Charles Augustus, the reigning Grand Duke of that small but interesting German Principality. He is connected by marriage with some of the greatest sovereigns of Europe. In the year 1816, he was married to Ida, sister to the reigning Duke of Saxe Meinungen, by whom he has five children. A sister of that Princess is the wife of the Duke of Clarence, presumptive heir to the crown of Great Britain. His own sister is married to Prince Frederick of Prussia, and his elder brother, presumptive heir to his father's Ducal Crown, has taken to wife Maria Pawlowna, sister to the Emperor Nicholas of Russia. With all these brilliant alliances, however, our author has been obliged, like many other younger brothers of princely families, to seek his fortune in foreign service. He served at first under the Emperor Napoleon, and distinguished himself so much at the age of seventeen, that he obtained the cross of the legion of honour on the field of Wagram. He is now in the service of the king of the Netherlands. A strong thirst after knowledge, induced him to obtain a furlough from his sovereign, during which he paid a visit to these United States.

The Grand Duchy of Saxe Weimar, is, as we have already said, a small, but highly interesting Principality. It is called the Athens, and was once the literary capital of Germany, when it could boast of having on its exiguous territory such a constellation of men of genius as never were before collected in one spot. There lived and communed together, Goethe, Wieland, Schiller, Her-

der, Fichte, Musæus, for some time Kotzebue, Salzmann, and several others of the greatest men of the age. They are all, or nearly all, dead. Goethe, however, still survives, at a very advanced age, and alone sustains the high reputation of the court at which he resides, to which travellers flock from all parts of the European continent. By the protection which he thus granted to the muses, the reigning Duke of Saxe Weimar has acquired an immortal fame ; his name will be for ever joined to that of the illustrious men, whom he had the wisdom thus to gather round his throne, while the names of other more powerful princes will be lost in the crowd of sovereigns who have left nothing behind them for which to be remembered by posterity.

In fact the territory of Saxe Weimar is one of the smallest principalities in Europe. It consists of the Dutchy of Weimar proper, situate in the province of Thuringia, in Upper Saxony. It is forty-eight miles in length by twenty-four in breadth ; but within its limits is the celebrated University of Jena, which attests the liberal and enlightened spirit of the sovereigns of that country. To this principality is added a part of the old territory of Altenburg, the town of Ilmenau, in the sovereignty of Henneberg, and the town of Eisenbach, from which the family derive part of their title. We do not know whether any or what additions have been made to these dominions among the changes which took place in Germany in the time of the Emperor Napoleon. We have described them as they were before the period of the French revolution. We believe that if any alteration has taken place since, it cannot have been very considerable.

Whatever may be the extent of his father's dominions, our author is still the son of one of the sovereign princes of Europe, crossing the wide ocean in search of knowledge. Not more than half a century ago, it would have been considered an act of madness, and it is believed that at that time the mere attempt would have been punished, at least by confinement in a fortress, if not by something more severe. We know how the great Frederick was treated by his father, for having formed a similar project. He was very fortunate to escape with his life. At the present time, princes are more humanized; they have lost much of their former unsociable disposition, and we should not be at all astonished, if after the lapse of another half century, or perhaps sooner, the United States should be visited by kings and emperors themselves, actuated by the mere desire of acquiring knowledge, by means of which they might be enabled to better the condition of their subjects, and promote the welfare of their dominions. Thus Peter the Great acquired in England and Holland, that knowledge by which he laid the foundation of the present greatness of his empire. He was not, it is true, the less a despot; for that is a fault which no travelling can correct ; but, at least, he learned

how to apply his despotism to useful purposes, and to the advantage of his country.

We must do our exalted and sensible traveller the justice to say, that while he remained among us, he made no display of his princely rank, and that his manners were only those of a well-bred gentleman. There was no affectation of condescension on his part; he mixed among us as one of ourselves; without obtruding or concealing his station in European Society. He would never lead the conversation to the subject of the courts and princes among whom he had lived, nor would he avoid it when introduced by others. His deportment was free, sociable, and unrestrained; he answered in the same manner whether you addressed him by his title or whether you did not, neither claiming nor rejecting the distinction withheld or offered; he appears to have come to this country with a strong desire to please, and a disposition to be pleased, and in the former of these objects we would say, he completely succeeded.

The author whom we have thus described, informs us in a short preface, that he had, from his infancy, felt a great desire to visit America, which had increased with his years. "The more," says he, "I learned to know the *old* world, the more anxious I was to see the *new*." His wish was at last gratified. The king of the Netherlands not only granted him the requisite leave of absence, but provided a ship of war for his passage to England, and from thence to the United States, where he arrived on board the Corvette Pallas, commanded by Captain Ryk, an officer in the Dutch navy.

After spending a couple of months in England, he embarked at Falmouth for Boston, where he landed on the 16th of June, 1825. He spent eleven months in this country, during which he visited almost every part of our Union, and also the two Canadas, to which he first went from Boston, through Albany and the western parts of New-York state, thence through Saratoga, he proceeded to the city of New-York, and further southward as far as Columbia in South Carolina, where ends his first volume. Thence he visited Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, West Florida and Louisiana; from New-Orleans he ascended the Mississippi and the Ohio to Pittsburg, stopping at every place of note. From Pittsburgh he came again to Philadelphia, and thence through Bethlehem and Nazareth to New-York, where he embarked for Europe.

In the course of this long journey, he left nothing unseen that was in the least worthy of attention. He visited our arsenals, dock-yards, and manufactories of arms, our seminaries of education, civil and military, our natural curiosities and works of art, all which he describes with sufficient accuracy. He visited also, all the remarkable establishments in various parts of the country.

such as the settlements of the Shakers at New-Lebanon, and the Moravians at Bethlehem, Mr. Owen's at New-Harmony, and Mr. Rapp's at Economy, of which he gives very detailed accounts. The state of society in general, and the manners and customs of this country, he commonly exemplifies by relating what he saw and what he heard, seldom indulging in general inferences; of our form of government, constitutions and laws, he says nothing, except what comes absolutely in his way, and never allows himself any reflection on subjects connected with politics. He recollected, no doubt, that he was a Royalist by trade, and as he could not touch on these subjects, without giving offence on one side of the water or the other, he very prudently avoided them. Thus, he remarked, at Washington, that there were no sentinels at the President's door; but he contents himself with stating the naked fact, without accompanying it with any reflection of his own.

The work before us, is, indeed, entirely made up of the notes which the author took from day to day of what appeared to him remarkable, as he travelled through this country. Those notes were preserved, as he tells us, merely to refresh his memory, and that he might be the better able to answer the questions of his family and friends. Therefore they were without the least kind of pretension, or art of authorship. It appears, however, that he communicated them to some persons whom he had not originally contemplated, and the usual result followed, of his being solicited by his friends to publish them. For that purpose he put the manuscript into the hands of Mr. Privy Counsellor Henry Luden; the editor whose name appears on the title page. He gave him full power to correct the style and the arrangement of the work as he should think proper, so as to make it fit for the public eye; but Mr. Luden, of course, thought that his prince's style could not be improved, and would not even alter the orthography of the word *Deutsch* to *Teutsch*, which he thought the best mode of spelling it; all that he professes to have done, is to have divided the book into chapters, and struck out some passages, interesting only to the author and his family; so that we have these travels in the style and language of the author himself, which is simple and unpretending, yet by no means devoid of elegance. We shall, by and by, give some extracts by way of example, as far as may be done by means of a translation.

This book, therefore, is in the form of a journal, relating occurrences day by day as they happened. The first three chapters consist of the Duke's voyage from Holland to England, and from England to this country, which we do not think of sufficient interest to us to dwell at all upon their contents. We are bound, however, to notice what the author says towards the conclusion of his third chapter, as it shows the spirit in which he paid us this friendly visit. "It was ten o'clock in the morning when I first



set my foot in America, (at the long wharf at Boston) on a large piece of granite! It is impossible to describe what I felt at that instant. Until then, only two moments of my life had left a delightful remembrance behind; the first, when at the age of seventeen, I received the Cross of the Legion of Honour, after the battle of Wagram; the second, when my son William was born. My landing in America, in that country, which, from my early youth had been the object of my warmest wishes, will be to me, as long as I live, a most pleasing subject of recollection."

Independently of the high compliment which it pays to our country, this is certainly a beautiful effusion, in point of language. It brings forcibly to our mind the remembrance of "the three holidays allowed by nature to a mother," so feelingly described by Mr. Sheridan, in his elegant imitation of Kotzebue's Spaniards in Peru, and not less so in the original drama, which our author, perhaps, had in his view, when he penned this passage. It is certain that he came to America with enthusiastic feelings, disposed to be pleased with every thing that he should see, and anticipating nothing but subjects of admiration and pleasure. Whether these are the feelings with which we should wish every foreigner to visit our country, appears to us very doubtful, as such overwrought expectations are seldom or rather never realized in this sublunary world, whatever may be the object of our desires. Disappointment is generally the consequence of the pursuit of a *beau idéal*. If our author, however, has been disappointed in his hopes, (as we must suppose he has been, at least in some particulars,) he has had the kindness not to tell it; and, although there is not much warmth of colouring in his descriptions of what he saw here, his good feelings towards us occasionally break out in some flattering expression, and the whole of the work breathes a friendly spirit, which we cordially reciprocate.

On his arrival in our Eastern metropolis, he takes his lodgings at the Exchange Coffee House, and he thus describes the first dinner he ate in this country. "I was seated in the place of honour, next to the landlord, Mr. Hamilton. He was a Colonel of Volunteers during the late war, and has preserved his title. I found him a well bred man, and I cannot sufficiently praise the politeness of the guests, with several of whom I became acquainted. The dinner was extremely well prepared," &c. How different this language from that of another description of travellers, who would not have missed the opportunity of turning the *Boniface Colonel* into ridicule, and wondering how an innkeeper should have dared to sit at table in the company of *gentlemen*! We cannot say that the Prince shows himself equally pleased with every thing that he sees, and every person that he meets in the course of his travels; that would

be, indeed, expecting too much ; but, in the two large volumes which he has published, we may safely assert that there is nothing that betrays an unfriendly disposition towards this country or its inhabitants.

Of the numerous places which the Duke visited in the course of his travels through the United States, Baltimore is among those which seem to have left the most pleasing impressions upon his mind. He calls it "the *friendly* Baltimore." Every thing that he sees there, he describes *con amore* : he was particularly struck with the elegance of the buildings, and the people's taste for music. At the Roman Catholic Cathedral, he was surprised and delighted to hear a mass of *Cimarosa* very well performed. Of the society of the place, he gives a most flattering description. "It is," says he, "uncommonly agreeable. At dinner parties, every thing is free and unconstrained, and the conversation is both lively and instructive ; at the evening parties, we hear excellent music ; the ladies, some of whom are very beautiful, are in the habit of singing, and sing extremely well." Of such general conclusions he is exceedingly sparing ; whenever, therefore, they are met with in this book, they must be considered as the expression of more than ordinary feeling.

The Prince does not appear to have been so well pleased with what he saw on the road between Baltimore and Washington. "The land," says he, "is hilly, sandy, thinly peopled ; the fields produce only tobacco and Indian corn. Not a single decent village, but a tiresome uniformity appears every where." He was much surprised by the difference between the appearance of this part of the country, and that of the northern states. "The dwellings are much smaller and worse constructed than the worst log-houses in the state of New-York. Most of those small cabins have black tenants, many of whom make but a very ragged appearance. The country, however, is handsome ; and there are fine views of the river Potomac."

He had conceived a great idea of the metropolis of the United States ; but found it much below his expectations. "The capitol stands on an eminence, and should be in the heart of the city ; but till now, it is only surrounded by inelegant houses and fields, in which some small dwellings are scattered." He rode through the Pennsylvania avenue, and at last came to houses, but standing at such distances from each other, that this part of the town resembles "a newly established watering place." The plan of the city is colossal, and calculated for a million of inhabitants, whereas it contains only 13,000. As the capital of the country, it is too near the sea. This disadvantage was felt in the last war, when the enemy took the place by a *coup de main*. It had been wisely proposed to remove the seat of government to Wheeling, on the Ohio, in the western part of Virginia ; but it is said that

cular, we entertained ourselves a good while on the subject of *Faust*, alternately reciting our favourite passages.

"The first toast that was given, was of course that of the President of the United States. His Excellency stood up, and in a short speech returned his hearty thanks. When my health was drunk, I stood up likewise, made an apology in English, for not venturing to express my feelings in that language, and begged permission to do it in the French, with which I was more familiar. Then I spoke a few words from the fulness of my heart. I expressed the cordial satisfaction that I felt, in witnessing the noble and cheering prosperity of this country. I wished the society success, for the patriotic feeling with which they celebrated the memory of their ancestors, and particularly of that excellent man, who had laid the foundation of this great Commonwealth, which feeling was to the country a pledge of future success. I told them how happy I was, that it was my good fortune to be present at the very moment of this celebration. I thanked them with emotion for the friendly reception they had given me, and did not conceal the impressions which the doings of this day had made upon me. The remembrance of this festival, said I, which receives additional honour and solemnity from the presence of the Chief Magistrate of this great nation, shall never be effaced from my memory; and I hope that when I return to the old hemisphere, I shall leave friends behind me in the new. I concluded with wishing them health and happiness, and it seemed that my simple address was received with friendly feelings.

"The President withdrew at about eight o'clock, I remained until ten. Among the *volunteers*, as they are called, the following toast was given: Weimar, the dwelling place of Science and the Arts. I stood up, and said that I could only reply to that toast by modest silence; for a Weimarian should only answer it by a speech full of learning; and, alas! I could not flatter myself with being able so to do. I had left the paternal house when very young, and, from a child, had been in the military service; the sciences had never entered my door—therefore, I should, by way of answer, content myself with offering the following toast: 'Pennsylvania, the asylum of the unfortunate Germans!' This health was drunk with great jubilation. The octogenarian Judge Peters, sang with a pretty steady voice, a song which he had himself composed the preceding evening, and the greatest hilarity prevailed among the company.

"The Society have caused their statutes to be written in a beautiful hand, on parchment leaves, in a book elegantly bound. This book was handed to the President and myself, for our signatures. We subscribed our names to it, and by that means have become honorary members of this estimable association.

"During this dinner, I thought of another feast of Brothers, celebrated on the same day, in another hemisphere. Perhaps, thought I, they remember me, at this moment, while drinking 'to our Brethren, wherever dispersed on the face of the earth!'"

The feast that our author here speaks of, was probably a Masonic festival. We observe, that, throughout this work, he is fond of using expressions in a manner appropriated to the *craft*, such as "the great Architect of the Universe," and other similar modes of speech. Perhaps, however, we are mistaken. We give this only as a supposition. We would not wish to embarrass him, if he should be disposed to travel into Spain, or again to visit New-York, before the ghost of Morgan is laid.

The Duke's opinion of our American Germans, that is to say, of the descendants of those hardy sons of Germany who migrated to this country in the course of the last century, does not appear to have been the same, at all times and in all places; and his journal very naturally describes the impressions which they successively made upon him. At Philadelphia, the mem-

bers of the German Charitable Society, wishing to give in his person a mark of filial respect to the country of their ancestors, invited him to a public entertainment. The dinner, he says, was *splendid*, and the company consisted of about seventy persons. The repast was enlivened with music, and numerous toasts were drunk to the prosperity of Germans, and of Germany, among which the classic land of Weimar was not forgotten. From the account, nevertheless, which he gives of this meeting, it seems that he was somewhat disappointed in the expectations he had formed of it. The Germans with whom he found himself associated, had either entirely lost the language of their forefathers, or spoke a mixed dialect, uncouth to a German ear. The musicians too, alas! could play but two German tunes, and those were none of the elegant compositions of Haydn or Mozart, nor were they, indeed, in very good taste. It is natural to suppose, that they had not been selected by the company; the performers, as is usual on such occasions, were left to play, *ad libitum*, what they pleased, during the intervals between the toasts; and being, perhaps, animated with liquor, they indulged in their own favourite pieces. We regret that the Editor did not omit this trifling circumstance, which the Duke had recorded for himself, and not for the public. He must have been well convinced, that the German citizens of Philadelphia, however they may have failed of their intention, did all they could to make themselves agreeable to their exalted guest.

At Reading, however, he found the German language spoken in much greater purity, in consequence of the establishment there of a good German school, under the auspices of Mr. Mühlberg. But the first impressions that the Pennsylvania Germans made upon him, do not appear to have been of the most favourable kind. For he describes them as being, after the Irish, the rudest, (by which he means rough and uncivilized) set of emigrants that came to this country. He complains with justice of one of his own countrymen, lately arrived in America, whom he calls a young doctor, though we are informed he is a shoemaker, whose affectation of republicanism, he says, disgusted him exceedingly. This fellow, a disgrace to whatever nation he may belong, (and none, we are sure, will claim him) was by no means a fit specimen of the German population of this country. Our author was still more disgusted afterwards, with the Germans whom he found in Louisiana. "They are," says he, "a lazy set of people, even below the Irish." But we are pleased to find that by this time, he had formed a more correct idea of those of the middle states; for he adds "that those lazy Germans are very different from their countrymen in Pennsylvania, who are generally esteemed for their moral and industrious character, and are deserving of that esteem." From these apparent fluctuations of

opinion, we infer, that the notes of a traveller, taken down from day to day as the impressions arise, and before observations are sufficiently matured, should undergo a careful revision, before they are committed to the press, and we could have wished the learned editor of this work had not yielded so much to what we consider on his part a mistaken delicacy.

But we must pass on to other scenes. The Duke's visit to Mr. Owen's settlement at New-Harmony, in the state of Indiana, and to that of Mr. Rapp at Economy, near Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, have appeared to us deserving of particular attention; but they are long, especially the former, and cannot be given here at large; we must therefore abridge them as well as we can, and try to give some idea of their results.

It is well known that the place where Mr. Owen's society is now established, or rather encamped; (for it does not appear to us that this unnatural association can have a long existence;) was purchased by that adventurous theorist of Mr. Rapp, when the latter thought proper to remove with his industrious Germans into their present settlement. It was bought for the sum of 120,000 dollars, which is not yet paid. When Mr. Rapp removed to that place, about fourteen years ago, from his first settlement of Harmony, it was, as our author describes it, the abode of wolves, Indians, bears and rattlesnakes. When he transferred it to Mr. Owen, in 1825, (the year when the Duke came to this country) it had become a kind of earthly paradise. A town had been laid out which already contained several good brick and some log houses, the streets of which were well distributed, and intersected each other at right angles; there was a church, a tavern, several public buildings, and round the whole were fine meadows and well cultivated fields, gardens full of the choicest fruits and vegetables, in short every thing that human industry could produce in so short a time. This was the state in which Mr. Owen found the settlement, and the first thing that he did, was to convert the church into work-shops; a step towards the abolition of religion, which appears to be repugnant to his system.

The Duke arrived there in the first year of Mr. Owen's settlement, and already it gave strong indications of an approaching dissolution. The society consisted of two very distinct classes; of men and women of liberal education, who from various motives had followed Mr. Owen's fortunes, and of a band of desperate vagabonds, whom hunger had driven to a place, where they could at least get physical sustenance. The principle of equality, however, required that these various descriptions of people should eat, work, live and associate together, which was felt as a great hardship by the better educated class, and probably also by the others, who must have felt themselves under some restraint, however disposed they might be to assert their *social*

rights. The Duke relates an anecdote which will place this state of things in its proper point of view. He was listening to a piece of music, performed by a handsome and well educated young lady, whom he calls Miss Virginia D— of Philadelphia, when she was told her turn was come to milk the cows. She went out, as may be supposed, most unwillingly, and some time afterwards returned, having been severely kicked by one of the animals, and very ill disposed towards the *new Social System*.

It appears from the Duke's relation that the members of this association were in general individually disgusted with their situation, though they had tried it but a very little time, and wished for a change. He heard several of their complaints, which he calls their *doléances*, and from the whole, did not augur well of the success or long continuance of the establishment. Indeed, we would be astonished if a society so organized could maintain itself any length of time, without the strong cement of religion, and with such a lax system of morality as is avowed by the founders. One of the members, says the Duke, acknowledges himself an atheist. The marriage bond is considered as a temporary partnership. With such principles, or rather absence of principles, no society can endure. We are not sorry, however, to see the experiment made, being in strong hopes that the result will add new strength to the ancient props and buttresses of social order.

While the Duke was there, he heard atrocious stories propagated against Mr. Rapp, and his establishment. They are of such a nature that we forbear detailing them to our readers. It seems the jealousy of trade has found its way even among those who profess to associate in order to promote the improvement and happiness of mankind.

Although our judicious traveller was far from approving the system which he found established at New-Harmony, yet it does not appear that he spent his time disagreeably there. He derived much pleasure from the conversation of Mr. M'Clure, Mr. Say, Mr. Le Sueur, Dr. Troost, Madame Fretageot and other men and women of talents and education, whom Mr. Owen has contrived to gather around him. A great part of his time was taken up with music and dancing, which it seems makes a part of the employment of their time. The band of music, though not numerous, was good, and several of the ladies were proficient in the art. They were also very fond of dancing. They had introduced a figure into one of their cotillions, which they called the *new Social System*. It has not yet found its way, as we believe, into our dancing assemblies. Some of the ladies felt scruples against dancing on a Sunday, but our traveller observing to them that these prejudices should not be indulged in the *Sanctuary of Philosophy*, his argument easily prevailed, and the

dance went on. We must say, however, by way of extenuation, that in Germany the Sabbath is not kept with the same rigour as in this country, and the Duke appears to be extremely fond of this youthful exercise; he is also a passionate lover of music, and rarely misses an opportunity of showing his fondness for that art. A good concert, or even a good song, is to him an event of importance, which he never fails to record in his journal. Music is a part of a German's existence; there is no country in the world, not even Italy, where the knowledge of it is so widely spread, and where so many good performers are to be found. It is said, that in Thuringia, the country of Duke Bernard, even the peasants, are all skilled in music.

Fern im Thüringerlande, wo jeglicher Bauer Musik weiss.—*Voss.*

It was reported at New-Harmony while the Prince was there, that Mr. Owen intended to add two branches to his establishment, one of which was to be located in the state of New-York, and the other at Valley-Forge, in Pennsylvania. We think he will hardly find a comfortable footing in the midst of the descendants of the companions of *William Penn.* Valley-Forge is a consecrated place; its inhabitants will not suffer it to be thus *deseccrated*.

We must now relieve the reader from the contemplation of these scenes, by giving the Prince's own description of another establishment, which although, like that of Mr. Owen, founded on the system of *general co-operation*, yet may be considered as its very opposite, as it has religion and morality for its basis. It is, indeed, mixed with no small degree of enthusiasm; but without this ingredient it seems impossible to keep men together under a system of community of property, while there are numerous examples of such associations being maintained for a long time by means of a strong religious feeling. The monastic institutions of Europe, some of which have resisted the efforts made by the most powerful governments for their destruction, are a strong confirmation of this truth; but it does not appear that cold abstract principles have yet been able to produce any similar effects. As a counterpart to what precedes, we shall give an extract from the Duke's description of Mr. Rapp's new settlement at Economy, in his own language.

"As we approached the place, we passed by two smoking brick-kilns, and came to a newly erected house. On the top of it stood three woodland horn-blowers, who on our approach began to blow their horns. At the tavern, a handsome large frame house, we were received by old Mr. Rapp, at the head of the superintendents of his community. They were all gray headed, venerable old men. Most of them had emigrated with Mr. Rapp, twenty-one years ago, from Wurtemberg. After the first salutations, they led us into a plainly but tastefully furnished apartment. There we conversed for a short time, and then sat down to dinner. The table was covered with dishes in the German style of cookery, and cordial gaiety presided over the repast.

"From what I had read about Mr. Rapp and his society, and what I had late-

ly heard at New-Harmony, I must own that I was strongly prejudiced against him and his people, and I rejoiced that I had come to see with my own eyes another and a better establishment. I never saw a society governed in a manner so truly patriarchal as this is, and what these men have performed is the best evidence of the wisdom of their institutions, and of the harmony that prevails among them.

"The elder Rapp is a large man, seventy years old; his years do not appear to have diminished his strength; his hair, indeed, is gray; but his blue eyes, shaded by thick eye-brows, are full of life and fire; his voice is strong and impressive, and by a peculiar mode of gesticulation, he knows how to give a great deal of expression to what he says. He speaks a kind of Swabian dialect, somewhat mixed with English;\* a language to which the ear of a German must become accustomed in the United States. What he said, however, was well conceived, and clearly expressed.

"Rapp's object is nearly the same with that which Mr. Owen professes to have in view; a community of property, and the co-operation of all the members of the society to the general good, by means of which, the welfare of every individual is to be secured. Mr. Rapp's society, however, is not kept together by this hope alone; but also by the bond of religion, which in Mr. Owen's institution is entirely wanting. The results are in favour of Rapp's system. By that of Mr. Owen, not only no great effects have yet been produced, but the prospects are very unfavourable. It is, indeed, surprising, and much to be wondered at, that a plain man, like Mr. Rapp, should have succeeded in knitting so fast together a society of nearly seven hundred persons, and persuaded them in a manner to honour him as a prophet. He has done this by means of his ascendancy over the minds of his associates, even so far as to suspend the connexion between the sexes. It was found that the society was likely to become too numerous, and therefore the members of the community agreed with each other to live with their wives like brothers and sisters. A nearer connexion is not forbidden, any more than marriage; both are only advised against. Therefore some marriages continue to take place; some children are born every year, and for these children there is a school, with a teacher at the head of it. The community entertain the highest veneration for old Mr. Rapp; they call him father, and treat him as such."

We have not room to insert the remainder of the very interesting and copious description which our author gives of this remarkable settlement, of its agriculture and horticulture, of its cotton and woollen manufactories, its mills, its machines, and its various sources of prosperity. The comparison of his long and detailed accounts of Mr. Rapp's and Mr. Owen's establishments, will furnish matter for much serious and important reflection, to the statesman as well as to the philosopher. In the one we see a blooming and rapid creation, rising as it were by enchantment; in the other we think we see a cold hand employed in the work of destruction. New-Harmony is no more what it was when Mr. Rapp and his followers left it. While Mr. Owen's abstract doctrines confuse the head, Mr. Rapp's enthusiastic system warms the heart, and by that means commands and puts in action all the powers of the body and the faculties of the mind. Common opinions will never unite men in close and intimate society, particularly those who have received a different education

\* We have seen a curious piece of poetry, written in that Germano-American dialect, of which we have since endeavoured in vain to obtain a copy. It was printed in a country newspaper, about forty years ago, and began thus:

"Gut morgen, Hans! hast du schon gebreakfast?"



and different habits in early life; common feelings and strong feelings too, can alone produce that effect.

We do not know what are the sentiments of the Duke on the general subject of negro slavery. On this topic, as well as on most others connected with the politics of our country, he has thought it best to preserve a prudent silence. We know, however, that his mind revolts at the abuse of that state of things; the manner in which he relates a scene of this description, which he happened to witness at New-Orleans, convinces us that he is disposed to assert the prerogatives of human nature, without distinction of rank or colour. We shall give this anecdote in his own words, as a good specimen of the feelings of his honest heart.

"Every day," says he, (he speaks of New-Orleans,) "affords examples of the degrading treatment which the poor negroes experienced. I do not like to speak of it: but I do not wish to pass over in silence a scene to which I was a witness, on the 22d of March (1826), and which filled me with indignation. In the boarding-house where I lodged, there was a young Virginian female slave, who served as a house-maid; a neat, attentive, and orderly girl. There was a Frenchman living in the house, who, at an early hour, called for water. As it was not brought to him immediately, he flew down stairs into the kitchen, where he found the poor girl employed about some other business of the family. He immediately struck her with his fist, so that the blood gushed down her face. The unfortunate creature, excited by this undeserved treatment, put herself on the defensive, and seized her aggressor by the throat. He cried aloud for help; but nobody would interfere. The fellow then ran into his room, packed up his things, and said he would leave the house. But now our landlady, Madame Herries, when she heard this, in order to make her peace with the rascal, had the infamy to order twenty-six strokes of a cow-skin to be inflicted upon the poor girl, and carried her cruelty so far, as to compel her lover, a young black slave, who served in the family, to be her executioner. This was not all; the Frenchman, who was a clerk to a commercial house at Montpellier, was not satisfied with this punishment. He lodged a complaint against the girl at the Mayor's office, caused her to be arrested by two constables, and had her lashed again in his presence. I regret that I did not pay attention to the name of this wretch, in order to make his shameful conduct as public as it deserves to be."

This is truly a shocking story, and we would hardly give credit to it, if it were not so well attested. We hope there are not many such monsters in our country.

The Duke is very sparing of anecdotes, and perhaps he is right; he, however, tells them well. The one that he relates of his friend, Bishop Dubourg, also at New-Orleans, comes very *à propos* to do away the impressions of that which we have just heard. It suggests a good method of preventing the bad effects of dangerous books, and at the same time making up an Episcopal library.

"Bishop Dubourg, whom I have often visited during my stay in this city, received me one day in his library, which besides theological works, contains many books of History and the Belles Lettres. I remarked a complete set of the French *Encyclopedie*, and complimented the Bishop upon it, expressing my astonishment that he had been able to purchase that work in this country. The good man smiled, and related to me how he had come by it. As he was travelling through Flanders in the years 1816 and 1817, with the Bishop Prince de Broglie, he became acquainted with a gentleman and his daughter, well known for their excessive bigotry. The lady, a great reader, told him in confidence that she felt

great scruples of conscience, because she had the *Encyclopédie* in her library, which was said to contain so many bitter things against the church. She asked him whether she should not throw that scandalous book into the fire? Being himself very fond of books, and seeing that her copy was perfect and entire, he advised her against the pious deed: but, said he, if you are willing to trust me with that book, I shall take care to make it quite harmless. In this manner he rescued from the flames that valuable work, and incorporated it into his library."

By way of specimen of the manner in which our author speaks of our public affairs, and our public men, and at the same time to introduce a curious anecdote which he tells of Bonaparte and our ministers in France, we shall insert here the account which he gives of his interview with Mr. Crawford, during his stay in Georgia:—

"On the 22d of December, (1825,) we were obliged to remain at Augusta. We heard that Mr. Crawford, the former ambassador of the United States at Paris, was there. We went, therefore, to pay him a visit. Mr. Crawford is a man of colossal stature, and of a noble external appearance. He was about a year ago struck with an apoplexy, so that he was paralyzed on one side, and spoke with difficulty. To my astonishment, he could not speak French, although he had resided several years as ambassador at Paris. It is related that Mr. Crawford's predecessor in that office, was Chancellor Livingston, who was deaf: they were both presented at the same time to the Emperor Napoleon, who, as he could not converse with either, expressed his astonishment that the United States should send him deaf and dumb ambassadors. I therefore enjoyed very little of Mr. Crawford's conversation; for, as he was an old friend of Mr. B., it was carried on chiefly between them, and I was often referred to his daughter and her friends, who were in the room. There was, indeed, much to expect from the daughter of such a statesman. She had been brought up in a school in one of the southern states. The more, however, I travelled southward, the more I found that the inhabitants of those parts are behind their northern neighbours in point of education. Mr. Crawford was the hero of the Democratic party, and would probably, but for his infirmity, have been President in the Spring of 1825. But, on that account, General Jackson was set up in his place as a candidate; and so many personal objections were made to that individual, that the present President, Adams, obtained the victory over him."

Ignorance of the French language, among the Germans, is considered as a sure sign of a total want of genteel education. After the downfall of Bonaparte, when the spirit of revenge against France was carried to its highest pitch, an attempt was made to exclude the French entirely from polite circles, and to speak only the vernacular tongue; the men of letters affected to obliterate from the German idiom every word of French origin, and to substitute others in their stead; but these attempts did not succeed; the work before us is a proof of it, as it is sufficiently interlarded with downright French words. The late Dr. Seybert of Philadelphia, used to relate, that when at Göttingen, or some other town in Germany, he went to visit the celebrated Zimmermann, of whom we have spoken in the beginning of this Review. Zimmermann addressed him in French, and the Doctor could not answer. It is impossible to express the look of contempt which the German physician gave him, which was by no means softened, when Seybert spoke to him in the German dialect of this country. At last, with much difficul-

ty, our countryman made him understand that he was an American from Pennsylvania, where the French language was not an indispensable part of a good education. From that moment, he said, the author of the treatise on Solitude, treated him with great kindness, and made no difficulty to speak with him in the idiom of his native country.

As to the anecdote related of Bonaparte, concerning Chancellor Livingston's deafness, and his successor's inability to converse in the French language, we have heard it related before, but Mr. Crawford was not a party to it. That gentleman was not the immediate successor of the Chancellor; it was his brother-in-law, General Armstrong, who, at that time, it is said, could not speak French, and whom the First Consul used sometimes to banter, by asking him at his levees, whether he had made some progress in the study of the diplomatic language. Mr. Livingston was very hard of hearing, when he went over to France, notwithstanding which he succeeded in negotiating the most important treaty the United States ever made, that which annexed Louisiana to this country. He was very sensible of his infirmity, and used frequently to jest upon it. "Come," said he one day, to a friend who was very near sighted, and whom he was trying to persuade to accompany him as secretary of legation, "come with me to Paris, and I shall say to the First Consul: 'Sec, Sir, what confidence our government place in you: they send you a deaf ambassador, and a blind secretary.'" Chancellor Livingston was one of the ablest men this country possessed; and the choice made of him by Mr. Jefferson, (deaf as he might be,) was fully justified.

The reader must not expect, in the work before us, more than a superficial view of the country which the Duke of Saxe-Weimar undertakes to describe. He was too short a time among us to make very profound observations; and that time was almost entirely spent in stages and in steam-boats. His book is, therefore, rather a series of etchings, than a connected graphic view. At every place through which he passes, and wherever he stops but for a moment, he resorts to his pencil, and sketches the scenes that present themselves before him. The notes that he takes, bear the stamp of the impression which the objects made upon him at the first moment; and we can trace his various feelings at different times, and in different places. It is evident that what he wrote, was not intended for the public eye, and that he had no idea of being engaged in a literary composition. He tells us himself, that he made these memoranda for his friends, and not for the world; and this he needed not have told us, for the book itself bears sufficient testimony of it. We find in it numerous unimportant details, recorded in haste, to be reviewed at leisure; many things designed only for the eyes of

confidential friendship; private conversations, anecdotes, details, in short, which the author would have either omitted or modified, if he had himself revised his notes for the press. That task he confided to his Editor, who admits that he was laid under no kind of injunction or restriction; we should therefore have expected, that he would execute it in a manner different from what he appears to have done. It was not enough to say, that the style of his patron required no correction; in general, we agree with him on this point; but the style was not the only thing to be considered in a work of this nature. We suspect that Mr. Luden acted more the part of a courtier, than that of a friend; but it is too often the misfortune of princes to have no friends.

Although the Duke upon the whole appears to have formed a pretty correct idea of this country, yet he does not seem to be sufficiently acquainted with the particular modifications of our social existence, differing in many respects from that of Europe. Here official rank or title has little to do with the degree of consideration which a man enjoys in society. That is exclusively bestowed upon personal merit. The chief magistrate of a place, is not, on that account, the first personage in it; he moves in the circle for which he is fitted by his education and his habits, and beyond that he has no pretensions out of the line of his official duty. Personal merit, on the contrary, commands respect every where, and a willing homage is paid to it by all the classes of our republican society. We make this observation, because we have taken notice that our author is too apt, when speaking of our most distinguished, though untitled citizens, to designate them in terms which with us imply a certain degree of disrespect, such for instance as *ein Herr*, (a Mr. Such an one,) and other slighting expressions, the more remarkable when compared with his phraseology, when speaking of persons to whom he wishes to show respect; and those whom he thus treats with careless levity, are mostly gentlemen of high respectability and standing among us, with whom he associated, and in whose company he seemed pleased; men, in some instances, to whom he had brought letters of recommendation, which must have informed him of their true characters. We had thought that those affected forms of speech had been dismissed from the polite courts of Germany, and banished to the more congenial latitude of *Krähwinkel*. We are still disposed to believe so, and to ascribe to haste or inattention, those unpleasant modes of expression, which not unfrequently occur in the Duke's Journal; and which we are confident he would have corrected, if he had himself prepared his work for the press. We must, therefore, lay the blame on the learned Editor of this book, whom we might perhaps call, by way of retaliation, *ein Herr Luden*, if we did not recollect

that he is a titled personage, a *privy-counsellor*; and, as the good lady, Mrs. Under-Sub-Deputy-Tax-Gatherer Staar, very candidly says: *Etwas Geheimes haben wir in unserer Familie noch nicht gehabt*; “we have never yet had a privy-counsellor in our family.”\*

We have softened these German forms, whenever they occurred in the extracts we have given; as we did not wish our benevolent visiter to appear in his book less amiable than he did in his person, while among us, when, we must say, that he never deviated for a single moment from the strictest rules of politeness and urbanity.

The Germans are a plain, downright, honest people. Those multifarious forms, invented by their aristocracy to preserve a distinction of ranks, sit very awkwardly upon them. Many are the efforts which they have made to get rid of the burden. To this may be ascribed, in a great degree, the so general introduction of the French language among them. When a great man is to be addressed, whose titles are so long and so complicated, that it requires a professed herald to furnish a complete list of them, the letter is directed in French; and *A Monsieur, Monsieur*, solves every difficulty. But, when the unfortunate writer is ignorant of that tongue, he puts on his direction at random, a heap of high-sounding titles, and subjoins to them the letters S. T., which mean *Salvo titulo*, and is as much as to say: “His Highness or His Excellency will forgive me, but I am not acquainted with the series of his titles.” Thank God, we have no such troublesome things in this country; our only title of distinction is that of *gentleman*; a word which it is very difficult to make a thorough-bred European comprehend. Neither the French *Gentilhomme*, the Spanish *Hidalgo*, nor the German *Edelmann*, nor yet the Russian *Dворянин*, or the Turkish *Effendi*, can convey to the mind its true and precise meaning, which every child among us, however, fully understands.

Duke Bernard always appeared to us to be a German in the fullest and most honourable sense of the word, *einüchter Deutscher*. The love of his native country seems to have been constantly predominant in his mind. We have no doubt that the most pleasing objects of his meditations while in the United States, were those memorated in pathetic strain in the celebrated *Ranz des Vaches*:—

“ Mon père, ma mère, mon frère, ma sœur ;—  
Nos clairs ruisseaux, nos hameaux, nos côtes, nos montagnes ;  
Et l'ornement de nos campagnes,  
La si gentille Isabeau.”

Every thing in the book breathes the love of country, and by its apparent contradictions may be explained. When the Duke

\* See Kotzebue's excellent comedy, entitled: “The Little Towns of Germany,” (*Die Deutschen Kleinstädter*.)

arrived in Pennsylvania, in a state, one third of which he knew to be inhabited by Germans or their descendants, his expectations were raised to the highest pitch. With what delight he received an invitation of the sons of Herman to partake of a national dinner in the city of Philadelphia, he best can describe. But, alas! when in the midst of them, what a falling off was there! The ancient language forgotten or corrupted; the manners so different from those he had left at home! Even the dishes! a *splendid* dinner, indeed; no doubt compounded by the most eminent French *Restaurateur*. But that was not what he looked for. He expected to see *Germans*, and he found *Americans*. Must we wonder, then, that his disappointment appears in the description which he gives of this feast? How different were his feelings at the plain, the homely dinner which was offered him by Mr. Rapp, and his Wurtembergers! No high seasoned *sauses*, no exquisite *condiments*, no *ragoûts* were to be seen there. But the table was covered with *German dishes*. No doubt, there was the *beer-soup*, the *noodles*, the *sour-cROUT*; perhaps a sly bottle or two of the genuine *Hochheimer*, or at least the purple *Bischof*, the punch of Germany, justly celebrated by a charming poet of that nation :

————— Aber den Bischof  
Hebe doch auf; das ist ein gesundes und liebliches Tränklein.

————— Hand the Bischof round;  
It is a wholesome and delicious drink.—Voss' *Luise*, Idyl. 3.

And the *Pfeifchen* after dinner; the fragrant *tube*; the dispeller of *ennui*, the solace of care! O, the *Pfeifchen* was surely there; while perhaps, the *Pseudo-Germans* of Philadelphia, thought it impolite to hand even a *cigar*! We cannot compare our traveller's description of the two dinners, without honouring his patriotic feelings; while we recommend to the Ex-Germans of the city of brotherly love, to leave off the costume of their Teutonic ancestors, and when another Prince from the Holy Roman Empire shall hereafter visit this country, to invite him to a dinner if they please, but in their own proper character of *Americans*, the only one which they can sustain with honour and credit to themselves.

But it is time to put an end to this desultory review. We leave our excellent Duke with perfect good humour. He loves our country and we love him. *Dear Philadelphia, friendly Baltimore*, and the other places which he favoured with his amiable society, will be happy to welcome him again, if chance or inclination should once more direct his way to this hemisphere.

These volumes are embellished with the picture of the author, which we think a very good likeness. They also contain maps of the cities of New-York and Philadelphia, and a small one of Pittsburg, besides a number of vignettes and explanatory drawings.

There are, indeed, in this book, many things well known in

this country, and which are familiar to our well-informed citizens. But it must be observed that it was written for the meridian of Europe, and in that respect it may be considered as a good general view of the physical and moral situation of the United States at the time when it was written. There are some occasional mistakes; but not of great consequence. As to objects merely political, it may be well understood why the Prince did not think proper to expatiate upon them.

We understand that a translation of this work is preparing for the press. It will be read with interest, and if we are not mistaken, will leave the same pleasing impressions of the author that we have felt ourselves and been happy to express.

ART. X.—*Controversy respecting the pretensions of MARCUS BULL to the Rumford Premium.*

- 1.—*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge.*—Vol. iii. part 1; new series. Containing—"Experiments to determine the comparative quantities of heat evolved in the combustion of the principal varieties of wood and coal used in the United States for fuel; and, also, to determine the comparative quantities of heat lost by the ordinary apparatus made use of for their combustion."—By MARCUS BULL.
- 2.—*A Defence of the Experiments to determine the comparative value of the principal varieties of Fuel used in the United States, and also in Europe; containing a correspondence with a committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; their Report and Remarks thereon; and animadversions on the manner in which the trust confided to the Academy, by Count Rumford, has been managed.* By MARCUS BULL, Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c.
- 3.—*A short reply to a Pamphlet published at Philadelphia; entitled, "A defence of the Experiments," &c. By one of the Committee of the American Academy.*
- 4.—*An Answer to "A short reply," &c. &c. &c. By MARCUS BULL, M. A. P. S., &c. &c. &c.*

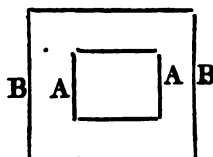
IN the year 1823, Mr. Marcus Bull, of this city, undertook a series of experiments, with a view to ascertain the comparative values of different kinds of fuel. In 1826, the results of his inquiry were communicated to the American Philosophical Society, in a paper mentioned at the head of this article, which meeting with great applause, was soon after published at the expense, and under the auspices of the Society.

Thus encouraged, Mr. Bull ventured to apply to the American Academy of Sciences, at Boston, for a premium, which, as trustees of a fund, accepted from Count Rumford, they are obligated to award for meritorious discoveries respecting heat. Mr. Bull was soon apprized by a committee, to whom his claim was referred by the academy, that his experiments were deemed objectionable on certain stated grounds. This led to a controversy, which has been published in the three last of the above mentioned pamphlets, and the merits of which, we propose briefly to examine.

A person may perform an ingenious, arduous, and accurate course of experiments, and may attain results to which much importance may be attached by competent judges, in whom confidence may be inspired by their acquaintance with him and with his methods of investigation; yet unless some striking discovery be the fruit of his labours, their merit may be honestly questioned by those who know nothing of him, or them, unless by rumour, or through his own writings. These observations we conceive to be applicable in the case under consideration. Our personal acquaintance with Mr. Bull, and our opportunities of observing his indefatigable assiduity, and scrupulous accuracy, while engaged in his experiments, created much confidence in his deductions: yet as they depend mainly upon his own statements, and do not carry any inherent evidence of truth, we are not surprised that a committee of a remote society, who are personally unacquainted with him, should not, in consideration of his labours, have felt themselves called upon to award him a premium, to which time has given an accumulated pecuniary value.

Had the committee then refused the Rumford premium to Mr. Bull, simply on the ground that his results required confirmation, it would have been difficult to prove their decision incorrect; but injudiciously, as it appears to us, they deemed it expedient to object theoretically, and as we conceive erroneously, to the means which he employed to guard against the vicissitudes of atmospheric temperature.

Pursuant to the advice of Dr. Hare, one room having been made within another, so as to leave an interval on every side between the partition A of the inner room, and wall B of the outer



room, it is alleged by the committee, that although the air in the interval may have been kept at a uniform temperature, still the



inner surface of the wall B, may by radiation have varied the temperature of the outer surface A of the partition, in consequence of atmospheric changes. We should have inferred, a priori, that no variation could in this way ensue, which would be sufficiently extensive to merit consideration; and subsequently it was shown by experiments, made by Mr. Bull, in the presence of Dr. Hare, and others, that when the whole effect of the radiation from the wall B, was concentrated upon a differential thermometer, so as to be multiplied an hundred fold, it fell short of a quantity which could have produced any sensible influence upon the most sensitive mercurial thermometer.

But admitting that radiation may influence the temperature of the inner room, without proportionally altering that of the surrounding air, it cannot be supposed that a thermometer will remain indifferent to any change, thus effected. Whenever radiant caloric should be more or less rapidly abstracted from the surface A, of the partition, it would in like manner be abstracted from the bulb of a thermometer, similarly exposed. Agreeably to the plan adopted by Mr. Bull, two thermometers, one within the inner room, the other in the interval between the partition A, and wall B, were sustained uniformly at the same difference of temperature. If under these circumstances, the loss of radiant heat, could not vary without detection, to show that it might escape without altering the temperature of the air between the rooms, were a waste of time; since the measures of the operator in increasing or lessening the heat of the space intervening between A and B, were regulated by the thermometer, not by the air.

As it is notorious that many of the most useful discoveries, have been for a long time treated with neglect, the inference made by the author of the short reply, in the following passage, appears to us extremely unfair.

"About two years ago, Mr. Marcus Bull, of Philadelphia, published a series of 'experiments to determine the comparative quantities of heat evolved in the combustion of the principal varieties of wood and coal used in the United States,' &c. &c. These experiments, we are told by their author, have been copied and commended in various periodical works at home and abroad; and of course a wide circulation given to them. Their object is said to have been practical utility; and, although their length may have prevented many readers from entering into their merits, yet certain alleged facts, stated as results in a comparative table at the end, are intelligible to all kinds of persons; such as the fact that a cord of hickory wood, possesses more value, or more heating power, than a chaldron of Cannel, or of Liverpool coal, or than a ton of Lehigh coal; the fact that a chaldron of Newcastle coal is of less value than a cord of white oak, or of swamp whortleberry, &c. &c. with various other results equally extraordinary, and at variance with previous opinions on the subject.

"Two years, as has been said, have elapsed; and no great practical good is known to have grown out of Mr. Bull's experiments. The relative prices of the different kinds of fuel, continue probably the same that they would have been, if Mr. Bull had never written. Our citizens continue to pay twice as much for a chaldron of Cannel or Liverpool coal, as they will give for a cord of hickory

wood. Neither a cord of oak, nor of whortleberry bushes, can be bartered in exchange for a chaldron of Newcastle coal. Our manufacturers, whose interests are staked upon the good management of their furnaces, continue to prefer the results of their own experience, founded upon trials made in the large way during many years, rather than adopt Mr. Bull's opinions, enforced as they are by sixty pages of scientific detail.

"What then has been the cause that more practical good has not grown out of Mr. Bull's labours? Is it that any body of men have taken the pains to pursue Mr. Bull, and to write him down in the journals and newspapers? Is it that our manufacturers, so vigilant and discerning upon other subjects relating to their interests, are perversely blind upon this? Or is it that, after all, the cord of wood is not worth as much as the chaldron of coal; that it will not warm so many rooms, nor turn out so great a product to the manufacturer, and that Mr. Bull has been led astray in his conclusions, by fallacious experiments, and an incompetent apparatus. These are questions which the late appeal of Mr. Bull to the public, makes it proper to consider."

It is now well known, that had the labours of Fitch, in applying steam to navigation, been sufficiently patronised, he would probably have anticipated the more successful enterprise of Fulton. Yet it might have been said, with as much justice as the committee have evinced in the case of Mr. Bull, that the public continued to use stages and sail-boats, notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Fitch to convince them of the advantages of steam.

The discovery of the absorption of oxygen by metals, was made by Rey, and confirmed by Hooke and Mayow; yet fifty years afterwards, it might have been vaunted by the disciples of Stahl, that phlogiston was not on that account the less in vogue.

At one time, it might have been alleged against Copernicus, that, in despite of his ingenious disquisitions, a majority of the learned, as well as of the ignorant, continued to consider the motion of the sun, about the earth, as an intuitive truth.

In assigning the superiority to white heart hickory, Mr. Bull clearly explained, that, in the *usual mode* of burning coal and wood, the advantage was greatly in favour of coal. It must then be evident, that the advice of Mr. Bull would have no tendency to induce the public to pay more for the wood, unless it should at the same time have been deemed expedient and practicable to contrive fire-places of a different construction from those now in use.

In many instances, errors endure from prejudice or ignorance, and even in opposition to the well-founded remonstrances of scientific men. After Virginia coal had been used for about twelve years as fuel for the engines at our water-works, the war, we believe, rendered a resort to wood necessary, which was then ascertained to be cheaper.

To conclude, however the remoteness of the committee from the scene of Mr. Bull's investigations, may have incapacitated them to judge of the accuracy of his manipulations, and may justify their consequent refusal to grant him a premium of great value, we cannot but consider them, on the same account, as inexcusable for detracting from the merit awarded him by *prac-*

*tical* chemists, whose proximity, with one exception, afforded them better opportunities of judging. The exertions which he has made, are obviously meritorious; and, even if his deductions be as unworthy of confidence, as the committee have alleged, they may still be useful in exciting inquiry, and eliciting truth.

In page 98, Vol. ii. of the *American Journal of Science*, Professor Silliman says:—

“ This memoir, (alluding to Mr. Bull's,) is the result of a long course of experiments evidently conducted with great care and skill. It is replete with interesting information, and is to be regarded as one of the most important contributions of science to the arts, and to domestic economy, which has been made for a long time in this country. It is worthy of being carefully studied both by scientific and practical men; and, for the sake of the latter class, it might be well if an analysis of this practical and detailed paper, presenting in a lucid and concise form the practical and important results obtained by Mr. Bull, were prepared for publication.”

In order to lay before the reader the opinions of Professor Silliman, concerning the objections of the committee, we will subjoin his letter to Mr. Bull, page 14 of the “ *Defence* :”—

“ *Yale College, July 17th, 1826.*

“ Dear Sir,—I have twice perused with attention your communication of the 6th instant, covering the report of the committee of the American Academy of Boston, upon the subject of your experiments upon the heat, evolved in combustion, &c.

“ In reply to your request, that I would give you my opinion of the objections made by the committee, and of your reply to them, I proceed to remark :

“ 1st. I conceive that the exterior room, being sustained at a given temperature by a source independent both of the inner room and of the external air, is as good a non-conductor as can be provided, and that the inner room is as effectually guarded as possible from any influence from the external air, and that it is sufficiently guarded to prevent any appreciable inaccuracy from that source.

“ 2d. There being no visible smoke from the anthracite coals, and scarcely any volatile combustible matter, that is not immediately consumed by the fire, there is, in the case of this fuel, no room for the combustion of the smoke; and as the object of the experiments was to show the comparative quantity of heat evolved in the usual modes of burning fuel, in domestic economy and in the common arts, and not the whole possible amount, it did not come within your plan to compass this object, nor does it appear to be necessary for the purpose in view.

“ 3d. The spirit of these remarks is applicable to the third objection. Your selection of fuel appears to have been sufficiently precise to furnish the average result of the good fuel in market, and this was all that the case required.

“ For my general opinions of the value of your paper, I beg leave to refer you to the *American Journal*, vol. ii. page 98, just published, where under the date of May 11th, you will find my impressions consisely, but fully expressed.

“ Entertaining the greatest respect for the committee of the American Academy, and having myself the honour to be a member of that body, I trust they will receive with candour the opinions which I have expressed, and which would have been communicated with equal frankness, had I been so fortunate as to coincide with them.

I remain, dear sir, your's very respectfully.

“ B. SILLIMAN.

“ MR. BULL.”

# AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*Palestine and other Poems. By the late REGINALD HEBER, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Now first collected. With a Memoir of his Life.* Carey, Lea & Carey: Philadelphia: 1828.

It has been the complaint of the last half century, that very little of the true spirit of poetry, has preserved its existence unimpaired; and, that the “*prodesse volunt, aut delectare*” has degenerated on the one hand, into the very questionable shape of the modern song, and the scarcely more elevated sonnet, or sunk completely on the other, into the degrading service of immorality and vice. That this complaint is in some measure true, it is the misfortune of the lovers of genuine poetry, to be compelled to acknowledge, though they will be far from disposed to receive it in that latitude of meaning in which it is generally made. There are many redeeming instances which it is unnecessary for us to stop to mention, in which the efforts of the most exalted genius have been consecrated to the service of morality and religion; and if we are not strangely mistaken, the moral taste of the age is far from deterioration.

Among the individuals, who are very far from the application of all these sweeping denunciations, stands conspicuously the prelate whose poetical effusions have been collected in the volume, the title of which is placed at the head of our present article. And so familiar has the name of Heber become, not only in the religious, but the literary circles of our country, that we feel constrained to bestow a larger share of attention on the subject, than under ordinary circumstances would be deemed advisable. If, after all, our readers should think, that we have made too large a demand on their time and patience, all the apology

that he is a titled personage, a *privy-counsellor*; and, as the good lady, Mrs. Under-Sub-Deputy-Tax-Gatherer Staar, very candidly says: *Etwas Geheimes haben wir in unserer Familie noch nicht gehabt*; "we have never yet had a privy-counsellor in our family."<sup>\*</sup>

We have softened these German forms, whenever they occurred in the extracts we have given; as we did not wish our benevolent visiter to appear in his book less amiable than he did in his person, while among us, when, we must say, that he never deviated for a single moment from the strictest rules of politeness and urbanity.

The Germans are a plain, downright, honest people. Those multifarious forms, invented by their aristocracy to preserve a distinction of ranks, sit very awkwardly upon them. Many are the efforts which they have made to get rid of the burden. To this may be ascribed, in a great degree, the so general introduction of the French language among them. When a great man is to be addressed, whose titles are so long and so complicated, that it requires a professed herald to furnish a complete list of them, the letter is directed in French; and *A Monsieur, Monsieur*, solves every difficulty. But, when the unfortunate writer is ignorant of that tongue, he puts on his direction at random, a heap of high-sounding titles, and subjoins to them the letters S. T., which mean *Salvo titulo*, and is as much as to say: "His Highness or His Excellency will forgive me, but I am not acquainted with the series of his titles." Thank God, we have no such troublesome things in this country; our only title of distinction is that of *gentleman*; a word which it is very difficult to make a thorough-bred European comprehend. Neither the French *Gentilhomme*, the Spanish *Hidalgo*, nor the German *Edelmann*, nor yet the Russian *Dворянин*, or the Turkish *Effendi*, can convey to the mind its true and precise meaning, which every child among us, however, fully understands.

Duke Bernard always appeared to us to be a German in the fullest and most honourable sense of the word, *ein ächter Deutscher*. The love of his native country seems to have been constantly predominant in his mind. We have no doubt that the most pleasing objects of his meditations while in the United States, were those memorated in pathetic strain in the celebrated *Ranz des Vaches*:—

" Mon père, ma mère, mon frère, ma sœur :—  
Nos clairs ruisseaux, nos hameaux, nos côteaui, nos montagnes;  
Et l'ornement de nos campagnes,  
La si gentille Isabeau."

Every thing in the book breathes the love of country, and by its apparent contradictions may be explained. When the Duke

<sup>\*</sup> See Kotzebue's excellent comedy, entitled: "The Little Towns of Germany," (*Die Deutschen Kleinstädter*.)

The designs of the "Propaganda" embraced the conversion of the world, and in the different religious orders prepared to act under its directions, it had a power prodigious in force, and proportioned to the magnitude of the undertaking. These singular institutions supplied a number of men distinguished by ardour of piety and innocence of life, accustomed to labour, to poverty, to the severest privations; inured to implicit obedience; proficient in the study of human nature, and versed in the sciences, the arts, and the languages which could facilitate admission and intercourse in the several countries assigned for the exertions of their zeal.\* Bishop Warburton, who remarks that "we should be unjust to Rome, not to acknowledge its zeal to be equal to that of other churches, in displaying the Christian banner throughout the habitable world"—has given a striking picture of the training to which the Propaganda missionaries were subjected. He had spoken of the qualifications of the missionary,—“ardent zeal and unwearied diligence—appetites subdued to the distresses of want, and a mind superior to all the terrors of death.” Now, all these qualities and habits, their several orders of religions, whence these missionaries are taken, very early labour to inculcate. One quality is more deeply implanted by this order, another by that; and the most necessary and essential are formed in all: thus every monastic institution kindles and keeps alive that exalted charity—a self-sacrifice for the salvation of souls.

The Jesuits subdue the will by the severe discipline of blind obedience—to stand where they are placed, and run where they are bid. The Carthusians subdue the appetites by a tedious course of bodily labours and mortifying abstinences; and the order called “the Congregation of St. Paul,” subdues the whole man; for, in a sense peculiar to them, as their holy patron, they *die daily*; the observance of their whole rule consisting in one continued meditation on that king of terrors.

Nor is this all. The several orders, like workmen who travail separately on the various parts of the same machine, each of them to be sent to the master artist to be put into its destined place, where, by a proper combination, all are fitted for their peculiar use; the orders I say, send their subjects, thus prepared, to the COLLEGE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE, to receive their last finishing and first motion; “by instruction in the languages, the manners, and the customs of the barbarous nations, to whose conversion they are appointed and addressed.”†

\* Dr. Hooley, Lord Bishop of London, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, 1817.

† Warburton, Lord Bishop of Gloucester, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, 1766.

And yet, the effect produced by all this mighty apparatus, was not so great in proportion, as might have been expected. Of the causes of failure, we are not qualified to speak, neither should we care to enter into any discussion, as this would lead into the region of polemics, as foreign from our taste, as it is from the grand design of our work.

Our business, in rapidly tracing the history of Christian effort in India, is more particularly connected with Protestantism, and still more with the efforts made by the British church. We necessarily pass by a variety of missions directed to other quarters of the globe, and we shall leave out from the consideration, those established by our own countrymen, neither last, nor least; because a full investigation would extend our article far beyond all reasonable limits, and we may find some future opportunity to enter fully into the history of American effort in the East.

In the beginning of the 18th century, Frederick IV., King of Denmark, attempted the conversion of the heathen on the coast of Coromandel, and for that purpose he sent out Bartholomew Zeigenbalgrus and Henry Plutche, both educated for the ministry at the University of Halle, in Upper Saxony, and ordained by the Bishop of Zealand. In 1707, two years after their landing, they baptized five of the natives, as the first fruits of their labours among the heathen. This mission was patronized by George I. of England, and the then Primate, Archbishop Wake;—and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been established a few years before in London, came forward with alacrity and zeal in the support of the undertaking. Among the constant accessions of strength which this mission received, one of the most important was that of Christian Frederick Swartz, in 1750—a man, who, for nearly fifty years, was one of its brightest and most distinguished ornaments. Of this apostolic man, and his labours, it is impossible for us to speak in the short compass allowed for this sketch—suffice it to say, his equal has never yet appeared on the shores of India. What Heber might have been, had his valuable life been spared, we know not; but take all the circumstances into consideration, and Swartz has not yet had a rival. In token of his respect for Swartz, the Rajah of Tanjore, in 1798, wrote to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, requesting them to erect a monument of marble in his capital, in the church where the good man preached; “with a view,” said he, “to perpetuate the memory of Father Swartz, and to manifest the high esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe him—my father, my friend, the protector and guardian of my youth.” In 1807, the monument was erected by the East India Company.

The first serious, decided, and persevering attempt, to awaken the public attention of Protestant England, was made as late as 1805, by one whose name will ever be identified with the progress of Christianity in India; we mean Claudius Buchanan—perhaps not inappropriately termed the Apostle of the Indies. During the century in which they had been acquiring their oriental empire, the British East India Company, intent on the pursuits of commerce and ambition, and contending frequently, not only for aggrandizement, but for existence, were but little at leisure to attend to the moral and religious claims, even of their own European servants, much less to consider those of their native subjects, to any thing beyond general protection and the administration of justice. Among those, who, from the principles of infidelity, or, from the absorbing influence of worldly pursuits, felt little immediate concern in religion; and who, in the acquisition and consolidation of power, amidst the half-civilized votaries of idolatry and imposture, were tremblingly alive to the danger of offending or alarming them, by the too prominent profession of a purer faith, it may be easily imagined that no effort would be made.\* But, to the eye of Christian observation, the matter always appears in an aspect, which takes its character more from the lights of eternity, than from any views of short-sighted worldly policy; and, it is not surprising, that a subject so grand in itself, and so intimately connected with his own profession and local situation, should have early occurred to the mind of such a diligent and wakeful observer as Mr. Buchanan. Pearson, the learned biographer of Buchanan, observes, and indeed Buchanan himself, allows, in his *Christian Researches*, that the first suggestion was made to him by the late excellent Bishop Porteus, who had, he said, attentively examined the state of the British dominions in Asia, and had expressed his conviction of the indispensable importance of some vigorous effort to advance the interests of Christianity; and who can doubt it, when we consider that India, from the Indus to the Ganges—from Cape Cormorin to the mountains of Himalaya, and including the Island of Ceylon, contains a population of 80,000,000 of souls, directly, or indirectly, under the sway of the British Crown?

Dr. Buchanan's memoir on the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India, produced a most powerful sensation of the public mind. This work is not probably familiar to the mass of our readers; neither is it necessary that we should at all enter into the argument, which was calculated to make so striking an impression on the British public. With their ecclesiastical establishment, and its consequent want of real to-

\* Rev. Hugh Pearson, *Life of Buchanan*, p. 218.



inner surface of the wall B, may by radiation have varied the temperature of the outer surface A of the partition, in consequence of atmospheric changes. We should have inferred, a priori, that no variation could in this way ensue, which would be sufficiently extensive to merit consideration; and subsequently it was shown by experiments, made by Mr. Bull, in the presence of Dr. Hare, and others, that when the whole effect of the radiation from the wall B, was concentrated upon a differential thermometer, so as to be multiplied an hundred fold, it fell short of a quantity which could have produced any sensible influence upon the most sensitive mercurial thermometer.

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Majesty, by letters patent, under the great seal of England. The East India Company was charged with salaries to be paid to the bishop and three archdeacons. Calcutta was then erected into a Bishop's see; and the eminent individual selected first to fill that important station, was Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D. D., then archdeacon of Huntingdon. He was a man exceedingly well qualified for his station, by his learning and piety, and to him the world is indebted for one of the most learned works on the Greek article extant. Indeed, his work may be considered as standing alone, on this branch of philology; for, preceding critics had not directed their attention sufficiently to this subject, to give a full and satisfactory account of it. Literary eminence, however, was not that at which he aimed; for, though his memory was stored with all profane and civil literature, and he was ranked among the first critics of his age, and had an inexhaustible supply of lighter and more elegant learning, yet he sought only to be remembered as a faithful servant of his master. His work on the Greek article, will remain a monument of his learning, while biblical criticism shall be ranked among the sciences; but his enduring fame, is in the churches of the East. Bishop Middleton was consecrated on the 8th of May 1814, in the chapel of the Lambeth palace, by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, on the 8th of June, accompanied by Mrs. Middleton and Archdeacon Loring, he sailed for Bengal. On the 28th of November of the same year, he arrived at Calcutta, and, from that time, was actively engaged in the duties of his calling, during nearly eight years. He died of a nervous fever, on the 8th of July 1822, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. To the see of Calcutta, thus rendered vacant, Reginald Heber was appointed, on the 14th of May 1823; and, on the 16th of June, he embarked for Calcutta, which he reached early in October. The providence of God, however, had designed for him a short but active career. He suffered nothing to interfere with his duties as a Missionary Bishop. His labours are placed before the public, in the journal of his tour; and never has the self-sacrificing spirit of the devoted missionary, been more sublimely exemplified. Of his death, it has been beautifully said, "His sun was in its meridian power; and its warmth most genial, when it was suddenly eclipsed for ever. He fell, as the standard-bearer of the Cross should ever wish to fall, by no lingering delay, but in the firmness and vigour of his age, and in the very act of combat and triumph. His master came suddenly, and found him faithful in his charge, and waiting for his appearing. His last hour was spent in his Lord's service, and in ministering to the humblest of his flock. He had scarcely put off the sacred robes with which he served at the altar of his God on earth, when he was sudden-

*tical* chemists, whose proximity, with one exception, afforded them better opportunities of judging. The exertions which he has made, are obviously meritorious; and, even if his deductions be as unworthy of confidence, as the committee have alleged, they may still be useful in exciting inquiry, and eliciting truth.

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In order to lay before the reader the opinions of Professor Silliman, concerning the objections of the committee, we will subjoin his letter to Mr. Bull, page 14 of the “Defence:”—

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“In reply to your request, that I would give you my opinion of the objections made by the committee, and of your reply to them, I proceed to remark:

“1st. I conceive that the exterior room, being sustained at a given temperature by a source independent both of the inner room and of the external air, is as good a non-conductor as can be provided, and that the inner room is as effectually guarded as possible from any influence from the external air, and that it is sufficiently guarded to prevent any appreciable inaccuracy from that source.

“2d. There being no visible smoke from the anthracite coals, and scarcely any volatile combustible matter, that is not immediately consumed by the fire, there is, in the case of this fuel, no room for the combustion of the smoke; and as the object of the experiments was to show the comparative quantity of heat evolved in the usual modes of burning fuel, in domestic economy and in the common arts, and not the whole possible amount, it did not come within your plan to compass this object, nor does it appear to be necessary for the purpose in view.

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“Entertaining the greatest respect for the committee of the American Academy, and having myself the honour to be a member of that body, I trust they will receive with candour the opinions which I have expressed, and which would have been communicated with equal frankness, had I been so fortunate as to coincide with them.

I remain, dear sir, your's very respectfully.

“B. SILLIMAN.

“MR. BULL.”

Forgive, blest spirits, if a theme so high,  
Mock the weak notes of mortal minstrelsy !  
Yet, might your aid this mortal breast inspire,  
With one faint spark of Milton's seraph fire ;  
Then should my muse ascend with bolder flight,  
And wave her eagle plumes exulting in the light."

In these days of peace, and of peace societies, "the Warrior Sons of Heaven" may seem an unhappy phraseology, but the author successfully defends the term in a note, where he quotes from the sacred volume. In the first edition of "*Palestine*," which now lies before us, the term "warrior sage" was applied to Solomon, following the rich and fascinating descriptions of the Arabian mythology. In the present edition, we find the substitution of the term, "the kingly sage"—more agreeable to scripture certainly, but neither so harmonious in the verse, nor preserving so much unity in the action.

We have looked with an intense interest on one portion of the poem, because it was there, that we anticipated a failure, from the very nature of the subject. Splendid as is the celebrated picture of Christ healing the sick, by our countryman West, we apprehend, that, in most persons, there is a transient feeling of disappointment, when they contemplate the countenance of the master figure of the piece. This originates entirely from the undefined and indefinable associations connected with the character of the Saviour. It is not the fault of the painter ; it is the unapproachable sublimity of the subject. So of a portion of the "*Palestine*" of Heber. It is hardly possible even for the highest order of poetry to come up to the majesty and the mysterious sublimity of the crucifixion. If therefore there is failure at all, it is here. Still the transition from the peaceful and happy influences of the Messiah's advent, to the direful circumstances of his death, is conceived and executed with considerable effect :—

"Thou palsied earth, with noon-day night o'erspread !  
Thou sick'ning sun, so dark, so deep, so red !  
Ye hov'ring ghosts, that throng the starless air ;  
Why shakes the earth ? why fades the light ? declare !  
Are those his limbs, with ruthless scourges torn ?  
His brows all bleeding with the twisted thorn ?  
His pale form, the meek forgiving eye,  
Rais'd from the cross in patient agony ?—  
Be dark, thou sun—thou noon-day night, arise,  
And hide, oh hide, the dreadful sacrifice !"

There is, towards the close of the poem, a brief invocation to the spirits of the Crusaders, and we allude to it rather to introduce the note of Bishop Heber, in which he very strikingly defends the Crusades from some common objections, and shows the benefit they have brought to Christianity, notwithstanding all that can reasonably be urged against them :—

we offer is, that every work has its *extrinsic*, as well as *intrinsic* character; and that though the present volume of Heber is small in compass, especially when compared with the great work to which our attention was lately called, yet it derives importance from the circumstances which have invested the character of its author with a deep and lively, and universal interest. Previous, however, to our entering on a critical examination of the work itself, it may be proper to make some brief general observations, touching the history of Christianity in India, in order to introduce to our readers the memoir by which the poems are accompanied, for it is no disparagement to say, that Heber, the Poet, is indebted for his greatest reputation to Heber, the ardent and devoted Bishop. To the effort to plant the religion of the Cross in the far-distant regions of the East, are we beholden not only for the "Journal" which has passed under our notice, but to much of the charm of Heber's life, and Heber's poetry.

We address ourselves to this preliminary work, confident of meeting the approbation of the great body of Christians of every name among us; and not without the expectation of furnishing some materials even for philosophic speculation. For, we believe, there are few subjects which afford greater scope for intellectual and moral investigation, than those novel phenomena of mind, which are beginning to stand out so conspicuously before the public, on the score of what is technically called "the missionary enterprise." And let the apparently feverish excitement of the age on this subject, be viewed, as some foolishly affect to view it, as a kind of epidemic mania, pervading the land, and seizing on certain persons among the high and the low, the rich and the poor;—or let it be considered in the most favourable light, which the most zealous religionists can desire, it still affords a subject worthy of the philosopher's analysis and patient attention. But to our object.

Unquestionably, the most splendid missionary establishment which the world ever saw, was that well known under the title of the College "de Propaganda fide." Apart from the consideration, that one of the objects of this magnificent concern, was the aggrandizement of the Catholic church, it has challenged, and received, the admiration of the world, for the grandeur of the conception displayed in its plan,—for the truly gigantic character of its apparatus, and the prodigious energy and judgment which prepared and directed the arrangement and application of its means. Attention was early directed to the destitute and benighted regions of the East, and we have no hesitation in recording our conviction, that could a project of such extent and importance have been accomplished by human policy or power, the efforts of that society would seem to have been adequate.

Ten thousand harps attune the mystic song,  
 Ten thousand, thousand saints the strain prolong;  
 'Worthy the Lamb! omnipotent to save,  
 Who died, who lives, triumphant o'er the grave!' "

"Europe," though marked by the same classic elegance, and judicious arrangement, is a poem, the peculiar interest of which has already passed away. The prejudices, and the predilections of the author, will be most prominent in the mind of the reader, for the lapse of twenty years has destroyed all the warmth of those political associations, which must have given the poem, on its first appearance, an ephemeral popularity. We say not this, to detract from the merit of the work, as a literary production. It will, in this particular, bear a comparison with "Palestine," and, indeed, in some respects, may be considered its superior, an effort of the author's more matured taste and judgment; but as the subject has lost its greatest hold on our attention, the literary merit of the poem, will scarcely redeem it from comparative neglect. Apart from the by-gone interest of the subject, these are adventitious circumstances, which should, nevertheless, cause it to find peculiar favour in our eyes. Heber appears in it, the advocate of freedom, and an enthusiastic defender of those, who, through peril unto death, stood forth its champion. Unhappily, his sympathies appear wasted, and Spain has proved herself unworthy of his enthusiasm. Bonaparte is not the worst enemy she has ever had; and while we say it with deep regret, we are compelled to think that the epithets in the following line, are more like satire than truth, and its conclusion but a poor specimen of prophetic inspiration:—

"But Spain, the *brave*, the *virtuous*, shall be free."

It is the remark of a transatlantic critic "*Troja suit*—there was a period when Spain was entitled to all the martial celebrity which the historian or the poet could bestow. But her spirit has decayed with her power, and now it is to be feared that she has neither virtue to deserve freedom, nor courage to win it."

There are, however, with all these disadvantages, many powerful passages; indeed, more powerful, because the very circumstances of the writer, amidst the scenes of his poem, caused him to pour forth his strains with peculiar feeling and enthusiasm. The whole soul of the author appears in the few concluding lines, which are marked by great energy and beauty, though they contain the line above quoted:—

"No! by his nerveless arm whose righteous care,  
 Defends the orphan's tear, the poor man's prayer;  
 Who, Lord of nature, o'er this changeful ball  
 Decrees the rise of empires, and the fall;  
 Wond'rous in all his ways, unseen, unknown,  
 Who treads the wine press of the world alone;  
 And rob'd in darkness, and surrounding fears,  
 Speeds on their destin'd road the march of years!"

that he is a titled personage, a *privy-counsellor*; and, as the good lady, Mrs. Under-Sub-Deputy-Tax-Gatherer Staar, very candidly says: *Etwas Geheimes haben wir in unserer Familie noch nicht gehabt*; "we have never yet had a privy-counsellor in our family."<sup>\*</sup>

We have softened these German forms, whenever they occurred in the extracts we have given; as we did not wish our benevolent visiter to appear in his book less amiable than he did in his person, while among us, when, we must say, that he never deviated for a single moment from the strictest rules of politeness and urbanity.

The Germans are a plain, downright, honest people. Those multifarious forms, invented by their aristocracy to preserve a distinction of ranks, sit very awkwardly upon them. Many are the efforts which they have made to get rid of the burden. To this may be ascribed, in a great degree, the so general introduction of the French language among them. When a great man is to be addressed, whose titles are so long and so complicated, that it requires a professed herald to furnish a complete list of them, the letter is directed in French; and *A Monsieur, Monsieur*, solves every difficulty. But, when the unfortunate writer is ignorant of that tongue, he puts on his direction at random, a heap of high-sounding titles, and subjoins to them the letters S. T., which mean *Salvo titulo*, and is as much as to say: "His Highness or His Excellency will forgive me, but I am not acquainted with the series of his titles." Thank God, we have no such troublesome things in this country; our only title of distinction is that of *gentleman*; a word which it is very difficult to make a thorough-bred European comprehend. Neither the French *Gentilhomme*, the Spanish *Hidalgo*, nor the German *Edelmann*, nor yet the Russian *Dворянин*, or the Turkish *Effendi*, can convey to the mind its true and precise meaning, which every child among us, however, fully understands.

Duke Bernard always appeared to us to be a German in the fullest and most honourable sense of the word, *einüchter Deutscher*. The love of his native country seems to have been constantly predominant in his mind. We have no doubt that the most pleasing objects of his meditations while in the United States, were those memorated in pathetic strain in the celebrated *Ranz des Vaches*:—

"Mon père, ma mère, mon frère, ma sœur :—  
Nos clairs ruisseaux, nos hameaux, nos côtes, nos montagnes;  
Et l'ornement de nos campagnes,  
La si gentille Isabeau."

Every thing in the book breathes the love of country, and by its apparent contradictions may be explained. When the Duke

<sup>\*</sup> See Kotzebue's excellent comedy, entitled: "The Little Towns of Germany," (*Die Deutschen Kleinstädter*.)

But when of morn and eve the star  
Beholds me on my knee,  
I feel, tho' thou art distant far,  
Thy prayers ascend for me.

Then on! then on! where duty leads,  
My course be onward still,  
On broad Hindostan's sultry meads,  
O'er black Almorah's hill.

That course, nor Delhi's kingly gates,  
Nor wild Malwah detain,  
For sweet the bliss us both awaits,  
By yonder western main.

Thy bowers, Bombay, gleam bright, they say,  
Across the dark blue sea,  
But ne'er were hearts so light and gay,  
As then shall meet in thee."

Some minor fugitive pieces follow, but we have no more room for extracts of this kind.

The portion of the volume which comes next under our observation, is that which contains the Hymns intended for public worship. No reader of these, will doubt the general beauty of their formation; but, we apprehend, that there are very few, but who will doubt their adaptation to the purposes for which they were intended. If we may venture on a subject which would appear more appropriate to some ecclesiastical assembly, than the pages of a literary journal, we would observe, that, as to what is appropriate to public worship, there is a very general, though perfectly palpable, mistake, in all the collections of hymns which have come under our notice. If our views are correct, public worship consists of prayer and praise; the former, comprising all the varieties of penitential expression, and all the modes of supplication; the latter, confined more particularly to the expression of the grateful feelings of the heart. What has mere narration to do with the act, either of prayer or of praise? And yet there are many hymns which are nothing more than sacred history rendered into verse. There can be no feelings of approach to the Supreme Being in this—neither can there be any hymn, or psalm, which is made up of mere pious truisms, however delicately and elegantly expressed. There are very few of the hymns of this collection, but what are obnoxious to this objection; and, moreover, we believe, that a collection which should maintain the perfect consistency of devotion, is yet unknown to any denomination of Christians. We will illustrate this remark, by one or two instances:—

*The Fourth Sunday in Advent.*

"The world is grown old, and her pleasures are past;  
The world is grown old, and her form may not last;  
The world is grown old and trembles for fear;  
For sorrows abound and the judgment is near!



this country, and which are familiar to our well-informed citizens. But it must be observed that it was written for the meridian of Europe, and in that respect it may be considered as a good general view of the physical and moral situation of the United States at the time when it was written. There are some occasional mistakes; but not of great consequence. As to objects merely political, it may be well understood why the Prince did not think proper to expatiate upon them.

We understand that a translation of this work is preparing for the press. It will be read with interest, and if we are not mistaken, will leave the same pleasing impressions of the author that we have felt ourselves and been happy to express.

ART. X.—*Controversy respecting the pretensions of MARCUS BULL to the Rumford Premium.*

- 1.—*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge.*—Vol. iii. part 1; new series. Containing—"Experiments to determine the comparative quantities of heat evolved in the combustion of the principal varieties of wood and coal used in the United States for fuel; and, also, to determine the comparative quantities of heat lost by the ordinary apparatus made use of for their combustion."—By MARCUS BULL.
- 2.—*A Defence of the Experiments to determine the comparative value of the principal varieties of Fuel used in the United States, and also in Europe; containing a correspondence with a committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; their Report and Remarks thereon; and animadversions on the manner in which the trust confided to the Academy, by Count Rumford, has been managed.* By MARCUS BULL, Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c.
- 3.—*A short reply to a Pamphlet published at Philadelphia; entitled, "A defence of the Experiments," &c. By one of the Committee of the American Academy.*
- 4.—*An Answer to "A short reply," &c. &c. &c.* By MARCUS BULL, M. A. P. S., &c. &c. &c.

In the year 1823, Mr. Marcus Bull, of this city, undertook a series of experiments, with a view to ascertain the comparative values of different kinds of fuel. In 1826, the results of his inquiry were communicated to the American Philosophical Society, in a paper mentioned at the head of this article, which meeting with great applause, was soon after published at the expense, and under the auspices of the Society.

If gaily clothed and proudly fed,  
 In dangerous wealth we dwell,  
 Remind us of thy manger bed,  
 And lowly cottage cell!

If prest by poverty severe,  
 In envious want we pine,  
 Oh may thy spirit whisper near,  
 How poor a lot was thine!

Thro' fickle fortune's various scene  
 From sin preserve us free!  
 Like us thou hast a mourner been,  
 May we rejoice in thee!"

In the whole collection of the hymns written for the weekly service of the church, there are but four or five, which, in our opinion, are at all appropriate. They are generally very beautiful, and show the taste and the fine feeling of piety which dwelt in the breast of the writer, but are not calculated either to excite or to express that species of devotional fervour, which seems so intimately connected with an act of worship. The whole seem to us to be better suited to form a class, which might be appropriately termed "Sacred Melodies," and which, set to music, might fill up the interval between the popular songs, to which some religious persons object, and those "hymns" which are manifestly devotional. To us, there appears not only impropriety, but impiety, in a hymn sung for the amusement of a miscellaneous company; and for many a religionist who would be shocked at his daughter's amusing her friends with an "Irish melody," and yet have no reluctance to her *showing off her accomplishments* in a hymn, or anthem, is to us very much like "straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel." Such poems as these hymns of Heber, generally, maintain a middle ground, full of pious sentiment, yet not rising into the sublimity of prayer or praise, and admirably suited, if judiciously arranged and adapted to music, as we have said, to form a class which shall be peculiarly attractive, because no piety could be offended, but, on the other hand, the taste and the heart improved. Besides the hymns, there are a few translations of Pindar admirably executed, but each too long for quotation. There are some short translations from the Hindoostanee, one of which we will give.

*Sonnet by the late Nawab of Oude, Asuf ud Doula.*

In those eyes the tears that glisten as in pity for my pain,  
 Are they gems or only dew drops? can they, will they long remain?  
 Why thy strength of tyrant beauty thus, with seeming ruth, restrain,  
 Better breathe my last before thee, than in lingering grief remain!

'To yon planet, Fate has given every month to wax and wane:  
 And—thy world of blushing brightness—can it, will it long remain?  
 Health and youth in balmy moisture, on thy cheek their seat maintain;  
 But—the dew that steepes the rose bud—can it, will it long remain?

Asuf! why, in mournful numbers, of thine absence thus complain,  
 Chance has joined us, chance has parted—nought on earth can long remain.

inner surface of the wall B, may by radiation have varied the temperature of the outer surface A of the partition, in consequence of atmospheric changes. We should have inferred, *a priori*, that no variation could in this way ensue, which would be sufficiently extensive to merit consideration; and subsequently it was shown by experiments, made by Mr. Bull, in the presence of Dr. Hare, and others, that when the whole effect of the radiation from the wall B, was concentrated upon a differential thermometer, so as to be multiplied an hundred fold, it fell short of a quantity which could have produced any sensible influence upon the most sensitive mercurial thermometer.

But admitting that radiation may influence the temperature of the inner room, without proportionally altering that of the surrounding air, it cannot be supposed that a thermometer will remain indifferent to any change, thus effected. Whenever radiant caloric should be more or less rapidly abstracted from the surface A, of the partition, it would in like manner be abstracted from the bulb of a thermometer, similarly exposed. Agreeably to the plan adopted by Mr. Bull, two thermometers, one within the inner room, the other in the interval between the partition A, and wall B, were sustained uniformly at the same difference of temperature. If under these circumstances, the loss of radiant heat, could not vary without detection, to show that it might escape without altering the temperature of the air between the rooms, were a waste of time; since the measures of the operator in increasing or lessening the heat of the space intervening between A and B, were regulated by the thermometer, not by the air.

As it is notorious that many of the most useful discoveries, have been for a long time treated with neglect, the inference made by the author of the short reply, in the following passage, appears to us extremely unfair.

"About two years ago, Mr. Marcus Bull, of Philadelphia, published a series of 'experiments to determine the comparative quantities of heat evolved in the combustion of the principal varieties of wood and coal used in the United States,' &c. &c. These experiments, we are told by their author, have been copied and commended in various periodical works at home and abroad; and of course a wide circulation given to them. Their object is said to have been practical utility; and, although their length may have prevented many readers from entering into their merits, yet certain alleged facts, stated as results in a comparative table at the end, are intelligible to all kinds of persons; such as the fact that a cord of hickory wood, possesses more value, or more heating power, than a chaldron of Cannel, or of Liverpool coal, or than a ton of Lehigh coal; the fact that a chaldron of Newcastle coal is of less value than a cord of white oak, or of swamp whortleberry, &c. &c. with various other results equally extraordinary, and at variance with previous opinions on the subject.

"Two years, as has been said, have elapsed; and no great practical good is known to have grown out of Mr. Bull's experiments. The relative prices of the different kinds of fuel, continue probably the same that they would have been, if Mr. Bull had never written. Our citizens continue to pay twice as much for a chaldron of Cannel or Liverpool coal, as they will give for a cord of hickory

having grown, die and putrefy. In Italy, the localities of such putrefying vegetables, go by the name of *maremmes*; and the infectious matter there generated, when mixed with the atmosphere, is malaria, bad air. The general conditions necessary to produce it, are, a warm temperature of the atmosphere, and dead vegetables putrefying in a moist place. Vegetables that die and become disorganized in cold weather, do not appear to produce this infectious malaria; nor do vegetables that die, and are dried up by heat, in a dry place. Nor do we find it in places bare of vegetation, unless vegetable matter, liable to putrefy, be found there accidentally, or brought there purposely. Nor do we find this miasmatic air prevalent in the winter season; the months of July, August, and September, including, in warm climates, one half of October, are the seasons when this pestilence chiefly prevails. But, it has been observed, that places producing remittent fevers in the fall, are liable to produce intermittents in spring. Places completely covered with water, do not produce malaria, although the margins of such places do.

This poison is now usually supposed to be a gas, acting by its chemical properties; by others, it is presumed to be an exhalation, effluvium, or odour; the ancient opinion, at present not considered as worth investigation, is, that the deleterious quality of the air impregnated with it, is owing to animalculæ. All these theories we shall consider by and by.

The book contains eleven chapters, of which we shall give a brief analysis.

Ch. 1. *On the effects of Malaria, and the utility of knowledge relating to it.*

Few people are aware of the extent to which malaria affects us. It is the source of more than half the diseases to which the human race is subject, and of more than half the mortality which depopulates mankind. It seems to be the angel of destruction, ordained to maintain the necessary proportion between population and the means of subsistence. It detracts one half from the value of life in Holland;—at least as much, and probably more, in Italy, where the *maremmes* extend two hundred miles, from Leghorn to Terracina, having a breadth, according to Chateauvieu, of forty miles; besides the pestilence of Rome and its neighbourhood, which threatens with dreadful probability, in less than half a century, to reduce that former mistress of the world to a desert.

“Let us turn to Italy, (says Dr. M'Culloch :) the fairest portions of this fair land are a prey to this invisible enemy; its fragrant breezes are poison; the dews of its summer evenings are death. The banks of its refreshing streams, its rich and flowing meadows, the borders of its glassy lakes, the luxuriant plains of its overflowing agriculture, the valley where its aromatic shrubs regale the eye and perfume the air; these are the chosen seats of this plague, the throne

*tical* chemists, whose proximity, with one exception, afforded them better opportunities of judging. The exertions which he has made, are obviously meritorious; and, even if his deductions be as unworthy of confidence, as the committee have alleged, they may still be useful in exciting inquiry, and eliciting truth.

In page 98, Vol. ii. of the *American Journal of Science*, Professor Silliman says:—

“This memoir, (alluding to Mr. Bull's,) is the result of a long course of experiments evidently conducted with great care and skill. It is replete with interesting information, and is to be regarded as one of the most important contributions of science to the arts, and to domestic economy, which has been made for a long time in this country. It is worthy of being carefully studied both by scientific and practical men; and, for the sake of the latter class, it might be well if an analysis of this practical and detailed paper, presenting in a lucid and concise form the practical and important results obtained by Mr. Bull, were prepared for publication.”

In order to lay before the reader the opinions of Professor Silliman, concerning the objections of the committee, we will subjoin his letter to Mr. Bull, page 14 of the “*Defence* :”—

“*Yale College, July 17th, 1826.*”

“Dear Sir,—I have twice perused with attention your communication of the 6th instant, covering the report of the committee of the American Academy of Boston, upon the subject of your experiments upon the heat, evolved in combustion, &c.

“In reply to your request, that I would give you my opinion of the objections made by the committee, and of your reply to them, I proceed to remark :

“1st. I conceive that the exterior room, being sustained at a given temperature by a source independent both of the inner room and of the external air, is as good a non-conductor as can be provided, and that the inner room is as effectually guarded as possible from any influence from the external air, and that it is sufficiently guarded to prevent any appreciable inaccuracy from that source.

“2d. There being no visible smoke from the anthracite coals, and scarcely any volatile combustible matter, that is not immediately consumed by the fire, there is, in the case of this fuel, no room for the combustion of the smoke; and as the object of the experiments was to show the comparative quantity of heat evolved in the usual modes of burning fuel, in domestic economy and in the common arts, and not the whole possible amount, it did not come within your plan to compass this object, nor does it appear to be necessary for the purpose in view.

“3d. The spirit of these remarks is applicable to the third objection. Your selection of fuel appears to have been sufficiently precise to furnish the average result of the good fuel in market, and this was all that the case required.

“For my general opinions of the value of your paper, I beg leave to refer you to the *American Journal*, vol. ii. page 98, just published, where under the date of May 11th, you will find my impressions consisely, but fully expressed.

“Entertaining the greatest respect for the committee of the American Academy, and having myself the honour to be a member of that body, I trust they will receive with candour the opinions which I have expressed, and which would have been communicated with equal frankness, had I been so fortunate as to coincide with them.

I remain, dear sir, your's very respectfully.

“B. SILLIMAN.”

“MR. BULL.”

curate result of observations made with a medical eye, which the sick may consult with confidence, and in safety, without the hazard so often incurred, of meeting disease and death in an additional form abroad, while they are trying to escape them at home.

To be tolerably well informed of the nature and character of a poison so fatal when concentrated, so destructive of bodily comfort, when we are exposed to it, even in a diluted state, and to be aware of the places liable to produce it, cannot but be important to every member of society, without exception. It forms the most prominent feature in the police of health. To give some correct, but general ideas of this too common, but unsuspected source of so many disorders, the present volume has been written; and, although many persons will be inclined to think that Dr. M'Culloch has carried his fears and denunciations to a needless extent, we are persuaded, that the fault, if a fault there be, is a fault on the right side; nor do we know of any medical treatise, (if this may be called one,) so generally interesting, and so much needed in the present state of public inattention, as the book now before us. Even in our own country, without recurring to the swamps of the Carolinas, or the eastern shore of our seaboard, from Jersey to Georgia, how many of our cities, Philadelphia and New-York, for instance, abound in their outskirts with marshy places, puddles, ponds, and receptacles of vegetable filth, to which, in addition to the banks of rivers and streams, no physician will hesitate to refer the intermittents and remittents of our autumnal seasons. In fact, what at New-Orleans will produce yellow fever, in Virginia will give rise to bilious remittents; in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, to agues, dysenteries, cholera, and diarrhœa. We do not say, that the many of the numerous tribe of disorders originating from the cause now under consideration, are to be attributed to it exclusively, but it is the usual and general source of them; and it behooves the public to be aware of this: the treatise now under consideration, therefore, is, in our opinion, most important and most welcome.

Nor is it the mere production of individual disease that forms the great mischief of malaria. Mr. Foderé, in his *Traité de Médecine legale*, t. v. ch. i. observes, that it stints and debilitates the population, even where there is no particular disease.

Ch. 2. *Nature of the evidences respecting the production of Malaria in places of less suspected character.*

Among travelled men of education, as well as among physicians, no doubt remains of intermittent and remittent fevers and dysenteries, being the consequence of moist and marshy places, where vegetables grow and die, and are enabled to putrefy by the warmth of the climate or season: but, among the common

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Every thing in the book breathes the love of country, and by it apparent contradictions may be explained. When the Duke

\* See Kotzebue's excellent comedy, entitled: "The Little Towns of Germany," (*Die Deutschen Kleinstädter*.)

arrived in Pennsylvania, in a state, one third of which he knew to be inhabited by Germans or their descendants, his expectations were raised to the highest pitch. With what delight he received an invitation of the sons of Herman to partake of a national dinner in the city of Philadelphia, he best can describe. But, alas! when in the midst of them, what a falling off was there! The ancient language forgotten or corrupted; the manners so different from those he had left at home! Even the dishes! a *splendid* dinner, indeed; no doubt compounded by the most eminent French *Restaurateur*. But that was not what he looked for. He expected to see *Germans*, and he found *Americans*. Must we wonder, then, that his disappointment appears in the description which he gives of this feast? How different were his feelings at the plain, the homely dinner which was offered him by Mr. Rapp, and his Wurtembergers! No high seasoned *sauces*, no exquisite *condiments*, no *ragoûts* were to be seen there. But the table was covered with *German dishes*. No doubt, there was the *beer-soup*, the *noodles*, the *sour-cROUT*; perhaps a sly bottle or two of the genuine *Hochheimer*, or at least the purple *Bischof*, the punch of Germany, justly celebrated by a charming poet of that nation:

————— Aber den Bischof  
Hebe doch auf; das ist ein gesundes und liebliches Tränklein.

————— Hand the Bischof round;  
It is a wholesome and delicious drink.—Voss' *LUTER*, Idyl. 3.

And the *Pfeifchen* after dinner; the fragrant *tube*; the dispeller of *ennui*, the solace of care! O, the *Pfeifchen* was surely there; while perhaps, the *Pseudo-Germans* of Philadelphia, thought it impolite to hand even a *cigar*! We cannot compare our traveller's description of the two dinners, without honouring his patriotic feelings; while we recommend to the Ex-Germans of the city of brotherly love, to leave off the costume of their Teutonic ancestors, and when another Prince from the Holy Roman Empire shall hereafter visit this country, to invite him to a dinner if they please, but in their own proper character of *Americans*, the only one which they can sustain with honour and credit to themselves.

But it is time to put an end to this desultory review. We leave our excellent Duke with perfect good humour. He loves our country and we love him. *Dear Philadelphia, friendly Baltimore*, and the other places which he favoured with his amiable society, will be happy to welcome him again, if chance or inclination should once more direct his way to this hemisphere.

These volumes are embellished with the picture of the author, which we think a very good likeness. They also contain maps of the cities of New-York and Philadelphia, and a small one of Pittsburg, besides a number of vignettes and explanatory drawings.

There are, indeed, in this book, many things well known in



this country, and which are familiar to our well-informed citizens. But it must be observed that it was written for the meridian of Europe, and in that respect it may be considered as a good general view of the physical and moral situation of the United States at the time when it was written. There are some occasional mistakes; but not of great consequence. As to objects merely political, it may be well understood why the Prince did not think proper to expatiate upon them.

We understand that a translation of this work is preparing for the press. It will be read with interest, and if we are not mistaken, will leave the same pleasing impressions of the author that we have felt ourselves and been happy to express.

ART. X.—*Controversy respecting the pretensions of MARCUS BULL to the Rumford Premium.*

- 1.—*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge.*—Vol. iii. part 1; new series. Containing—“*Experiments to determine the comparative quantities of heat evolved in the combustion of the principal varieties of wood and coal used in the United States for fuel; and, also, to determine the comparative quantities of heat lost by the ordinary apparatus made use of for their combustion.*”—By MARCUS BULL.
- 2.—*A Defence of the Experiments to determine the comparative value of the principal varieties of Fuel used in the United States, and also in Europe; containing a correspondence with a committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; their Report and Remarks thereon; and animadversions on the manner in which the trust confided to the Academy, by Count Rumford, has been managed.* By MARCUS BULL, Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c.
- 3.—*A short reply to a Pamphlet published at Philadelphia; entitled, “A defence of the Experiments,” &c. By one of the Committee of the American Academy.*
- 4.—*An Answer to “A short reply,” &c. &c. &c. By MARCUS BULL, M. A. P. S., &c. &c. &c.*

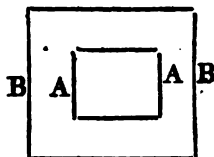
IN the year 1823, Mr. Marcus Bull, of this city, undertook a series of experiments, with a view to ascertain the comparative values of different kinds of fuel. In 1826, the results of his inquiry were communicated to the American Philosophical Society, in a paper mentioned at the head of this article, which meeting with great applause, was soon after published at the expense, and under the auspices of the Society.

Thus encouraged, Mr. Bull ventured to apply to the American Academy of Sciences, at Boston, for a premium, which, as trustees of a fund, accepted from Count Rumford, they are obligated to award for meritorious discoveries respecting heat. Mr. Bull was soon apprized by a committee, to whom his claim was referred by the academy, that his experiments were deemed objectionable on certain stated grounds. This led to a controversy, which has been published in the three last of the above mentioned pamphlets, and the merits of which, we propose briefly to examine.

A person may perform an ingenious, arduous, and accurate course of experiments, and may attain results to which much importance may be attached by competent judges, in whom confidence may be inspired by their acquaintance with him and with his methods of investigation; yet unless some striking discovery be the fruit of his labours, their merit may be honestly questioned by those who know nothing of him, or them, unless by rumour, or through his own writings. These observations we conceive to be applicable in the case under consideration. Our personal acquaintance with Mr. Bull, and our opportunities of observing his indefatigable assiduity, and scrupulous accuracy, while engaged in his experiments, created much confidence in his deductions: yet as they depend mainly upon his own statements, and do not carry any inherent evidence of truth, we are not surprised that a committee of a remote society, who are personally unacquainted with him, should not, in consideration of his labours, have felt themselves called upon to award him a premium, to which time has given an accumulated pecuniary value.

Had the committee then refused the Rumford premium to Mr. Bull, simply on the ground that his results required confirmation, it would have been difficult to prove their decision incorrect; but injudiciously, as it appears to us, they deemed it expedient to object theoretically, and as we conceive erroneously, to the means which he employed to guard against the vicissitudes of atmospheric temperature.

Pursuant to the advice of Dr. Hare, one room having been made within another, so as to leave an interval on every side between the partition A of the inner room, and wall B of the outer



room, it is alleged by the committee, that although the air in the interval may have been kept at a uniform temperature, still the

inner surface of the wall B, may by radiation have varied the temperature of the outer surface A of the partition, in consequence of atmospheric changes. We should have inferred, *a priori*, that no variation could in this way ensue, which would be sufficiently extensive to merit consideration; and subsequently it was shown by experiments, made by Mr. Bull, in the presence of Dr. Hare, and others, that when the whole effect of the radiation from the wall B, was concentrated upon a differential thermometer, so as to be multiplied an hundred fold, it fell short of a quantity which could have produced any sensible influence upon the most sensitive mercurial thermometer.

But admitting that radiation may influence the temperature of the inner room, without proportionally altering that of the surrounding air, it cannot be supposed that a thermometer will remain indifferent to any change, thus effected. Whenever radiant caloric should be more or less rapidly abstracted from the surface A, of the partition, it would in like manner be abstracted from the bulb of a thermometer, similarly exposed. Agreeably to the plan adopted by Mr. Bull, two thermometers, one within the inner room, the other in the interval between the partition A, and wall B, were sustained uniformly at the same difference of temperature. If under these circumstances, the loss of radiant heat, could not vary without detection, to show that it might escape without altering the temperature of the air between the rooms, were a waste of time; since the measures of the operator in increasing or lessening the heat of the space intervening between A and B, were regulated by the thermometer, not by the air.

As it is notorious that many of the most useful discoveries, have been for a long time treated with neglect, the inference made by the author of the short reply, in the following passage, appears to us extremely unfair.

"About two years ago, Mr. Marcus Bull, of Philadelphia, published a series of 'experiments to determine the comparative quantities of heat evolved in the combustion of the principal varieties of wood and coal used in the United States,' &c. &c. These experiments, we are told by their author, have been copied and commended in various periodical works at home and abroad; and of course a wide circulation given to them. Their object is said to have been practical utility; and, although their length may have prevented many readers from entering into their merits, yet certain alleged facts, stated as results in a comparative table at the end, are intelligible to all kinds of persons; such as the fact that a cord of hickory wood, possesses more value, or more heating power, than a chaldron of Cannel, or of Liverpool coal, or than a ton of Lehigh coal; the fact that a chaldron of Newcastle coal is of less value than a cord of white oak, or of swamp whortleberry, &c. &c. with various other results equally extraordinary, and at variance with previous opinions on the subject.

"Two years, as has been said, have elapsed; and no great practical good is known to have grown out of Mr. Bull's experiments. The relative prices of the different kinds of fuel, continue probably the same that they would have been, if Mr. Bull had never written. Our citizens continue to pay twice as much for a chaldron of Cannel or Liverpool coal, as they will give for a cord of hickory

wood. Neither a cord of oak, nor of whortleberry bushes, can be bartered in exchange for a chaldron of Newcastle coal. Our manufacturers, whose interests are staked upon the good management of their furnaces, continue to prefer the results of their own experience, founded upon trials made in the large way during many years, rather than adopt Mr. Bull's opinions, enforced as they are by sixty pages of scientific detail.

"What then has been the cause that more practical good has not grown out of Mr. Bull's labours? Is it that any body of men have taken the pains to pursue Mr. Bull, and to write him down in the journals and newspapers? Is it that our manufacturers, so vigilant and discerning upon other subjects relating to their interests, are perversely blind upon this? Or is it that, after all, the cord of wood is not worth as much as the chaldron of coal; that it will not warm so many rooms, nor turn out so great a product to the manufacturer, and that Mr. Bull has been led astray in his conclusions, by fallacious experiments, and an incompetent apparatus. These are questions which the late appeal of Mr. Bull to the public, makes it proper to consider."

It is now well known, that had the labours of Fitch, in applying steam to navigation, been sufficiently patronised, he would probably have anticipated the more successful enterprise of Fulton. Yet it might have been said, with as much justice as the committee have evinced in the case of Mr. Bull, that the public continued to use stages and sail-boats, notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Fitch to convince them of the advantages of steam.

The discovery of the absorption of oxygen by metals, was made by Rey, and confirmed by Hooke and Mayow; yet fifty years afterwards, it might have been vaunted by the disciples of Stahl, that phlogiston was not on that account the less in vogue.

At one time, it might have been alleged against Copernicus, that, in despite of his ingenious disquisitions, a majority of the learned, as well as of the ignorant, continued to consider the motion of the sun, about the earth, as an intuitive truth.

In assigning the superiority to white heart hickory, Mr. Bull clearly explained, that, in the *usual mode* of burning coal and wood, the advantage was greatly in favour of coal. It must then be evident, that the advice of Mr. Bull would have no tendency to induce the public to pay more for the wood, unless it should at the same time have been deemed expedient and practicable to contrive fire-places of a different construction from those now in use.

In many instances, errors endure from prejudice or ignorance, and even in opposition to the well-founded remonstrances of scientific men. After Virginia coal had been used for about twelve years as fuel for the engines at our water-works, the war, we believe, rendered a resort to wood necessary, which was then ascertained to be cheaper.

To conclude, however the remoteness of the committee from the scene of Mr. Bull's investigations, may have incapacitated them to judge of the accuracy of his manipulations, and may justify their consequent refusal to grant him a premium of great value, we cannot but consider them, on the same account, as inexcusable for detracting from the merit awarded him by *prac-*

*tical* chemists, whose proximity, with one exception, afforded them better opportunities of judging. The exertions which he has made, are obviously meritorious; and, even if his deductions be as unworthy of confidence, as the committee have alleged, they may still be useful in exciting inquiry, and eliciting truth.

In page 98, Vol. ii. of the *American Journal of Science*, Professor Silliman says:—

“This memoir, (alluding to Mr. Bull's,) is the result of a long course of experiments evidently conducted with great care and skill. It is replete with interesting information, and is to be regarded as one of the most important contributions of science to the arts, and to domestic economy, which has been made for a long time in this country. It is worthy of being carefully studied both by scientific and practical men; and, for the sake of the latter class, it might be well if an analysis of this practical and detailed paper, presenting in a lucid and concise form the practical and important results obtained by Mr. Bull, were prepared for publication.”

In order to lay before the reader the opinions of Professor Silliman, concerning the objections of the committee, we will subjoin his letter to Mr. Bull, page 14 of the “*Defence* :”—

“*Yale College, July 17th, 1826.*”

“Dear Sir,—I have twice perused with attention your communication of the 6th instant, covering the report of the committee of the American Academy of Boston, upon the subject of your experiments upon the heat, evolved in combustion, &c.

“In reply to your request, that I would give you my opinion of the objections made by the committee, and of your reply to them, I proceed to remark :

“1st. I conceive that the exterior room, being sustained at a given temperature by a source independent both of the inner room and of the external air, is as good a non-conductor as can be provided, and that the inner room is as effectually guarded as possible from any influence from the external air, and that it is sufficiently guarded to prevent any appreciable inaccuracy from that source.

“2d. There being no visible smoke from the anthracite coals, and scarcely any volatile combustible matter, that is not immediately consumed by the fire, there is, in the case of this fuel, no room for the combustion of the smoke; and as the object of the experiments was to show the comparative quantity of heat evolved in the usual modes of burning fuel, in domestic economy and in the common arts, and not the whole possible amount, it did not come within your plan to compass this object, nor does it appear to be necessary for the purpose in view.

“3d. The spirit of these remarks is applicable to the third objection. Your selection of fuel appears to have been sufficiently precise to furnish the average result of the good fuel in market, and this was all that the case required.

“For my general opinions of the value of your paper, I beg leave to refer you to the *American Journal*, vol. ii. page 98, just published, where under the date of May 11th, you will find my impressions consisely, but fully expressed.

“Entertaining the greatest respect for the committee of the American Academy, and having myself the honour to be a member of that body, I trust they will receive with candour the opinions which I have expressed, and which would have been communicated with equal frankness, had I been so fortunate as to coincide with them.

I remain, dear sir, your's very respectfully.

“B. SILLIMAN.

“MR. BULL.”

# AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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DECEMBER, 1828.

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ART. I.—*Palestine and other Poems. By the late REGINALD HEBER, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Now first collected. With a Memoir of his Life.* Carey, Lea & Carey: Philadelphia: 1828.

It has been the complaint of the last half century, that very little of the true spirit of poetry, has preserved its existence unimpaired; and, that the “*prodesse volunt, aut delectare*” has degenerated on the one hand, into the very questionable shape of the modern song, and the scarcely more elevated sonnet, or sunk completely on the other, into the degrading service of immorality and vice. That this complaint is in some measure true, it is the misfortune of the lovers of genuine poetry, to be compelled to acknowledge, though they will be far from disposed to receive it in that latitude of meaning in which it is generally made. There are many redeeming instances which it is unnecessary for us to stop to mention, in which the efforts of the most exalted genius have been consecrated to the service of morality and religion; and if we are not strangely mistaken, the moral taste of the age is far from deterioration.

Among the individuals, who are very far from the application of all these sweeping denunciations, stands conspicuously the prelate whose poetical effusions have been collected in the volume, the title of which is placed at the head of our present article. And so familiar has the name of Heber become, not only in the religious, but the literary circles of our country, that we feel constrained to bestow a larger share of attention on the subject, than under ordinary circumstances would be deemed advisable. If, after all, our readers should think, that we have made too large a demand on their time and patience, all the apology

we offer is, that every work has its *extrinsic*, as well as *intrinsic* character; and that though the present volume of Heber is small in compass, especially when compared with the great work to which our attention was lately called, yet it derives importance from the circumstances which have invested the character of its author with a deep and lively, and universal interest. Previous, however, to our entering on a critical examination of the work itself, it may be proper to make some brief general observations, touching the history of Christianity in India, in order to introduce to our readers the memoir by which the poems are accompanied, for it is no disparagement to say, that Heber, the Poet, is indebted for his greatest reputation to Heber, the ardent and devoted Bishop. To the effort to plant the religion of the Cross in the far-distant regions of the East, are we beholden not only for the "Journal" which has passed under our notice, but to much of the charm of Heber's life, and Heber's poetry.

We address ourselves to this preliminary work, confident of meeting the approbation of the great body of Christians of every name among us; and not without the expectation of furnishing some materials even for philosophic speculation. For, we believe, there are few subjects which afford greater scope for intellectual and moral investigation, than those novel phenomena of mind, which are beginning to stand out so conspicuously before the public, on the score of what is technically called "the missionary enterprise." And let the apparently feverish excitement of the age on this subject, be viewed, as some foolishly affect to view it, as a kind of epidemic mania, pervading the land, and seizing on certain persons among the high and the low, the rich and the poor;—or let it be considered in the most favourable light, which the most zealous religionists can desire, it still affords a subject worthy of the philosopher's analysis and patient attention. But to our object.

Unquestionably, the most splendid missionary establishment which the world ever saw, was that well known under the title of the College "de Propaganda fide." Apart from the consideration, that one of the objects of this magnificent concern, was the aggrandizement of the Catholic church, it has challenged, and received, the admiration of the world, for the grandeur of the conception displayed in its plan,—for the truly gigantic character of its apparatus, and the prodigious energy and judgment which prepared and directed the arrangement and application of its means. Attention was early directed to the destitute and benighted regions of the East, and we have no hesitation in recording our conviction, that could a project of such extent and importance have been accomplished by human policy or power, the efforts of that society would seem to have been adequate.

The designs of the "Propaganda" embraced the conversion of the world, and in the different religious orders prepared to act under its directions, it had a power prodigious in force, and proportioned to the magnitude of the undertaking. These singular institutions supplied a number of men distinguished by ardour of piety and innocence of life, accustomed to labour, to poverty, to the severest privations; inured to implicit obedience; proficient in the study of human nature, and versed in the sciences, the arts, and the languages which could facilitate admission and intercourse in the several countries assigned for the exertions of their zeal.\* Bishop Warburton, who remarks that "we should be unjust to Rome, not to acknowledge its zeal to be equal to that of other churches, in displaying the Christian banner throughout the habitable world"—has given a striking picture of the training to which the Propaganda missionaries were subjected. He had spoken of the qualifications of the missionary,—“ardent zeal and unwearied diligence—appetites subdued to the distresses of want, and a mind superior to all the terrors of death.” Now, all these qualities and habits, their several orders of religions, whence these missionaries are taken, very early labour to inculcate. One quality is more deeply implanted by this order, another by that; and the most necessary and essential are formed in all: thus every monastic institution kindles and keeps alive that exalted charity—a self-sacrifice for the salvation of souls.

The Jesuits subdue the will by the severe discipline of blind obedience—to stand where they are placed, and run where they are bid. The Carthusians subdue the appetites by a tedious course of bodily labours and mortifying abstinences; and the order called “the Congregation of St. Paul,” subdues the whole man; for, in a sense peculiar to them, as their holy patron, they *die daily*; the observance of their whole rule consisting in one continued meditation on that king of terrors.

Nor is this all. The several orders, like workmen who travail separately on the various parts of the same machine, each of them to be sent to the master artist to be put into its destined place, where, by a proper combination, all are fitted for their peculiar use; the orders I say, send their subjects, thus prepared, to the COLLEGE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE, to receive their last finishing and first motion; “by instruction in the languages, the manners, and the customs of the barbarous nations, to whose conversion they are appointed and addressed.”†

\* Dr. Hooley, Lord Bishop of London, before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, 1817.

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And yet, the effect produced by all this mighty apparatus, was not so great in proportion, as might have been expected. Of the causes of failure, we are not qualified to speak, neither should we care to enter into any discussion, as this would lead into the region of polemics, as foreign from our taste, as it is from the grand design of our work.

Our business, in rapidly tracing the history of Christian effort in India, is more particularly connected with Protestantism, and still more with the efforts made by the British church. We necessarily pass by a variety of missions directed to other quarters of the globe, and we shall leave out from the consideration, those established by our own countrymen, neither last, nor least; because a full investigation would extend our article far beyond all reasonable limits, and we may find some future opportunity to enter fully into the history of American effort in the East.

In the beginning of the 18th century, Frederick IV., King of Denmark, attempted the conversion of the heathen on the coast of Coromandel, and for that purpose he sent out Bartholomew Zeigenbalgrus and Henry Plutche, both educated for the ministry at the University of Halle, in Upper Saxony, and ordained by the Bishop of Zealand. In 1707, two years after their landing, they baptized five of the natives, as the first fruits of their labours among the heathen. This mission was patronized by George I. of England, and the then Primate, Archbishop Wake;—and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been established a few years before in London, came forward with alacrity and zeal in the support of the undertaking. Among the constant accessions of strength which this mission received, one of the most important was that of Christian Frederick Swartz, in 1750—a man, who, for nearly fifty years, was one of its brightest and most distinguished ornaments. Of this apostolic man, and his labours, it is impossible for us to speak in the short compass allowed for this sketch—suffice it to say, his equal has never yet appeared on the shores of India. What Heber might have been, had his valuable life been spared, we know not; but take all the circumstances into consideration, and Swartz has not yet had a rival. In token of his respect for Swartz, the Rajah of Tanjore, in 1798, wrote to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, requesting them to erect a monument of marble in his capital, in the church where the good man preached; “with a view,” said he, “to perpetuate the memory of Father Swartz, and to manifest the high esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe him—my father, my friend, the protector and guardian of my youth.” In 1807, the monument was erected by the East India Company.

The first serious, decided, and persevering attempt, to awaken the public attention of Protestant England, was made as late as 1805, by one whose name will ever be identified with the progress of Christianity in India; we mean Claudius Buchanan—perhaps not inappropriately termed the Apostle of the Indies. During the century in which they had been acquiring their oriental empire, the British East India Company, intent on the pursuits of commerce and ambition, and contending frequently, not only for aggrandizement, but for existence, were but little at leisure to attend to the moral and religious claims, even of their own European servants, much less to consider those of their native subjects, to any thing beyond general protection and the administration of justice. Among those, who, from the principles of infidelity, or, from the absorbing influence of worldly pursuits, felt little immediate concern in religion; and who, in the acquisition and consolidation of power, amidst the half-civilized votaries of idolatry and imposture, were tremblingly alive to the danger of offending or alarming them, by the too prominent profession of a purer faith, it may be easily imagined that no effort would be made.\* But, to the eye of Christian observation, the matter always appears in an aspect, which takes its character more from the lights of eternity, than from any views of short-sighted worldly policy; and, it is not surprising, that a subject so grand in itself, and so intimately connected with his own profession and local situation, should have early occurred to the mind of such a diligent and wakeful observer as Mr. Buchanan. Pearson, the learned biographer of Buchanan, observes, and indeed Buchanan himself, allows, in his *Christian Researches*, that the first suggestion was made to him by the late excellent Bishop Porteus, who had, he said, attentively examined the state of the British dominions in Asia, and had expressed his conviction of the indispensable importance of some vigorous effort to advance the interests of Christianity; and who can doubt it, when we consider that India, from the Indus to the Ganges—from Cape Cormorin to the mountains of Himalaya, and including the Island of Ceylon, contains a population of 80,000,000 of souls, directly, or indirectly, under the sway of the British Crown?

Dr. Buchanan's memoir on the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India, produced a most powerful sensation of the public mind. This work is not probably familiar to the mass of our readers; neither is it necessary that we should at all enter into the argument, which was calculated to make so striking an impression on the British public. With their ecclesiastical establishment, and its consequent want of real to-

\* Rev. Hugh Pearson, *Life of Buchanan*, p. 218.

leration, we shall have a constant quarrel, and shall ever have reason to bless God, that in this, our country, church, and state, have no connexion. Religion, to flourish, must flourish by its own intrinsic excellency—it wants not the aid of the civil power. To be valuable, it must dwell in the heart; and when it has its residence there, it has a better guarantee than all the laws which human ingenuity could devise for its support. Be this as it may, the memoir of Dr. Buchanan presented arguments which had resistless weight with the people of England; and when a fair opportunity offered to discuss the whole subject, no opposition could stand before the torrent of awakened public sensibility. That opportunity was offered, when the renewal of the charter of the East India Company was brought before the British Parliament. Independently of the question of the slave trade, and the still more recent subject of Catholic emancipation, there never was one which produced so general an excitement over the British empire; and the periodical press of 1812–13, made the Christianizing of India its paramount topic. The object of all this discussion was, that, in the renewed charter of the Company, a clause should be inserted, providing for the formation of an adequate ecclesiastical establishment. The greatest names of England appear in this discussion; and a more decided mass of eloquence is nowhere to be found, than in the debates of parliament at this period. Petition after petition poured in from all quarters, in favour of the introduction; and on the tables of the two houses, no less than nine hundred were eventually laid, signed by more than half a million of the people of all ranks and degrees.\* On the 22d of June 1813, a memorable day in the history of British effort for Christianizing India, Lord Castlereagh proposed to the House of Commons the adoption of the following resolution, viz:—

“That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted, as may tend to the introduction, among them, of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement:—that in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient faculties shall be furnished by law, to persons going to, and remaining in, India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs.”

On the 24th of the same month, it was moved by Lord Buckinghamshire in the House of Lords, and carried without a dissenting voice. In the Commons, the majority in favour had been fifty-three;—eighty-nine voting for it, and thirty-six against it.

In consequence of this triumph of the friends of religion, the Crown was enabled to constitute a bishopric, with such jurisdiction and functions, as should from time to time be defined by his

\* *Christian Observer*, June and July, 1813.

Majesty, by letters patent, under the great seal of England. The East India Company was charged with salaries to be paid to the bishop and three archdeacons. Calcutta was then erected into a Bishop's see; and the eminent individual selected first to fill that important station, was Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D. D., then archdeacon of Huntingdon. He was a man exceedingly well qualified for his station, by his learning and piety, and to him the world is indebted for one of the most learned works on the Greek article extant. Indeed, his work may be considered as standing alone, on this branch of philology; for, preceding critics had not directed their attention sufficiently to this subject, to give a full and satisfactory account of it. Literary eminence, however, was not that at which he aimed; for, though his memory was stored with all profane and civil literature, and he was ranked among the first critics of his age, and had an inexhaustible supply of lighter and more elegant learning, yet he sought only to be remembered as a faithful servant of his master. His work on the Greek article, will remain a monument of his learning, while biblical criticism shall be ranked among the sciences; but his enduring fame, is in the churches of the East. Bishop Middleton was consecrated on the 8th of May 1814, in the chapel of the Lambeth palace, by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, on the 8th of June, accompanied by Mrs. Middleton and Archdeacon Loring, he sailed for Bengal. On the 28th of November of the same year, he arrived at Calcutta, and, from that time, was actively engaged in the duties of his calling, during nearly eight years. He died of a nervous fever, on the 8th of July 1822, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. To the see of Calcutta, thus rendered vacant, Reginald Heber was appointed, on the 14th of May 1823; and, on the 16th of June, he embarked for Calcutta, which he reached early in October. The providence of God, however, had designed for him a short but active career. He suffered nothing to interfere with his duties as a Missionary Bishop. His labours are placed before the public, in the journal of his tour; and never has the self-sacrificing spirit of the devoted missionary, been more sublimely exemplified. Of his death, it has been beautifully said, "His sun was in its meridian power; and its warmth most genial, when it was suddenly eclipsed for ever. He fell, as the standard-bearer of the Cross should ever wish to fall, by no lingering delay, but in the firmness and vigour of his age, and in the very act of combat and triumph. His master came suddenly, and found him faithful in his charge, and waiting for his appearing. His last hour was spent in his Lord's service, and in ministering to the humblest of his flock. He had scarcely put off the sacred robes with which he served at the altar of his God on earth, when he was sudden-

ly admitted to his sanctuary on high, and clothed in the garments of immortality.”\*

The volume which we now proceed particularly to notice, is introduced by a well prepared memoir, the work of a clergyman of Philadelphia. The materials appear to be faithfully collected, and judiciously arranged, and the author modestly disavows all merit, save that of arrangement.

The volume contains “Palestine,” the prize poem of Heber, “Europe,” several fugitive pieces—hymns which were intended for public worship, translations, both from Pindar and the Hindoostanee, and explanatory notes. The first of the poems, entitled “Palestine,” is the largest and most important of the collection, considered in its literary aspect, for it is distinguished throughout by the classic chasteness and grace of its style—the simplicity of its plot, and the nice discrimination of its ornaments. It was recited in the University Theatre at Oxford, and first appeared in 1802,† in a work entitled “the Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry.” The poem commences with a brief survey of the present wretched condition of the Holy Land—he then takes back the attention to the record of her past and almost forgotten glories; and concludes with a rather too rapid, but still felicitous description of those transcendent glories which are to characterize her future years, in those days of prophetic anticipation, when Judea’s olive tree is to revive from the death of so many generations, and the sun once more illumine the heights of Carmel, and the cedars of Lebanon. We shall make brief extracts.

The opening lines are perhaps too abrupt, but easy and graceful; and the invocation to the “Warrior Sons of Heaven,” with which the author precedes his brief view of the unhappy condition of the Holy Land, is of a fine order of poetry:—

“Ye guardian saints! ye Warrior Sps of Heaven,  
To whose high care Judea’s state was given!  
O wont of old your nightly watch to keep,  
A host of gods on Sion’s towery steep!  
If e’er your secret footsteps linger still  
By Siloa’s fount, or Tabor’s echoing hill;  
If e’er your songs on Salem’s glory dwell,  
And mourn the captive land ye love so well;  
(For oft, ’tis said, in Kedron’s palmy vale,  
Mysterious harpings swell the midnight gale,  
And, blest as balmy dews that Hermon cheer,  
Melt in soft cadence on the pilgrim’s ear;)

\* Memoir prefixed to the volume under Review, p. lvii.

† In the “Memoir,” it is stated, that “Palestine was written and recited in the University Theatre in 1803.” We have now before us, the second edition of “the Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for 1802,” which contains this poem of Heber, with a mass of trash by other hands, entirely unworthy of such good company. There is some chronological error, therefore, though where, we are not able to tell.

Forgive, blest spirits, if a theme so high,  
Mock the weak notes of mortal minstrelsy !  
Yet, might your aid this mortal breast inspire,  
With one faint spark of Milton's seraph fire ;  
Then should my muse ascend with bolder flight,  
And wave her eagle plumes exulting in the light."

In these days of peace, and of peace societies, "the Warrior Sons of Heaven" may seem an unhappy phraseology, but the author successfully defends the term in a note, where he quotes from the sacred volume. In the first edition of "Palestine," which now lies before us, the term "warrior sage" was applied to Solomon, following the rich and fascinating descriptions of the Arabian mythology. In the present edition, we find the substitution of the term, "the kingly sage"—more agreeable to scripture certainly, but neither so harmonious in the verse, nor preserving so much unity in the action.

We have looked with an intense interest on one portion of the poem, because it was there, that we anticipated a failure, from the very nature of the subject. Splendid as is the celebrated picture of Christ healing the sick, by our countryman West, we apprehend, that, in most persons, there is a transient feeling of disappointment, when they contemplate the countenance of the master figure of the piece. This originates entirely from the undefined and indefinable associations connected with the character of the Saviour. It is not the fault of the painter; it is the unapproachable sublimity of the subject. So of a portion of the "Palestine" of Heber. It is hardly possible even for the highest order of poetry to come up to the majesty and the mysterious sublimity of the crucifixion. If therefore there is failure at all, it is here. Still the transition from the peaceful and happy influences of the Messiah's advent, to the direful circumstances of his death, is conceived and executed with considerable effect:—

"Thou palsied earth, with noon-day night o'erspread !  
Thou sick'ning sun, so dark, so deep, so red !  
Ye hov'ring ghosts, that throng the starless air ;  
Why shakes the earth ? why fades the light ? declare !  
Are those his limbs, with ruthless scourges torn ?  
His brows all bleeding with the twisted thorn ?  
His pale form, the meek forgiving eye,  
Rais'd from the cross in patient agony ?—  
Be dark, thou sun—thou noon-day night, arise,  
And hide, oh hide, the dreadful sacrifice !"

There is, towards the close of the poem, a brief invocation to the spirits of the Crusaders, and we allude to it rather to introduce the note of Bishop Heber, in which he very strikingly defends the Crusades from some common objections, and shows the benefit they have brought to Christianity, notwithstanding all that can reasonably be urged against them:—



"The world has been so long accustomed to hear the Crusades considered as the height of phrenzy and injustice, that to undertake their defence might be a hazardous task. We must however recollect, that, had it not been for these extraordinary exertions of human courage, the whole of Europe would perhaps have fallen, and Christianity been buried in its ruins. It was not, as Voltaire has falsely or weakly asserted, a conspiracy of robbers; it was not an unprovoked attack on a distant and inoffensive nation; it was a blow aimed at the heart of a most powerful and active enemy. Had not the Christian kingdoms of Asia been established as a check to the Mahometans, Italy, and the scanty remnant of Christianity in Spain, must again have fallen into their power; and France herself have needed all the heroism and good fortune of a Charles Martel, to deliver her from subjugation."

We have only room for the concluding lines of this poem, in which, after briefly depicting the present condition of the Holy Land, the author, following the track of inspiration, points out the future triumph of the Messiah:—

"Yet still destruction sweeps the lonely plain,  
And heroes lift the generous sword in vain.  
Still o'er her sky the clouds of anger roll,  
And God's revenge hangs heavy on her soul.  
Yet shall she rise;—but not by war restor'd,  
Not built in murder,—planted by the sword.  
Yes, Salem, thou shalt rise; thy Father's aid  
Shall heal the wound his chastening hand has made;  
Shall judge the proud oppressor's ruthless sway,  
And burst his brazen bonds, and cast his cords away.  
Then on your tops shall deathless verdure spring;  
Break forth, ye mountains, and ye valleys, sing!  
No more your thirsty rocks shall prove forlorn,  
The unbeliever's jest, the heathen's scorn;  
The sultry sands, shall tenfold harvest yield,  
And a new Eden deck the thorny field.  
E'en now, perchance, wide-waving o'er the land,  
That mighty angel lifts his golden wand,  
Courts the bright vision of descending power,  
Tells every gate, and measures every tower,  
And chides the tardy seals that yet detain  
Thy Lion, Judah, from his destin'd reign.

"And who is he? the vast, the awful form  
Girt with the whirlwind, sandal'd with the storm.  
A western cloud around his limbs is spread,  
His crown a rainbow, and a sun his head.  
To highest heaven he lifts his kingly hand,  
And treads at once the ocean and the land;  
And, hark! his voice amid the thunder's roar,  
His dreadful voice, that time shall be no more!  
Lo! cherub hands the golden courts prepare,  
Lo! thrones arise, and every saint is there;  
Earth's utmost bounds confess their awful sway,  
The mountains worship and the isles obey;  
Nor sun, nor moon, they need,—nor day, nor night;  
God is their temple, and the Lamb their light:  
And shall not Israel's sons exulting come,  
Hail the glad beam, and claim their ancient home?  
On David's throne shall David's offspring reign,  
And the dry bones be warm with life again.  
Hark! white-rob'd crowds their deep hosannas raise,  
And the hoarse flood repeats the song of praise;

Ten thousand harps attune the mystic song,  
 Ten thousand, thousand saints the strain prolong;  
 ' Worthy the Lamb! omnipotent to save,  
 Who died, who lives, triumphant o'er the grave! "

"Europe," though marked by the same classic elegance, and judicious arrangement, is a poem, the peculiar interest of which has already passed away. The prejudices, and the predilections of the author, will be most prominent in the mind of the reader, for the lapse of twenty years has destroyed all the warmth of those political associations, which must have given the poem, on its first appearance, an ephemeral popularity. We say not this, to detract from the merit of the work, as a literary production. It will, in this particular, bear a comparison with "Palestine," and, indeed, in some respects, may be considered its superior, an effort of the author's more matured taste and judgment; but as the subject has lost its greatest hold on our attention, the literary merit of the poem, will scarcely redeem it from comparative neglect. Apart from the by-gone interest of the subject, these are adventitious circumstances, which should, nevertheless, cause it to find peculiar favour in our eyes. Heber appears in it, the advocate of freedom, and an enthusiastic defender of those, who, through peril unto death, stood forth its champion. Unhappily, his sympathies appear wasted, and Spain has proved herself unworthy of his enthusiasm. Bonaparte is not the worst enemy she has ever had; and while we say it with deep regret, we are compelled to think that the epithets in the following line, are more like satire than truth, and its conclusion but a poor specimen of prophetic inspiration:—

"But Spain, the *brave*, the *virtuous*, shall be free."

It is the remark of a transatlantic critic "Troja fuit—there was a period when Spain was entitled to all the martial celebrity which the historian or the poet could bestow. But her spirit has decayed with her power, and now it is to be feared that she has neither virtue to deserve freedom, nor courage to win it."

There are, however, with all these disadvantages, many powerful passages; indeed, more powerful, because the very circumstances of the writer, amidst the scenes of his poem, caused him to pour forth his strains with peculiar feeling and enthusiasm. The whole soul of the author appears in the few concluding lines, which are marked by great energy and beauty, though they contain the line above quoted:—

"No! by his nerveless arm whose righteous care,  
 Defends the orphan's tear, the poor man's prayer;  
 Who, Lord of nature, o'er this changeful ball  
 Decrees the rise of empires, and the fall;  
 Wond'rous in all his ways, unseen, unknown,  
 Who treads the wine press of the world alone;  
 And rob'd in darkness, and surrounding fears,  
 Speeds on their destin'd road the march of years!"

No! shall yon Eagle, from the snare set free,  
 Stoop to thy wish, or cower his wing for thee?  
 And shall it tame despair, its strong control,  
 Or quench the nation's still reviving soul?  
 Go, bid the force of countless bands conspire  
 To curb the wand'ring wind, or grasp the fire!  
 Cast thy vain fetters on the troubled sea!  
 But Spain, the brave, the virtuous, shall be free!"

The faults of the poem are so few as scarcely to deserve our notice. There is but one essentially defective line, and that is so palpable, as to accentuation; that it will not escape the observation even of the most careless reader.

"Untam'd Austria bids her clarion sound."

Here, to preserve the rythm, it is necessary to place the accent on the second syllable. The only way of reading the line with any satisfaction to the ear, is to alter the form of the first word, and read it

"Untamed Austria," &c. —————

Our author is by far too fond of the Alexandrine—it recurs in almost every dozen lines of the poem.

Among the miscellaneous poems in the volume, will be found a magnificent description of the passage of the Red Sea, too long to quote in this place, and of a character which does not well admit of extract. We have also "Lines spoken in the Theatre, Oxford, on Lord Grenville's installation as Chancellor."—"An Epitaph on a Young Naval Officer;" "An Evening's Walk in Bengal," and "Lines to his Wife," while on a visit to Upper India. These "Lines," are so exquisitely beautiful, and so full of heart, that we cannot resist the pleasure of presenting them to our readers, before we proceed to notice the concluding portion of the volume:—

"If thou wert by my side, my love!  
 How fast would evening sail,  
 In green Bengala's palmy grove,  
 Listening the nightingale!  
 If thou, my love! wert by my side,  
 My babies on my knee,  
 How quickly would our pinnace glide  
 O'er Gunga's mimic sea!  
 I miss thee at the dawning gray,  
 When, on our deck reclin'd,  
 In careless ease my limbs I lay,  
 And woo the cooler wind.  
 I miss thee when by Gunga's stream  
 My twilight steps I guide,  
 But most beneath the lamp's pale beam,  
 I miss thee from my side.  
 I spread my books, my pencil try,  
 The lingering noon to cheer,  
 But miss thy kind approving eye,  
 Thy meek attentive ear.

But when of morn and eve the star  
 Beholds me on my knee,  
 I feel, tho' thou art distant far,  
 Thy prayers ascend for me.

Then on ! then on ! where duty leads,  
 My course be onward still,  
 On broad Hindostan's sultry meads,  
 O'er black Almorah's hill.

That course, nor Delhi's kingly gates,  
 Nor wild Malwah detain,  
 For sweet the bliss us both awaits,  
 By yonder western main.

Thy bowers, Bombay, gleam bright, they say,  
 Across the dark blue sea,  
 But ne'er were hearts so light and gay,  
 As then shall meet in thee."

Some minor fugitive pieces follow, but we have no more room for extracts of this kind.

The portion of the volume which comes next under our observation, is that which contains the Hymns intended for public worship. No reader of these, will doubt the general beauty of their formation ; but, we apprehend, that there are very few, but who will doubt their adaptation to the purposes for which they were intended. If we may venture on a subject which would appear more appropriate to some ecclesiastical assembly, than the pages of a literary journal, we would observe, that, as to what is appropriate to public worship, there is a very general, though perfectly palpable, mistake, in all the collections of hymns which have come under our notice. If our views are correct, public worship consists of prayer and praise ; the former, comprising all the varieties of penitential expression, and all the modes of supplication ; the latter, confined more particularly to the expression of the grateful feelings of the heart. What has mere narration to do with the act, either of prayer or of praise ? And yet there are many hymns which are nothing more than sacred history rendered into verse. There can be no feelings of approach to the Supreme Being in this—neither can there be any hymn, or psalm, which is made up of mere pious truisms, however delicately and elegantly expressed. There are very few of the hymns of this collection, but what are obnoxious to this objection ; and, moreover, we believe, that a collection which should maintain the perfect consistency of devotion, is yet unknown to any denomination of Christians. We will illustrate this remark, by one or two instances :—

*The Fourth Sunday in Advent.*

"The world is grown old, and her pleasures are past ;  
 The world is grown old, and her form may not last ;  
 The world is grown old and trembles for fear ;  
 For sorrows abound and the judgment is near !

The sun in the heaven is languid and pale;  
 And feeble and few are the fruits of the vale,  
 And the hearts of the nations fail them for fear,  
 For the world is grown old and the judgment is near!  
 The king on his throne, the bride in her bower,  
 The children of pleasure all feel the sad hour;  
 The roses are faded and tasteless the cheer,  
 For the world is grown old and the judgment is near!  
 The world is grown old!—but should we complain,  
 Who have tried her, and know that her promise is vain;  
 Our heart is in heaven, our home is not here,  
 And we look for our crown when judgment is near.”

This is in a pacing, undignified measure, totally unsuited to the grandeur of the subject; and, except that the sentiment is pious, we see nothing in a hymn of this kind, which bears the remotest relationship to the peculiarities of worship; as another instance of the same class, we give the following truly beautiful lines, entitled “Epiphany:”—

“Brightest and best of the sons of the morning!  
 Dawn on the darkness and lend us thine aid!  
 Star of the East, the horizon adorning,  
 Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid!  
 Cold on his cradle the dew drops are shining,  
 Low lies his head with the beasts of the stall,  
 Angels adore him in slumber reclining,  
 Maker and Monarch and Saviour of all!  
 Say, shall we yield him, in costly devotion,  
 Odours of Edom and offerings divine?  
 Gems of the mountain and pearls of the ocean,  
 Myrrh from the forest, or gold from the mine?  
 Vainly we offer each ampler oblation;  
 Vainly with gifts would his favour secure:  
 Richer by far is the heart's adoration,  
 Dearer to God are the prayers of the poor.  
 Brightest and best of the sons of the morning!  
 Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid!  
 Star of the East, the horizon adorning,  
 Guide where our infant Redeemer is laid!”

We would ask, where is the prayer and where is the praise of this Hymn? if there is in it devotion at all, it is a fervent application to the “Star of the East”—for its guiding light to find the place of the Redeemer's birth, and would consequently seem rather Sabeanism than Christianity. As a contrast to these, by which our meaning will be distinctly understood, we give the following hymn for “Christmas Day:”—

“Oh, Saviour, whom this holy morn  
 Gave to our world below;  
 To mortal want and labour born,  
 And more than mortal wo!  
 Incarnate word! by every grief,  
 By each temptation tried,  
 Who lived to yield our ills relief,  
 And to redeem us died!”

If gaily clothed and proudly fed,  
 In dangerous wealth we dwell,  
 Remind us of thy manger bed,  
 And lowly cottage cell!

If prest by poverty severe,  
 In envious want we pine,  
 Oh may thy spirit whisper near,  
 How poor a lot was thine!

Thro' fickle fortune's various scene  
 From sin preserve us free!  
 Like us thou hast a mourner been,  
 May we rejoice in thee!"

In the whole collection of the hymns written for the weekly service of the church, there are but four or five, which, in our opinion, are at all appropriate. They are generally very beautiful, and show the taste and the fine feeling of piety which dwelt in the breast of the writer, but are not calculated either to excite or to express that species of devotional fervour, which seems so intimately connected with an act of worship. The whole seem to us to be better suited to form a class, which might be appropriately termed "Sacred Melodies," and which, set to music, might fill up the interval between the popular songs, to which some religious persons object, and those "hymns" which are manifestly devotional. To us, there appears not only impropriety, but impiety, in a hymn sung for the amusement of a miscellaneous company; and for many a religionist who would be shocked at his daughter's amusing her friends with an "Irish melody," and yet have no reluctance to her *showing off her accomplishments* in a hymn, or anthem, is to us very much like "straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel." Such poems as these hymns of Heber, generally, maintain a middle ground, full of pious sentiment, yet not rising into the sublimity of prayer or praise, and admirably suited, if judiciously arranged and adapted to music, as we have said, to form a class which shall be peculiarly attractive, because no piety could be offended, but, on the other hand, the taste and the heart improved. Besides the hymns, there are a few translations of Pindar admirably executed, but each too long for quotation. There are some short translations from the Hindoostanee, one of which we will give.

*Sonnet by the late Nawab of Oude, Asuf ud Doula.*

In those eyes the tears that glisten as in pity for my pain,  
 Are they gems or only dew drops? can they, will they long remain?  
 Why thy strength of tyrant beauty thus, with seeming ruth, restrain,  
 Better breathe my last before thee, than in lingering grief remain!

To yon planet, Fate has given every month to wax and wane:  
 And—thy world of blushing brightness—can it, will it long remain?

Health and youth in balmy moisture, on thy cheek their seat maintain;  
 But—the dew that steeps the rose bud—can it, will it long remain?

Asuf! why, in mournful numbers, of thine absence thus complain,  
 Chance has joined us, chance has parted—nought on earth can long remain.

In the world may'st thou beloved! live exempt from grief and pain!  
On my lips the breath is fleeting—can it, will it long remain?

On the whole, we look upon Bishop Heber rather as a chaste and delicate and classic poet, than as distinguished by any strong marks of genius. He appears to us to have been made, not born a poet. It is to his matchless "Journal," that he is to be indebted for his lasting fame, as most acute and accurate in observation, and most interesting in description; and it is for his self-sacrificing spirit as a missionary Bishop, that his memory will be cherished by all to whose hearts the cause of Christianity is dear. We know not how better to close our protracted remarks, than by the following extract from the tribute to the memory of Bishop Heber, by Amelia Opie, which, with two others of not equal merit, have been attached to the memoir with which this volume commences:—

"Here hushed be my lay for a far sweeter verse—  
Thy requiem I'll breathe in thy numbers alone,  
For the bard's votive offering to hang on thy hearse,  
Shall be formed of no language less sweet than thy own.  
"Thou art gone to the grave, but we will not deplore thee,  
Since God was thy refuge, thy ransom, thy guide;  
He gave thee, he took thee, and he will restore thee,  
And death has no sting, since the Saviour has died.'""

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ART. II.—*Malaria: An Essay on the Production and Propagation of this Poison, and on the Nature and Localities of the places by which it is produced.* By JOHN M'CULLOCH, M. D. F. R. S. *Physician in ordinary to his Royal Highness Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourgh.* 8vo. pp. 480: 1827.

DR. JOHN M'CULLOCH, is not the political economist, but the geologist; in which character he enjoys a well-earned fame. The present volume, however, may well be considered as a chapter on political economy, if that science may be regarded as embracing the means of diminishing disease and death, encouraging a healthy, instead of a morbid population, and obviating the greatest source of destruction in every military expedition. The facts and reasonings contained in this work, though medical, are not technical; and are such as every man in the community, reasonably educated, may understand and decide upon; and which every man in the community is deeply interested in knowing.

Miasma, marsh-exhalation, malaria, is something which originates from swampy, marshy, moist ground, wherein vegetables

\* Written by Bishop Heber, on the death of a friend, see page 163.

having grown, die and putrefy. In Italy, the localities of such putrefying vegetables, go by the name of *maremmes*; and the infectious matter there generated, when mixed with the atmosphere, is malaria, bad air. The general conditions necessary to produce it, are, a warm temperature of the atmosphere, and dead vegetables putrefying in a moist place. Vegetables that die and become disorganized in cold weather, do not appear to produce this infectious malaria; nor do vegetables that die, and are dried up by heat, in a dry place. Nor do we find it in places bare of vegetation, unless vegetable matter, liable to putrefy, be found there accidentally, or brought there purposely. Nor do we find this miasmatic air prevalent in the winter season; the months of July, August, and September, including, in warm climates, one half of October, are the seasons when this pestilence chiefly prevails. But, it has been observed, that places producing remittent fevers in the fall, are liable to produce intermittents in spring. Places completely covered with water, do not produce malaria, although the margins of such places do.

This poison is now usually supposed to be a gas, acting by its chemical properties; by others, it is presumed to be an exhalation, effluvium, or odour; the ancient opinion, at present not considered as worth investigation, is, that the deleterious quality of the air impregnated with it, is owing to animalculæ. All these theories we shall consider by and by.

The book contains eleven chapters, of which we shall give a brief analysis.

Ch. 1. *On the effects of Malaria, and the utility of knowledge relating to it.*

Few people are aware of the extent to which malaria affects us. It is the source of more than half the diseases to which the human race is subject, and of more than half the mortality which depopulates mankind. It seems to be the angel of destruction, ordained to maintain the necessary proportion between population and the means of subsistence. It detracts one half from the value of life in Holland;—at least as much, and probably more, in Italy, where the *maremmes* extend two hundred miles, from Leghorn to Terracina, having a breadth, according to Chateauvieu, of forty miles; besides the pestilence of Rome and its neighbourhood, which threatens with dreadful probability, in less than half a century, to reduce that former mistress of the world to a desert.

“Let us turn to Italy, (says Dr. M’Culloch :) the fairest portions of this fair land are a prey to this invisible enemy; its fragrant breezes are poison; the dews of its summer evenings are death. The banks of its refreshing streams, its rich and flowing meadows, the borders of its glassy lakes, the luxuriant plains of its overflowing agriculture, the valley where its aromatic shrubs regale the eye and perfume the air; these are the chosen seats of this plague, the throne



of Malaria. Death here walks hand in hand with the sources of life, sparing none; the labourer reaps his harvest but to die, or he wanders amid the luxury of vegetation and wealth, the ghost of a man, a sufferer from his cradle to his impending grave; aged even in childhood, and laying down in misery, that life, which was but one disease."

This eloquent representation, is fully corroborated by M. Chateauvieu, in his Account of the Agriculture of Italy, from Pisa, p. 87, to Naples, p. 102. See Rigby's Translation of Chateauvieu's Agricultural Travels into Italy.

The chances of life in England, are variously calculated from forty to fifty years. In many parts of Holland, they are not more than about twenty-five. In many places of France, they are reduced by malaria to twenty and eighteen years. Sicily and Sardinia, and much of Greece, are similarly affected. Lincolnshire, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, and the North Riding of Yorkshire, are known seats of this pestilence in England. Oliver Cromwell died of it: and although we are become much better acquainted with its effects, and its habits, than formerly, great ignorance still prevails, even in England, on this interesting subject. People are not yet aware of the many situations pregnant with latent disease, where danger is not suspected; nor are they aware of the anomalous forms of indistinct, but painful suffering, attributable to this cause, where the absence of intermittent or remittent diseases induces a dangerous confidence and security.\* Nor are the rich aware how much their own health and comfort depend on enforcing and maintaining cleanliness among the poor. They are not aware of the heavy price they pay for artificial lakes, and ornamental pieces of water, for reservoirs and fish ponds, and thick shrubberies, damp with luxuriant vegetation, near the principal mansion; or the danger too often attending the delightful rambles on the banks and borders of such places, in the cool of a summer's evening in August and September.

Nor are we sufficiently aware, either in England or in this country, that in travelling for health, the valetudinarian, in a majority of cases, on the continent of Europe, is apt to fix on situations exposed to this fertile source of disease and death. Nor has yet any good list of places on the continent been published, (Captain Smith's Statistical Tables of Sicily excepted,) the ac-

\* Dr. McCulloch is inclined to ascribe to this cause, the following list of disorders.—Yellow, remittent, intermittent, and nervous fever. Dysentery, diarrhoea, cholera, visceral obstructions. Dropsy, œdema, obstructions of the liver and spleen. Neuralgia, and, in particular, that form of it, the *tic doloieux*; to which we would be strongly inclined to add the dengue of the Havana and Charleston. Scrofula and goitre. Hebetude of intellect, and general lassitude; a *Bæotian diathesis*. Rickets, hernia, rheumatism, sciatica, tooth-ache, asthma, peripneumony, dyspepsia. Palay, phthisia, chlorosis, are doubtful. Not that these disorders, or any of them, do not in many cases originate from other causes, but that they are in many cases fairly ascribable to the effects of malaria or miasma.

curate result of observations made with a medical eye, which the sick may consult with confidence, and in safety, without the hazard so often incurred, of meeting disease and death in an additional form abroad, while they are trying to escape them at home.

To be tolerably well-informed of the nature and character of a poison so fatal when concentrated, so destructive of bodily comfort, when we are exposed to it, even in a diluted state, and to be aware of the places liable to produce it, cannot but be important to every member of society, without exception. It forms the most prominent feature in the police of health. To give some correct, but general ideas of this too common, but unsuspected source of so many disorders, the present volume has been written; and, although many persons will be inclined to think that Dr. McCulloch has carried his fears and denunciations to a needless extent, we are persuaded, that the fault, if a fault there be, is a fault on the right side; nor do we know of any medical treatise, (if this may be called one,) so generally interesting, and so much needed in the present state of public inattention, as the book now before us. Even in our own country, without recurring to the swamps of the Carolinas, or the eastern shore of our seaboard, from Jersey to Georgia, how many of our cities, Philadelphia and New-York, for instance, abound in their outskirts with marshy places, puddles, ponds, and receptacles of vegetable filth, to which, in addition to the banks of rivers and streams, no physician will hesitate to refer the intermittents and remittents of our autumnal seasons. In fact, what at New-Orleans will produce yellow fever, in Virginia will give rise to bilious remittents; in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, to agues, dysenteries, cholera, and diarrhoea. We do not say, that the many of the numerous tribe of disorders originating from the cause now under consideration, are to be attributed to it exclusively, but it is the usual and general source of them; and it behoves the public to be aware of this: the treatise now under consideration, therefore, is, in our opinion, most important and most welcome.

Nor is it the mere production of individual disease that forms the great mischief of malaria. Mr. Fodéré, in his *Traité de Médecine légale*, t. v. ch. i. observes, that it stunts and debilitates the population; even where there is no particular disease.

Ch. 3. *Nature of the evidences respecting the production of Malaria in places of less suspected character.*

Among travelled men of education, as well as among physicians, no doubt remains of intermittent and remittent fevers and dysenteries, being the consequence of moist and marshy places, where vegetables grow and die, and are enabled to putrefy by the warmth of the climate or season: but, among the common

people, and those unused to reflect, these disorders are generally confounded with typhus, or attributed to exposure to cold, to damp, to fatigue, to too much indulgence in summer fruits, or to any cause but the true one. Not that improper diet may not easily aggravate the influence of other causes, or become of itself a source of disease, but the general and prevailing cause of our intermittent fevers is malaria; and of this, among medical men, there is no doubt or dispute. Whenever, therefore, these, or analogous diseases, are observed to prevail, the source of them is the same, even if no marsh, swamp, or pond, be near the place. Some current of air blowing from a marsh, or some other collection of putrefying vegetable substance, less subject to common observation, is undoubtedly in the neighbourhood.

In addition to Dr. M'Culloch's remarks on this head, we would observe, that the stench so often arising in summer from the gutters and drains of all our Atlantic cities, from New-York to Charleston—the practice of piling up damp wood in damp cellars, in the summer and autumn, when fuel is cheap—the carelessness of disposing of the waste vegetables of a family—the filth of alleys and by-places—and other unsuspected causes of this nature, may produce, if not actually fevers of a marked character, yet disorders, irritations, and obstructions of the functions, that often render life uncomfortable, without having their nosological names precisely given. For want of diffused knowledge on this subject, attention is turned from the true to false causes, as giving rise to these disorders, and remedies are applied in vain. Much indefinable ill health, and many of the numerous complaints termed nervous and dyspeptic—many of the pains and aches attributed to rheumatism, would be referred to the cause in question, by physicians whose attention had been duly turned to it.

"An acute and unprejudiced observer," says Dr. M'Culloch, p. 22, "taking this view as his guide, may easily satisfy himself of the real nature of the *ill health*, in the situations under review: but he will also find, that this does not constitute the whole of the diseases thus produced; as, if he will review his own practice on such inhabitants, he will find dysentery, often or generally, called diarrhœa, one of the prevailing elements, and, perhaps, cholera: together with headaches, periodical, or irregular rheumatism of the face or head, as it is called, tooth-ache, sciatica, with tic dolooureux, or other varieties of neuralgia, (Dengue?) bilious affections, as the phrase is, and a whole catalogue of all the nervous ailments, which, at different periods, under different fashions, have been attributed to various causes, to the nerves, the spleen, the stomach, the liver, and now, in the more convenient phraseology, to the chylipoietic organs.

"The whole condition, in fact, (p. 24,) of a people so situated as I have now sketched it, is precisely that of the inhabitants of the pestiferous districts of France, Italy, and elsewhere; since in these, and independently of the noted epidemics, or the occasional severe or marked fevers, the population is, perennially, and even through life, subject to a whole catalogue of chronic ailments: the only difference being, that in our own, (British,) far less unwholesome districts, of a similar character, these are less violent, and commonly also less perennial and durable."

If the spots in question are known occasionally to produce the common intermittent, it is ground enough for us to ascribe the other forms of malady, observed in the same situations, to the same cause. But, the intermittent of spring, and the remittent of autumn, are not always produced in places where we should make no scruple to assign the usual cause of these disorders; visceral and glandular obstructions are frequent substitutes: nor does this cause *always* produce the effect expected. This may arise from the state of health of the inhabitants, and from idiosyncracies; for, the rule is universal, *quicquid recipitur, ad modum recipientis*: every prevailing endemic and epidemic, is modified by the constitution and diathesis of the individual, and attacks usually the weakest system of organs. But our knowledge of marsh miasma, and its mode of operation, is at present too much in its infancy, to authorize a demand upon us to explain all the apparent anomalies.

As persons who have once been subject to the effects of malaria, and afflicted with the disorders it produces, are more susceptible than other people, of being again affected by similar causes, their being so affected in any particular locality, is reasonable ground to suspect the same cause operating there, though the common disorders produced by it, have not been observed among the inhabitants in general, in any precise way, or with marked character.

The effects of malaria are not always marked and sudden; they often come on gradually; they affect the functions, then the constitution, and induce at length a morbid diathesis, till constant exposure to the source of disease ends ultimately in death. In the fens of Lincolnshire and Essex, on the banks of the Rhone and the Loire, at Mantua, Ferrara, Syracuse, Cagliari; even in the Campania of Rome, and the banks of the Tiber, children are born, and live; but they live usually a life of suffering, and die long before the usual period of healthy old age. Such are the facts: why the cause is so tardy and gradual in its operation, we shall know better, in proportion as our observations are more frequently and accurately repeated.

Ch. 3. *On the soils and situations that most commonly produce Malaria.*

It has been supposed that salt marshes are not productive of malaria. This is a mistake. They are so in Normandy, on the French shores of the Mediterranean, on the Adriatic: they are so in Greece, Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia: in Spain, in the Crimea, and throughout the southern part of Europe. The proportion of salt in sea water, may contribute to resist putrefaction in cold climates, and it may have a different effect in warm ones. In Holland, the severest seasons of fever have succeeded irrup-

tions of the sea. It is safer to be alive to the possible danger, sustained as it is, by so many facts of a positive nature.

Thick woods are productive of the malaria fevers. The Jungle is a low thicket of reeds and grass, where vegetation is rank, and where the ground is of course moist. Of the Jungle fever, it is superfluous to say more. According to Buchanan, even the more open woods in Mysore and other parts of India, are not exempt from a similar objection. In our own country, (the United States,) we have never heard of open woods being liable to this objection; although in South Carolina, every body is alive to the danger of close, thick, and luxuriant vegetation. The pine barrens are always healthy, if no marsh or pond be near. But the neighbourhood of close and thick woods, producing putrefying vegetable matter, is every where found to be more or less unhealthy. No Southern man entertains a doubt of this.

Sometimes, woods are a screen, preventing the propagation of malaria. The ancients held groves to be sacred, aware perhaps of this use of them. The unhealthiness of the *Porta del popolo* at Rome, arose from cutting down a wood that served as a screen to that part of the city. The dreadful fever affecting the first settlers of the Genesee country, from 1796 to 1800, arose from their clearing and settling the rich bottom land. In the early part of our wooded country, unhealthy situations were limited in extent; at present, malaria is wafted to great distances, putting on an epidemic character: and it will be so, till accurate cultivation shall have drained all our marshy spots. The clearing and breaking up of new ground among us, is an operation often attended by the diseases of marsh miasma. Hence, we have no doubt, that, as the country is laid open, and the climate rendered warmer by more free exposure to the sun's rays, the diseases formerly limited and confined, will be not so severe, perhaps, owing to dilution, but more numerous, and extend over a much larger tract of country than heretofore. Such was the case of the fever of the Shenandoah valley, from Winchester through Carlisle, and to Easton, in 1804.

Rice grounds in India, in Italy, in our Southern country, are peculiarly unhealthy, though this has strangely been denied in India. No planter of our Southern states, would doubt it for a moment. Obstructions of the liver, and other viscera, may take place sometimes in lieu of bilious remittents, but what physician in the South has any doubts about the cause?

Ch. 4. *The same subject continued.*

Malaria may be concentrated in the spot where it is generated, or it may be diluted, when wafted to a distance.\* The inten-

\* Dr. Rush was of opinion, that the severe remittent and bilious fevers of a marsh, were converted into intermittents, when diluted and carried to elevated places in the neighbourhood.

sity and the type of the disorder produced by it, will vary with its dilution, which may be such as to render it inert. Whether the kind of plants whose putrefaction produces it, has any effect, is not known. The poisonous effects of putrefying flax, hemp, indigo, coffee, potatoes, are well known in the storehouses on the wharves of New-York and Philadelphia. Perhaps this most deadly character may be owing to confinement and concentration. That the cellars under the houses in Charleston, frequently flooded, are also a frequent cause of disease, is nearly certain.

Peat lands, when liable to putrefying decomposition, are productive of malaria, but generally they do not undergo the putrefactive process.

All land productive of rushes, of coarse grass, of the water-flag, the *Equisetum*, and the *Hydrocotyle*—land where the trees canker, and the soil is soft and boggy, requiring drainage—require it as much for the purpose of preventing disease, as to increase the value of the produce. This remark will extend to the moist and swampy places of high ground, and elevated moribund lands, unless the climate be cold. Even in Wales, a number of labourers being employed to clear some ground of this description, 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, one-half of them were seized with ague. M'Culloch seems inclined to extend this reasoning to meadow lands, not boggy or marshy, but intersected with ditches and water drains. In an inferior degree, and sometimes much more, this undoubtedly is so. See his enumeration, pp. 74. 84. 93, noting especially the dry soils of Walcheren, and the Campagna di Roma, full of ditches and drains.

That the banks of streams and rivers are liable to intermitents and remittents, the history of disease in the middle states, and so far as we hear throughout the United States and Canada, while we are writing, (September 1828,) will abundantly testify. In fact, no traveller, no medical man, has ever entertained a doubt on this point. Disease may, from causes not yet well ascertained, be sometimes more, sometimes less prevalent; and more or less violent; but, in one degree or other, it exists in these situations, particularly from July to October.

The number of canals made, and now making throughout the United States, may contribute to improve internal commerce, but they will not improve the health of the country through which they pass.

Mill dams are well known to us,\* as productive of disease: so is the process of water-rotting hemp.

\* The destruction of the mill dam at Harrisburgh, many years ago, by the people of that place rising en masse, and forcibly abating an intolerable nuisance, is well remembered there, as it is within our own knowledge and recollection.

The drainage of swamps and marshes, is at first, and till they be put into complete cultivation, a source of disease undoubted. So, according to our author, is the breaking up of old pastures for tillage. In Italy, France, and England, the subject begins to be understood better than formerly; and the draining of marsh land, meets with governmental encouragement, whenever it is needed, in France in particular. The ague in London, so common in Sydenham's days, is now almost unknown.

Ch. 5. *On certain obscure and disputed cases relating to the production of Malaria.*

Disquisition on the ancient and modern state of Rome and its neighbourhood, with respect to malaria and drainage.

Ch. 6. *On revolutions and changes in the production of Malaria, from natural or artificial causes.*

These may take place, either by draining the marsh, or by covering it with water: in this last case, the edges of vegetation next to the water level, are alone deleterious; putrefaction not taking place under absolute submersion. Where lakes, ponds, canals, marshes, are apt to fall to a lower level in summer time, the exposed borders become sources of malaria.

Temporary inundations, are extremely deleterious when the waters recede: as at the subsidence of the Nile in Egypt, the inundations of the river Euphrates at Bassorah, the same of the Foglia at Pesaro in 1708, the inundations of the Rhone, the Vire, &c. in France, the Tiber at Rome, the Danube, and the Don. All these are facts of notoriety, and undisputed.

The gradual increase of alluvial soil at the mouths of rivers, owing to the wearing down of the high lands of the interior, deposited in the form of alluvial mud, as at the mouth of the Po in Italy, the great plains thus formed of Bengal, Mississippi, Orinooko, &c. increase gradually the marshy soil, and compel the retrocession of the sea. These geological changes, undoubtedly as to the fact, are at the bottom of the reasonings of Hutton and Playfair, as to the gradual interchange and alternation of land and sea.

Changes of the relative situation of land and sea, by means of earthquakes, as in Calabria, (and the Pacific shore of some parts of South America recently,) will account for changes in the salubrity of those places. These changes on the borders of the ocean, sometimes by encroachment, at others, by retrocession, are followed by correspondent changes in the salubrity of the localities: and these changes are continually taking place.

Ch. 7. *On the propagation of Malaria.*

The author states his opinion, that whatever malaria may be originally, in combination with atmospheric air it is a chemical compound, acting and acted upon, and sometimes destroyed by chemical agents and affinities. Malaria, then, according to M'Cul-

loch, is a compound of nitrogen, oxygen, hygrometric vapour, and a basis of deleterious character—miasma; governed by the laws of motion that affect the atmosphere generally. Hence, in some states of the atmosphere, it may be more abundant than in others; nor until we know (which as yet we do not) the laws that govern atmospheric currents, can we account accurately for its presence or absence in certain places.

It is capable of being *attached* to solid substances, as vegetables; and probably to the soil itself. There is no sufficient evidence of its being united to solid substances, or transferable by their means, or regenerated through the medium of a diseased body like contagion. There is no sufficient evidence that the plague is the produce of malaria, for it has all the properties of contagion in its propagation and reproduction. (In this opinion, we do not exactly coincide with our author. Malaria originates from marshy soil all about Constantinople, and it is yearly producible in Egypt on the subsidence of the Nile. May it not be combined with animal filth? The question is very doubtful.)

In the propagation of malaria, the place of its first production ought to be most deleterious, unless where it is wafted away by breezes or currents of air. Sometimes, a house on the very bank of an unhealthy river, will be comparatively healthy, while places, even high grounds, at a distance, will be affected; manifestly because it is transported thither by breezes or currents of air. But generally, habitations fixed in low and damp grounds, must be unhealthy. This has been totally overlooked in Calcutta, Batavia, Havana, La Vera Cruz, St. Lucia, New-Orleans, and many other places.

It has been, for the most part, too much neglected in military encampments; thus, our author observes, 10,000 men were lost by malaria at Walcheren. When the French invaded Naples in 1528, they were reduced in a few days, from 28,000 to 4000, by an injudicious encampment at Baia. The Scotch regiment at Sluys, buried their whole number in three years.—(Lind on the diseases of hot climates, 25.) We can all remember the loss of the French in their invasion of St. Domingo. Other cases to this purpose are brought forward by our author, pp. 230. 234.

To the malaria of the Alpine valleys, we think the Goitre may be fairly attributed; but the prevalence of that deformity, from the shores of Lake Erie northward, to Washington county southward, in Pennsylvania, and the Derbyshire neck, throw difficulties in the way of this explanation, that we are not yet able to encounter.

In p. 241, Dr. M. discusses at length, the case well or ill-founded, that spots of marshy ground produce disease at a distance, more remarkably, than on the spot itself. This can be accounted for, by winds, or by atmospheric currents, but in no



other way. Of the atmospheric currents, sometimes vertical, not unfrequently unconnected with the general direction of the prevailing wind, we know, as yet, but little. But, if malaria be generated in a marsh, it must act in the marsh, if it be not blown away. This appears to us *a priori* too manifest to be controverted.

"In Italy, it has been ascertained that the poisonous exhalations of the Lake Agnano, reach as far as the convent of Camaldoli, situated on a high hill, at the distance of three miles; proving, that in this instance at least, malaria can be conveyed thus far by winds. In France, at Neuville les Dames, above Chatillon on the Indre, and at St. Paul near Villars, both situated on high grounds, there are found as many or more fevers, than in the marshes beneath, where the malaria is produced, and the same is generally true all through Bresse in the Lyonnais. Thus also, the plain of Trappes near Versailles, is affected by the marshes of St. Cyr, though considerably elevated above them."

Dr. M'Culloch details many other instances of the transportation of malaria to a distance from its place of generation, pp. 243—247, and 308—336.

In addition to Dr. M'Culloch's remarks, we would add, M. Rigaud de l'Isle, near Rome, establishes, as he thinks, the height of safety from 682 to 1006 feet above the situation. Dr. Ferguson, we recollect, observes that Monk's Hill, in Antigua, 600 feet high perpendicularly, is quite exempt. On the Ridge, a sloping hill, 300 feet high above the marshes, the yellow fever of the marsh disappears, and the common remittent takes its place; while at the top of the Ridge, 500 feet high, the troops were exempt from disease. (Quoted by Dr. Annesley in his book on the diseases of India, p. 79.) Dr. Annesley also remarks, that it is arrested by plantations of trees, and that it is diluted by distance. 79. 81.

Again, as to heights; Tivoli, less unhealthy by far than Rome, is 300 feet above Rome. Sezza, exempt from disease, is 900 feet above the Pontine marshes. Ercero, 920 yards above La Vera Cruz, according to Humboldt, is exempt from the fevers of the lower land. Monfalcon assigns 5 or 600 yards.

In Columbia, South Carolina, the side of the main street next the river, is much more affected with disease in the usual autumnal season, than other more distant parts of the town, or even than the side of the same street opposite. The street itself, is one mile from the river, and 200 feet above it, but the trees between the street and the river are nearly cut down. Hence, it appears that the side nearest the river, serves as a fence and screen to the side of the same street opposite. So, the centre of a large town, in seasons of epidemic remittent, is usually much safer than the country about it; which explains Dr. S. Jackson's most ingenious and successful experiment of shutting out the yellow fever in Philadelphia, in 1830, by a board fence from 10 to 12 feet high.

The cutting down of woods, that form a screen between ha-

bitations and a marsh, has always been attended with the propagation of disease: but where the screen of trees is beyond the source of malaria, and prevents the prevailing winds from blowing upon and diluting it, or carrying it off, the cutting down of such trees may have a bad effect. Among the ancients, groves were sacred places; perhaps from the good effect of them in respect of unhealthy breezes. Our author gives several details on this subject, pages 249, &c.; and a very interesting account of the course and progress of malaria in the city of Rome; which seems to be founded on precise information.

That ancient Rome suffered from malaria, is evident from many passages in ancient authors; but, in a populous country, the course and propagation of malaria are counteracted by the numerous habitations forming screens to each other, and obstructing the communication of this source of disease.

The matter of malaria, is connected with fogs, vapour, mist, and a moist atmosphere generally. This is universally acknowledged. It is matter of common observation, that it is more easily propagated by means of a moist atmosphere. Dr. Annesley (Researches on India, p. 81,) says it is absorbed by rivers. It is far more easily propagated by the damps of the night air, and by morning dews, than in mid day. This was Dr. Rush's statement to us, as it is, in fact, the commonly received opinion of all medical men. Annesley's Researches on the diseases of India, 4to. 74. According to M'Culloch, 273, the east wind of England brings the malaria from Holland; while in Artois in Flanders, the sea breeze dissipates it. The same rule holds good in the Mediterranean. Mere moisture in a healthy country is never injurious; but when impregnated with miasma, it bears disease on its wings. A dry air is seldom a conductor of miasma. The Italians say, that however deleterious the *evening* air may be, the *night* air after 10 o'clock, is not so. Travellers in Italy, however, are always warned not to give way to sleep while in their carriage at night. Hence, the dangerous character of evening rambles in the meadows, by brooks, and purling streams, rivers, lakes, &c. in the summer and autumn. They are pleasant indeed, but those who enjoy them, run the risk of paying dearly for their gratification.

It seems that in the damp climate of Holland, a stimulus of a moderate dram of brandy or other ardent spirit, taken in the morning with a crust of bread, where you are compelled to go out early, is a reasonable preventive: and, in general, a generous diet, avoiding excess both in eating and drinking, contributes to maintain health in malaria countries. This is of universal remark in Europe and our own country.

Fires in the rooms in the evenings and mornings, even of summer and autumn, while the dew is on the ground, are of undoubt-

ed use: nor in our own country are the backwoodsmen averse to having their fires accompanied with smoke, to keep off the insects. This is in conformity to the advice of Pliny, who cites Empedocles and Hippocrates: Lancisi also gives the same advice as to fires during the damp air, p. 286, where Dr. M'Culloch gives a detailed instance of the good effects of fires on the coast of Africa, in preventing the swamp fever.

Repletion, particularly a full meal taken during the heat of the day, in a hot climate, predisposes to disease. This was particularly ascertained in Africa, by Major Denham, and is quite probable in itself. Our author sets this point in full light, by the case he cites, 288—291. His account of the benefit of crowded streets, instancing the quarter of the Jews, (the Judaicum) at Rome, is liable to objection, if not to great doubt. That numerous streets, well built up, and kept clean, should be a screen and preservative against malaria, may well be admitted, both from reason and experience; but that it should produce the same good effects, when accompanied by a filthy population, filthy habitations, and filthy streets, is not at once admissible. Nor do we agree to the conclusiveness of the following passage, p. 293.

“Malaria must be a chemical compound; and therefore decomposable: it is experimentally decomposed by fire and smoke; and it is therefore probable, that, amid the unknown mixture which forms the atmosphere of crowded streets or habitations, it is actually destroyed.” We shall by and by endeavour to show, that it is not a chemical compound; and give a different explanation of the uses of fire and smoke, when employed to destroy it.

A gauze veil or *conopeum*, he has heard of, as a guard against malaria; and speaks in terms of respect as to its probable use. We also have a good opinion of this preventive, for reasons that have not occurred to Dr. M'Culloch.

Whether malaria acts by being absorbed by the skin, as Brocchi supposes, or by being taken in by the breath, and acts on the stomach, or whether as an effluvium it acts on the nostrils first, and then on the system by the lungs, are questions of theory which we are not yet ripe to determine. They will be touched on by and by. Odours are certainly wafted to great distances, as our author has conclusively shown, pp. 308—312.

Ch. 8. *On the seasons and climates peculiarly favourable to the production, propagation, and effects of Malaria.*

A warm season, and a warm climate, are undoubtedly among the circumstances which contribute to a more plentiful production of malaria. They may operate also by relaxing the tone of the animal system, and increasing susceptibility. As a general rule, disorders of malaria are more severe in proportion as the miasma is produced in the greater quantity, as in rotting of hemp, in

sugar ships, in the accumulation of putrid coffee, potatoes, &c. in warehouses, on wharves, in certain fortified places, as at Havre, in the case of the Pontine marshes, those of Bresse, and Forez. In these cases, change of season may decrease the virulence of the disease; but it seems to be present in such places, more or less, at all seasons. Hence the severity of the disease may be independent of diathesis or previous disposition. Dr. M'Culloch doubts if in any case it has been strictly proved, that season produces a predisposition. Perhaps not; but we have not the slightest doubt that error in diet, excess, and repletion, do produce such a predisposition. In all cases, as we think, infection affects most, the weakest part of the system. So those who have had remittents in autumn, are liable to intermittents in spring.

Difference of seasons, as a cold season following a hot one, or a very hot summer succeeding a rainy one, and prevalence of winds and currents, may increase or decrease the quantity, the effects, and the direction of this poison, and in many cases may convert endemics into epidemics, as we apprehend for many years past has been the case in the United States. These epidemics will be gradually annihilated, by judicious cultivation, and increasing population. The medical statistical records, and observations of good observers, are yet wanting, to disentangle this subject from many difficulties attending it. Noah Webster's collection of cases of pestilence following wars, is a very useful record.

The general season for intermittents in England is the spring: the remittents of summer and autumn, sometimes appear at the beginning of August, but rarely till the middle of that month. It is so generally in the United States. They may continue, as they sometimes have done, even into November. The yellow fever of 1793, extended to the middle of October. Generally, there is no safety, till the frosts of October have decidedly appeared.

In Italy, from the solstice to the equinox, is regarded as the malaria season. In the Pontine marshes, it continues to the end of October, or even later.

Has the Moon any influence? Jackson, Lind, and particularly Balfour, seem to be of opinion it has. Is it owing to higher tides, and more extended exposure, after new and full moon?

As to climate, the countries where vegetation is most rapid and luxuriant, where vegetables spring soonest into full life, and soonest die—the countries where rains are apt to prevail, rather than frost or snow, are productive of the most violent cases of miasmatic fever. The yellow fever of New-Orleans, would be a mild remittent or intermittent in Canada.

Finally, who will supply, or begin to supply, that great desi-

nor hydrophosphat, nor sulphuretted hydrogen, nor sulphureous gas, or any of the known gasses. They are all out of the question. Chemists have been too long exposed to them, to dread their influence.

We assert without fear of contradiction from any chemist, that if in miasmatic air, any new or unexamined gas existed, the chemistry of the present day is adequate to ascertain its presence. There are known means of separating from a gaseous mixture, all the known gasses. If there were any residual gas, this fact could not possibly escape an experienced analyst. The conclusion to be drawn, is, there is no such residual gas.

Those who assert that miasma is a gas, are bound to prove, if not its actual existence, at least the probability of its being so. We cannot see in Dr. M.'s book, any one argument of any kind directly bearing on this disputed point. Many of the properties of miasma are inconsistent with those of a gas of any known kind; and all of them can be otherwise explained, as we shall see.

Facts inconsistent with a gas, are—

It attaches to solid substances. 267.

It is capable of being wafted in a stream of moist air. 236. 240. 259. 309. 311. In which last passage, it is asserted that it can be wafted in company with a cloud.

It may be planted out. 247. Can this be a gas?

It is decomposed by the sun. 276. Is this the case with any known gas?

Fire and smoke decompose it. 281. 285. 292. They decompose no known gas.

It is not propagated in crowded places. 292. But the atmospheric air is.

There are varieties of this poison. 425. 435. Then there must be several of these gasses.

A gauze veil a preventive. 299. Not against a gas.

If it be a gas, these are very anomalous properties: before they are ascribed to miasma as a gas, its gaseous nature ought first to be shown by some arguments of high probability: till then, these vagaries of the imaginary gas in question, are arguments against its gaseous existence.

We conclude, then, that we have no right, in the present state of our knowledge concerning it, to consider it as a gas.

As to the second point; is it an effluvium or odour?

It may be; far more probably than that it is a gas. We think, however, it is not: because, in the greater number of cases, probably in three out of four, the deleterious effects are produced, without affecting in any degree the sense of smelling: *nec nares contingit odore*. The lining membrane of the nose, is more commonly attacked during the propagation of contagion; but not always, even in that case. We do not, however, pretend to deny

that miasma may be effluvium, although we do venture to deny that it is a gas. But we prefer

The third suggestion, that it is animalcular.

Hume, and Brown the metaphysician, in a different form of expression, but without any difference of meaning worth notice, have remarked, that there is no rational ground upon which we can rest, for imputing a necessary connexion between two facts or circumstances, but their constant concomitance.

We have no authority whatever, for expecting that one thing will attend upon or succeed another, but the general experience of mankind, that they have always done so. This is not sufficient, according to Brown, to impute *necessary connexion*, as Hume does, but it is sufficient to found upon it the general expectation, that like circumstances having always been concomitant, they will continue to be so. This is a conclusion founded on the nature of the human intellect; and which we make as of course.

The times and seasons, the places and circumstances where miasma abounds, are the same as where insects abound. Universally so. Warm climates, warm weather, moist places, putrid vegetables. What will be yellow fever in Africa or New-Orleans, will be intermittent in the north of England. The mosquitoes and gallinippers of New-Orleans, are replaced by gnats in the summer of a cold climate.

Insects are of all sizes, from the largest to the myriads of various kinds, which nothing but the most powerful microscope can exhibit to our sight. But large or small, the laws of their production are the same. The circumstances that will produce a gnat, will produce an insect something less; and so on till we come to the animalculæ infusoriæ, and those that float in the atmosphere. Animalculæ and miasma are connected then: always, in time, place, and circumstance. What possible mode of connexion can the reader suggest or assign, but their sameness?

Animalculæ do exist in the water, in the air, in the food we take, in our bodies. Sometimes without ill effect. In disease, generally, of which they form a part. Tumours and abscesses usually contain animalcules. They are not confined to the hydatids of the liver, or to the rot in sheep. They exist in pustules of psora. In the buboes of the plague, (see appendix to the third vol. of Turner's account of the Levant.) It is probable they exist in the yellow fever: the physicians of Philadelphia are aware of Dr. Patterson's experiment at Bush Hill, in 1820, where the ejections of black vomit exhibited, by the microscope, a congeries of animalculæ. The experiment, we hope, will be repeated when it can be.

Where the life of a parasite animal is stronger than the life of the animal preyed upon, disease is produced, and the latter falls

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Where the life of a parasite animal is stronger than the life of the animal preyed upon, disease is produced, and the latter falls



a victim. Hence, the tendency to breed insects in weakly children, particularly young females.

Does any man doubt that we inhale animalculæ when we breathe: that we eat them and drink them? That when our constitution is vigorous, we destroy and assimilate them, and that when their constitution is more vigorous than ours, they live upon us, at our expense? Is not this the case with all the vermicular disorders? Is it not likely to be the case, when new species of animalculæ are suddenly generated in the full vigour of existence, and when the circumstances that give energy to them, decrease our own? This is the case not only with parasite animals, such as intestinal worms, but with the moss, the mistletoe, the ivy, and other parasite plants, which seize upon the trees debilitated by old age, and live upon them.

We have seen, that many circumstances attending miasma, cannot be reconciled with the known properties of any gas. Let us see whether the curious facts collected by Dr. M'Culloch, in various parts of his book, cannot be explained on the animalcular theory.

1. Malaria is destroyed by chemical agents, 216. Will not the disinfecting gasses and vapours of chlorine and nitrous gas destroy *all* animal life?

2. Malaria attaches itself to solid substances, 216. 267. No wonder, if it consist in animalculæ. The wonder is, that a gas should do so.

3. It acts most strongly in its own neighbourhood, 217. Doubtless, if it be animalcular.

4. It is capable of being wafted to great distances, particularly in a moist atmosphere, 236. 240. 259. 309. 311. It is impossible to believe that any gas would not be diffused, in such a case, through the atmosphere: every chemist knows, that all gasses tend to diffusion among each other, as a general law; but there is no difficulty in conceiving very minute insects enveloped in a moist air and wafted with it.

5. Hilly countries are less liable to miasma than plains. They are also less liable to insects of whatsoever sort or size.

6. It will occupy one side of a street in preference to another, 259. 261. As in the Porta del Popolo at Rome; the main street at Columbia, South Carolina. This is strange in a gas. But it is not strange that animalcular insects should be stopt by houses.

7. Malaria may be planted out by trees, 247. You cannot plant out the atmosphere, or any of the gasses composing it. But you may intercept a swarm of insects by means of a plantation.

8. Miasma is most prevalent in the evening and morning, and less in mid-day, 274. So are insects notoriously. Dr. Rush said to us, in 1793, avoid evening and morning air, in low and damp situations. There is little danger in the heat of the day.

9. Miasma attends damp air, 270. 272. So do insects.

10. It creeps along the ground, 265. So do gnats and other minute insects; they do so of choice. Their abode is near the ground, and near streams. Dr. S. Jackson's fine experiment of barricading out yellow fever, in the city of Philadelphia, in 1820, showed most conclusively, that unless in a strong wind, they would not mount so high as ten feet. Hence also, rooms on the ground floor, are more dangerous than the upper story.

11. It is a poisonous gas, 266. 270. So are all vigorous deleterious parasitical insects: every insect that preys upon us, though not strictly poisonous, may, like poisons, be productive of disease and death.

12. Decomposed by the sun, 276. A gas cannot be decomposed by solar heat alone. We know of none that is so. But all insects love the shade, and there is reason to believe they are burnt up by the strong sun of a warm climate, in mid-day. This is the prevailing opinion.

13. Miasma is destroyed in a dry atmosphere: that is, insects and animalculæ are not generated in dry situations, as in pine barrens.

14. No hazard after ten o'clock at night in Italy, 277? We acknowledge it is far less than from seven to ten o'clock: for insects are most numerous and vigorous in the evening, not at night. Annesley's *Researches on India*. 4to. p. 74.

15. Night air not always injurious, 279. Certainly not, where no circumstances contribute to produce insects and animalculæ.

16. Canals are apt to breed evening flies; so are fish ponds, &c. 280., and other insects, where there are vegetable matters to putrefy. Size is relative and forms no objection.

17. Fire and smoke a preventive, 281. 285. 292. All our backwoodsmen know this, as well as the use of segars for the same purpose. We refer the reader to Acerbi's curious account of the mosquitoes on the Norwegian lakes, and the use of smoke in keeping them off.

18. Ardent spirits a preventive of miasmatic fever, 280, 281. By giving temporary invigoration to the system, and rendering the man able to prey upon the insect, instead of the insect on the man.

19. Is abstemious or generous diet best? 284. Neither: want of food, and repletion, are equally bad. The one induces direct, the other indirect debility, and enables the insect to conquer the man.

20. Miasma not propagated in crowded places, 292. Gasses are; but insects are stopped and detained.

21. A gauze veil is said to be a preventive, 299. It is so against an insect however small, which impinges against the net work: it is not so against a gas.

22. Malaria accompanied by mosquitoes, 382. Agreed.

23. There are several varieties of this poison, 425. 435. And so there are of animalculæ. Look over Linnæus' catalogue of intestinal worms, and of animalculæ infusoriæ, and we may be satisfied that it is so, incomplete as his enumeration must necessarily be.

24. Malaria attacks, in preference, new comers, 447. So do gnats and mosquitoes, notoriously. By analogy, so do the smaller insects.

25. Cattle become sickly in miasmatic localities, 434. Rot in sheep, 461. True. But the rot in sheep consists of animalculæ preying upon the liver.

26. Malaria exists at all times of the year, and in all countries of the world, 470. No doubt it exists co-extensively with insects, visible and invisible.

27. Continuous heat alone, does not produce malaria, 472. Nor insects, nor animalculæ.

28. Not known at sea, 473. Nor are insects small or large ; unless wafted by a breeze from a miasmatic shore.

29. Moist weather, according to Dr. Chalmers, v. i. p. 7, is productive of innumerable multitudes of insects and reptiles in hot climates ; and of malaria too.

30. Lumbrici attend dysentery. Huxham de aere v. 2. p. 98. Pringle on diseases of the army, p. 271. Monro, p. 65.

31. In fevers of malaria, the stomach is usually first affected. Lind on fevers and infection, p. 62. Rush thought the disease was taken in with the saliva : Lectures on the practice of physic. See also Lind, 147.

32. Lind (p. 59.) procured the waters of Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, to be sent to him well corked and sealed : but he found no animalculæ in them: they were all putrid. No wonder ; from the insects dying in the water. Dr. S. Jackson of Philadelphia, was so kind as to procure for us some decayed vegetables and water, from a miasmatic bank on Schuylkill. On examination next morning, by the solar microscope, no animalculæ were discoverable. No wonder, for to produce the diseases in question, the birds must have flown. They exist deleteriously in the air ; too small for the human sight, unless with powerful apparatus.

Such are the properties of miasma, as enumerated by our author, in the various places of his book above referred to. In our opinion, they afford no difficulty to the animalcular theory, and great difficulty to every other. Such as these arguments are, we leave them with deference, to the reflections of the reader.

Ch. 11. *The general effects of Malaria, and the diseases produced by it.*

When the inhabitants of marshy districts, are compared with

those of high and mountainous regions, their complexions are more sallow, their stature is less, deformities are frequent; the bones are affected, their extremities being usually found large and spongy; and rickets are more common. Sometimes there is an appearance of fatness, but more owing to aqueous accumulations in the cellular membrane; the hair is flaccid, the beard scanty, the eye dull and languid, the abdomen, even from early infancy, is enlarged, and the limbs are slender and appear emaciated. The liver becomes enlarged, the spleen is affected, puberty is late, and they are comparatively less prolific. These symptoms prevail of course, more or less, as their cause prevails or not. Old age, also, seems to arrive prematurely; from 35 to 50, is the period of danger, in such places. The irritability and sensibility of persons thus exposed, are less, and their faculties, moral and intellectual, are comparatively dull. Hence a general indolence of manner and disposition. All these symptoms are marked or not, in proportion as the district is more or less calculated to produce them.

Whether glandular obstructions, scrophula, and goitre, are to be chiefly attributed to this cause, we cannot say. To us, it appears rather probable that they are so to be ascribed.

Hippocrates attributes perfection of natural intellect, to a salutary and invigorating atmosphere. Will this apply, *è converso*, (says our author, p. 436) to *Bœotia* and *Holland*?

Dysentery, cholera, and diarrhoea, will hardly be contested.

Apoplexy, palsy, visceral obstructions, and dropsy, do not appear to us exclusively ascribable to this cause; we should be willing to allow that it gave rise to predisposition; farther than that, we doubt.

Some authors add, mesenteric affections, worms, ulcers of the legs, and even elephantiasis, together with rickets, scrophula, phthisis, and chlorosis. Upon all which cases, we should require more proof than we possess, or than Dr. M'Culloch has offered to us.

He makes the following additions to the disorders of malaria, (not, however, we presume, exclusively) from his own observations, and on his own authority. *Tic douloureux*, *sciatica*, *head-ach*, *toothach*, as branches of neuralgia. Geologically, Dr. M'Culloch is so accurate an observer, and so good a reasoner, that we are inclined to allow great weight to his medical opinion also, thus offered apparently with full confidence.

In malaria districts, the tables of the average of life, vary very considerably. Dr. Price gives an average of twenty-five years, (one half the *healthy* period of duration) while Condorcet, in France, lowers it to eighteen years. In Bresse in the *Lyonnais*, it is twenty-two. These are very important facts in relation to the theory of population. In the commune of Chatillon, in the

Orleanais, the births are to the deaths, as one to five. Monfalcon states similar proportions in other miasmatic districts of France. There is reason to believe the same general fact to be prevailing in the whole district of the Italian Maremmes. 451.

Animals appear also to be affected by miasmatic districts, though not to the same degree as human beings. Dr. M'Culloch gives an enumeration and authorities to this purpose, 454—465. To his authorities, we would add, Lord Somerville's facts and observations on sheep, wool, &c. 3d edit. 1809. p. 23. 93. 100.

Such is our analysis of this well-timed, and important book; for it is impossible for us, after careful perusal, to think or to speak of it otherwise. It may be considered, to a certain degree, as a medical work; but its great importance to the police of health in our own and every other country, induces us to wish that it may be extensively perused, and well reflected on. Dr. M'Culloch may have pushed his notions of the deleterious effects of malaria (miasma) beyond what general observation of the facts will warrant. We are not inclined, for our own part, to impute any needless exaggeration; being well persuaded that his facts are for the most part undeniable, and his conclusions well founded; and the sooner and the more deeply mankind are led to pay more attention than they have yet done to this branch of Hygiene; and to the subjects here discussed, the better it will be for themselves and their posterity.

We have procured and perused Dr. John Crawford's introductory lecture on the cause, seat, and cure of diseases, 1811, and his papers in the first volume of the Baltimore Medical Recorder, 1809. They contain a suggestion of his theory of the animalcular origin of diseases, but few facts or reasonings of weight. We have urged nothing in this review, in any manner derived from his papers or suggestions, or to be found among them.

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ART. III.—*Seleccion de Obras maestras dramaticas por Calderon de la Barca, Lope de Vega, y Moreto. Por F. SALES, Instructor en la Universidad de Harvard, en Cambridge.* Boston: 1828. 12mo. pp. 255. *Selections from the dramatic master-pieces of Calderon de la Barca, Lope de Vega, and Moreto. By F. SALES, Teacher in the University of Harvard, Cambridge.* Boston: 1828.

DURING the last twenty years, several attempts have been made to promote, in the rest of Europe, a knowledge of the national

drama of Spain. The translations from Calderon, by A. W. Schlegel, and especially his lectures at Vienna, in 1809, first gave this direction to the curiosity of the lovers of literature. But, it was soon found, that the original theatre of Spain could be understood only by those, who had become familiar with it in its native language and peculiar costume; since it was too separate, idiomatic, and national, to bear translation, or to be fully illustrated by critical discussions. In consequence of this, two editions of Calderon have been for some time going on in Germany, and two selections of old Spanish plays in England, while, at the same time, Spain itself has been, by the curiosity of foreigners, so exhausted of this portion of its printed literature, that its old authors can hardly be obtained at any price; and, in Madrid, where nothing of the kind has been thought of since Huerta published his *Teatro* in 1784, a reprint of portions of their early dramatists has recently been undertaken, with a good prospect of success.

In our own country, our growing connexion with the Spanish character, and our growing want of the Spanish language, seem to be leading to results somewhat similar. At the south, a constant intercourse with Spanish America, has led to much cultivation of the language, while at the north, where this intercourse is necessarily less frequent, attention has been rather turned to the literature. The effects of both are already visible: many good Spanish books have been reprinted, and among them is to be numbered the volume of plays collected and published by Mr. Sales. It was printed for the use of the under graduates of Harvard College, where Spanish literature is now much cultivated, and consists of three genuinely national dramas, from the period about two centuries since, when the original Spanish theatre was at the summit of its success. The first of these dramas is, *El Principe constante—The firm-hearted Prince*, by Calderon, which Schlegel, Bouterwek, and Sismondi have praised so much. The second is, *La Estrella de Sevilla, the Star of Seville*, the best of Lope de Vega's dramas, and which has here the great merit of being reprinted, as it was originally written, and not as it has been uniformly given in Spain and England, with miserable additions and alterations, to accommodate it to the present degraded state of the Spanish stage. The last is *El Desden con el Desden, Disdain met with Disdain*, by Moreto, a spirited and poetical comedy, of which Moliere has made free use in his *Princesse d'Elide*. These three pieces, therefore, form an excellent, though certainly a small representation of the immense body constituting the old Spanish drama; and, besides being honourable to their editor, Mr. Sales, whose publications have done much to promote the progress of Spanish literature among us, they constitute a very interesting work for those who wish

deratum, a Geography of Malaria? Those who can afford to travel over Europe, ought to hail with gratitude, any judicious effort, however partial or confined, toward a work so desirable.

Ch. 9. *On the Geography of Malaria.*

The materials for this chapter, are furnished by the scanty and accidental hints of travellers. For the whole of the remarks concerning the Mediterranean, Dr. M'Culloch acknowledges himself indebted to Captain Smyth, in his accounts of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Mediterranean shores.

Malaria districts will, in the first place, comprise the alluvions of the Oronoko, the Mississippi, the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Danube, the Congo, and similar places.

It will embrace all the smaller alluvions, of the Po, the Rhone, and all other known rivers, more or less in proportion to their liability to alternations of moisture and dryness, from the rivers themselves, as the valleys of Cochín China, Ava, and Egypt; the Jungles of the east, whether of Bamboo or Mangrove; the river swamps, and alluvions of the Carolinas, Georgia, Mobile, &c.

Every place where water accumulates for want of drainage, whether the locality be extensive or confined, as the swamps of Hungary, the Lyonnais, the fenny regions and mosses of England, and the numerous low and moist lands of our own Atlantic country, throughout the extent of the eastern shore; the margins of lakes, whether of Italy, of our Genesee country, or the great lakes of Erie, Ontario, and Superior.

For the enumeration of sickly localities in Italy and Greece, we must refer to our author, p. 373, et seq. We are a very travelling people in the United States, full as much so as the English; and to those who incline to take the tour of France, Spain, Italy, and Greece, we recommend the account which Dr. M'Culloch has here presented to us, throughout the whole of this interesting chapter. We know of no subject which ought to occupy the attention of travellers, who mean to publish their observations, so much as that now in question. Nor does it require an education absolutely medical. It will suffice, if the general notions contained in the book now before us, be well considered; and that the persons who would profit by this knowledge, should keep their eyes open to observation, and their ears to authentic information. A traveller who, in the present day, wilfully neglects these observations and inquiries, does not possess the requisites which the public have a right to expect.

Ch. 10. *Of the nature of Malaria.*

"That the poison of marshes consisted in animaculæ, invading the body through the lungs, sometimes, I presume, through the stomach also, is a speculation that dates as high as Lucretius, Varro, and Columella; which seems to have been renewed in the days of the Microscope, by Kircher and some others, and appears naturally enough to have found favour with Linnaeus.

"Volta must be allowed the merit of the first experiments and the first suggestions of the chemical theory of malaria. Naturally enough also, these philosophers sought the poison in question, among the ascertained chemical gasses. Among these are found the names of Baumes, Orfila, Chevreuil, Textoris, Balme: and that the accused gasses have been carbonic acid, azote, hydrocarburetted gas, hydrophosphuretted gas, hydrosulphuretted gas, and even ammonia, to say nothing of a yet undiscovered compound of azot and oxygen, called septon.

"But justice must now be done to those who have attempted, by means of analysis which modern chemistry furnishes, to examine the air produced by marshes, and to inquire whether it did not really contain some peculiar volatile substance or compound, and *unknown* gas, the true source of the evil; since I need not say that the known ones which have been enumerated, are not the poison in question, inasmuch as they can be applied to the body in the laboratory more effectually than nature can ever furnish them, without exciting fevers.

"The eudiometrical experiments of Gattoni, and Moscati, produced no results, as might have been anticipated. A more rational method of experimenting, and for a different object, was attempted by De Lisle, Vauquelin, Julia,\* Breschi, and others; and if the problem could have been solved by the analytical powers of modern chemistry, we might have expected the solution from the hands of Vauquelin. It is unnecessary to detail failures, and equally so to describe the nature of the attempts, though rationally conducted. What was considered as animal matter, was found repeatedly in the condensed dew of the grounds in question. But how far this fact may be connected with what is sought, we can scarcely conjecture. Malaria, like contagion, like odours, remains a problem for future chemistry; nor must we blame those who have been unable to produce results without means." p. 422.

In the following pages, Dr. M'Culloch still adheres, however, to the notion, that malaria, or miasma, is a poisonous Gas; and thinks it is decomposable by the sun, pages 110, 266, 270, 276, 292, 424, 467.

Upon this obscure subject, we do not pretend to offer a suggestion that ought to be deemed any thing more than probable. But while the whole matter is in reality involved in such acknowledged obscurity, any suggestions of a plausible character relating to it, cannot be considered as out of time, or at present out of place.

Our own opinion is the exploded one, that *miasma is animalcular*: we shall endeavour to show, 1st. That it is not a gas. 2dly. That it is not a mere odour or effluvium. 3dly. That the phenomena can be explained on the theory of animalculæ.

As to the first point; it is not a Gas.

Many of the ablest chemists now living, have anxiously made experiments in a variety of situations on miasmatic air, for the purpose of ascertaining this point expressly. The result has uniformly been, that the air examined, contained no other constituent gas than the atmosphere usually contains.

It is conceded, even by Dr. M'Culloch, that none of the known gasses are miasma. It is not carbonic acid, nor hydrocarburet,

\* M. Julia made sixty experiments on the marshes of Cuch near Narbonne, the pond of Pudre near Sigeau, of Salces and Salanque in Roussillon, of Capeatang near Beziers, and the different marshes of the coast of Cette, without result. As to septon, it is no where to be found but in Dr. Mitchell's Lexicon.



very titles to have been represented before Fadrique de Toledo, the Duke of Alva, the Prince Don John, and other distinguished personages of the Court. Most of them are very rude, consisting of only two or three Shepherds for interlocutors; but some have five or six; and the fifth, beginning *O triste de mi cuytado*, and the seventh, beginning *Pascuala Dios te Mantenga*, have quite a dramatic structure and movement, and something of poetical warrant. The whole constitute the first attempts at dramatic representation in Spain, which were thus contemporary with the expulsion of the Moors, and the discovery of America; two hundred years later than similar exhibitions in France, and ninety years after the establishment at Paris, of the first patented company of actors in modern times.

A little later, or soon after the year 1500, pieces of legitimate length, and of a more dramatic character, were prepared expressly for representation. But, it was done in Italy. A Spaniard of good family, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, having been carried into captivity by the African Moors, was rescued by the ecclesiastical power, and brought to Italy, where he received employment at the court of Leo X. and under Fabricio Colonna at Naples. While there, he wrote and caused to be represented in Spanish, eight dramatic pieces, which were afterwards published in a volume called *Propaladia*, or *First efforts of Minerva*, of which they fill nearly the whole. They are the first Spanish compositions, which are found with the title of *Comedias*; they are the first that, in imitation of the old French Mysteries, are divided into *Jornadas* or days: and they are the first that have an *Introyto* or *Loa*, an introduction partly in the nature of a prologue, praising some distinguished individual present, or the whole of the audience. The pieces are all in verse, and all divided into five days; but nothing can be more wild and perverse than their plans, and nothing more coarse than the general style of their execution. In the *Serafina*, we have interlocutors in four languages, with the following rude warning of it in the prologue to the audience:

But you must all keep quite awake,  
Or else in vain you'll undertake  
To comprehend the differing speech,  
Which here is kept distinct for each—  
Four languages—and yet be sure,  
Castillian and Valencian both are pure  
And so the Latin and Italian too;  
But take care or they'll trouble you.

In the *Trofea*, which is in honour of the great king Manuel of Portugal, twenty Asiatic or at least Heathen kings are brought on the stage at once, and speak by an interpreter, whose single harangue fills one entire act. In another, we have the most vulgar picture of a common soldier's life, and, in yet another, a si-

milar picture of the life of a common servant, without the least dramatic plan or colouring, and with a continual intermixture of foreign languages, among which we find the Portuguese. But, there were one or two, which, perhaps, had a favourable effect on the style and spirit of the Spanish stage, as it was afterwards developed in Spain itself. The *Jacinta* has a crude plan and little appearance of character drawing, but the versification is often happy and harmonious ; and the *Hymenea* contains the earliest traces we have observed of that peculiar tone of love making, intrigues, jealousies, and quarrels, which was afterwards established on the Spanish theatre, and brought to perfection by Lope and his followers.

But though this attempt was made in Italy, and though Villalobos translated from Plautus at about the same time, still it is apparent the Spanish character was not turned in earnest to the Theatre, till half a century later. An attempt was then made by Lope de Rueda, a gold-beater by profession, of whose efforts Cervantes, when he wrote the preface to his plays in 1615, retained a lively admiration, which is, in itself, no common eulogy. Lope certainly began in the right way, though he did not advance far in it. His purpose was evidently to please a general audience, and having joined a company of actors about 1560, and finding himself above the vulgar dulness of a common pantomime, he wrote short farces, which were publicly represented, and in which he bore his part with great applause. In all his efforts, he seems to have thought of the effect he could produce at the moment, and this satisfied him so completely, that hardly any thing he wrote, was published until after his death. The volume we have before us, contains four *comedias* and two *coloquios pastoriles*, the whole of which we should now call, farces. There is certainly little order in them, and little finish, but there is much vigour and spirit. The dialogue is natural, and they have preserved more of the distinction of characters, have more of a dramatic air, and more dramatic situations, than any thing written before them. They were, too, greatly in advance of the means then provided for theatrical representation. Cervantes says, that "in the time of Lope de Rueda, the whole wardrobe of a theatre consisted of a few coarse dresses, which could be put into a single sack ; that they had neither scenes nor machinery ; that the stage was formed of loose boards placed across benches ; and that the curtain was a coverlet suspended to a cord." Lope de Rueda must have been a remarkable man to do so much with means so humble. Cervantes frequently saw him act at Seville on such a stage, and admired him ; and above half a century afterwards, Lope de Vega, declared him the first founder of a proper national theatre.

Lope de Rueda, had several imitators, such as Alonzo de la Vega and John de Timoneda ; and from his time, to the present,

farces have never ceased to be acted on the Spanish stage. But, while this attempt to begin a merely popular theatre was going forward so successfully, though so silently, because it was confined to the lower classes, some efforts were making to satisfy the upper classes, who were partly acquainted with the works of the ancients, and to whom the adventurous and splendid expeditions of Charles V. had opened the poetry and theatres of Italy, where regular tragedies had been represented from 1520. These efforts were made partly in the way of translations from the ancients, like those made by Oliva from Sophocles, Euripides, and Plautus, or those made by Abril from Terence; and partly in the way of dramas modelled or intended to be modelled on those of the ancients, of which the most remarkable, were those by Geronimo Bermudez, in 1577, on the story of Inez de Castro, and those by Argensola in 1585, of which the canon gives so interesting an account in the first part of *Don Quixote*. But these attempts produced no lasting effect. It was no more in the Spanish character than in the English, to follow in the footsteps of antiquity, and, therefore, while Lope de Rueda found successors, the efforts of Bermudez and Argensola, though in some respects higher and more poetical, remained unimitated.

Indeed, though Lope de Rueda has been sometimes called the founder and father of the Spanish drama, yet up to this period, it may be truly said, that no proper theatre existed. For besides, that, in three centuries, very few efforts had been made, and these few, of the most different and inconsistent kinds, in eclogues, farces, translations from the ancients, and tragedies in the ancient manner, it is also true, that no spot could be found in Spain, at the time of Lope de Rueda's death, in 1567, where a drama could be represented so as to give to it a dramatic effect. In this point of view, indeed, as an entertainment for the people, it was not thought of before the year 1492, if it was before the time of Lope de Rueda, above half a century later. Even then, the persons, who represented the very few pieces which were known, were companies of strolling players, who stopped but a few days even in the largest cities, and were sought when there, only by the commonest classes of the people. The first notice we have of any thing approaching a regular theatre, and this is far removed from one—is in 1568, when an arrangement was begun, which subsists at Madrid down to our own time. Recollecting, no doubt, the origin of dramatic exhibitions in Spain for religious edification, it was then ordered by the government, that no actors should make any exhibition in Madrid, except in some place appointed by two religious houses, who should receive a rent for the privilege; an order, in which, the General Hospital of the city was included in 1583, and which, with this addition, remains, we believe, in force, down to the

present time. Under this order, plays were acted in Madrid, but only in the open area of a court-yard, without seats, decorations, roof, or machinery, except such as is humorously described by Cervantes to have been packed with all the dresses of the company into one vast sack. In this state, things continued for about a dozen years. Only strolling parties of actors were known, and they remained but a few days. No fixed place was settled for their reception; but sometimes they were sent to one court-yard, and sometimes to another; they acted in the daytime and in the open air; and so small was the concourse of spectators, and so inconsiderable the sum paid for admission, that the profit derived from them to the two convents and the hospital by whose permission they acted, never exceeded ten dollars. At last, in 1579, and 1583, two court-yards were fitted up with stage and benches; but still without a roof; the spectators sat in the open air, or at the windows of the house whose court they occupied; and the actors performed under a very slight shelter, and with decorations and scenery, which did not deserve the name. In short, the theatre in Madrid, was, down to 1586, in the condition in which the stages of mountebanks are now; and, of course, was entirely unfit to aid any efforts, that might be hazarded to produce a national drama.

But though the proper foundation was not laid, all was tending to it, and preparing for it. The stage, rude as it was, had yet the advantage of being fixed to two spots; the number of authors, though small, was still sufficient to settle the question, that plays would be wanted; and finally, the public, if those who then resorted to the theatre, deserve a name so respectable, though they had not determined what kind of a drama should become national, had yet determined, that they would be suited and satisfied; and that the drama to be produced, should go forth from the rich and abundant soil of the popular character.

At this point of time, an individual appeared as a writer for the stage, whose uncommon talent had well nigh given it a direction materially different from the one it finally pursued. This remarkable person was Cervantes. He had already lived at Rome, had fought for Christendom, and been maimed at the battle of Lepanto; and had passed five years of suffering and captivity at Algiers. On his return in 1581, after an absence from Spain of ten years, he found his family broken down, and himself poor and unknown, in a land almost of strangers. One of his early efforts to obtain a decent subsistence, was on the stage, which offered strong attractions to one, who seems in his youth to have been fond of the theatre, and who was now in serious want of immediate and profitable success. He wrote, at this time, or about 1585,—as he tells us, many years afterwards, with characteristic carelessness,—twenty or thirty pieces, which

were well received, but which he does not seem to have thought of consequence enough to print or preserve. In his own simple account of what he now attempted to do, not only for himself, but to create a Spanish theatre, he tells us, that he "was so bold as to reduce his plays to three acts or jornadas, from five which they had before"—and that he "represented imaginations," or allegorical personages, like War, Disease, and Famine. The twenty or thirty dramas, in which these changes were attempted, disappeared before the success with which Lope de Vega, a few years later, was followed, and were forgotten. Two of them, however, were discovered in 1782, and printed in 1784. They show with sufficient distinctness, both what was his purpose, and what was his success.

The first of them is, *El Trato de Argel*, or *Life at Algiers*; and resembles in its structure, its rude predecessors, which, as Cervantes himself tells us, were little more than conversations, like eclogues, lengthened out with episodes and interludes. His purpose seems to have been, to set before his audience, a lively dramatic picture of the life and sufferings of the Christians in Algiers, then so fresh in his own recollections. He introduces us, therefore, into the midst of the captives, and exhibits to us what he had himself witnessed or undergone, making himself one of his own dramatis personæ. We have, therefore, a love-story, which really happened as it is related, and which we find again in his little tale of the Generous Lover; and we have episodes, more important even than the story that connects them, such as the relation of the burning of Miguel de Aranda as it really occurred, the escape of Pedro Alvarez, a sale of Christian captives, and several more, all of which are intended to set before us, what is implied in the title of the piece, "*Life at Algiers*." There are, however, passages, which show the poetical spirit of the author with great power, and prove, that he aspired after a degree and form of dramatic excellence, unknown, at that time, in Europe. Take, for instance, a single specimen; not because it is the best, but, because it illustrates, in a characteristic manner, one of the changes he wished to introduce into the national drama. Aurelio, who is a Christian, affianced to Sylvia, is loved by Zara, a Moorish lady, and two immaterial agencies are introduced upon the stage, Necessity and Opportunity, who, like Mephistopheles, in the church scene in Goethe's *Faustus*, are invisible to Aurelio, though to the spectators they are visible, and prompt the evil thoughts which come into his mind, soliciting him to yield to the seductions of the fair infidel. When they are gone, he thus discourses with himself, trembling at the thought of having almost yielded and followed the seducing Zara:—

those of high and mountainous regions, their complexions are more sallow, their stature is less, deformities are frequent; the bones are affected, their extremities being usually found large and spongy; and rickets are more common. Sometimes there is an appearance of fatness, but more owing to aqueous accumulations in the cellular membrane; the hair is flaccid, the beard scanty, the eye dull and languid, the abdomen, even from early infancy, is enlarged, and the limbs are slender and appear emaciated. The liver becomes enlarged, the spleen is affected, puberty is late, and they are comparatively less prolific. These symptoms prevail of course, more or less, as their cause prevails or not. Old age, also, seems to arrive prematurely; from 35 to 50, is the period of danger, in such places. The irritability and sensibility of persons thus exposed, are less, and their faculties, moral and intellectual, are comparatively dull. Hence a general indolence of manner and disposition. All these symptoms are marked or not, in proportion as the district is more or less calculated to produce them.

Whether glandular obstructions, scrophula, and goitre, are to be chiefly attributed to this cause, we cannot say. To us, it appears rather probable that they are so to be ascribed.

Hippocrates attributes perfection of natural intellect, to a salutary and invigorating atmosphere. Will this apply, *è converso*, (says our author, p. 436) to *Bœotia* and *Holland*?

Dysentery, cholera, and diarrhoea, will hardly be contested.

Apoplexy, palsy, visceral obstructions, and dropsy, do not appear to us exclusively ascribable to this cause; we should be willing to allow that it gave rise to predisposition; farther than that, we doubt.

Some authors add, mesenteric affections, worms, ulcers of the legs, and even elephantiasis, together with rickets, scrophula, phthisis, and chlorosis. Upon all which cases, we should require more proof than we possess, or than Dr. M'Culloch has offered to us.

He makes the following additions to the disorders of malaria, (not, however, we presume, exclusively) from his own observations, and on his own authority. *Tic douloureux*, sciatica, headache, toothach, as branches of neuralgia. Geologically, Dr. M'Culloch is so accurate an observer, and so good a reasoner, that we are inclined to allow great weight to his medical opinion also, thus offered apparently with full confidence.

In malaria districts, the tables of the average of life, vary very considerably. Dr. Price gives an average of twenty-five years, (one half the *healthy* period of duration) while Condorcet, in France, lowers it to eighteen years. In Bresse in the *Lyonnais*, it is twenty-two. These are very important facts in relation to the theory of population. In the commune of Chatillon, in the

cantations of a wild and awful magic, which still further darken the scene with supernumerary horrors. Schlegel speaks of it, as if it were one of the most distinguished efforts, not only of the Spanish theatre, but of modern poetry ; and though this opinion may not be entirely followed, it is not to be denied, that the Numancia is marked with poetical talent, and singular boldness and originality. Take, for instance, the following complaint of a body just rising under the unhallowed incantations of Marquino, a magician, to announce the fate of the city, and observe how entirely original it is.

*Cese la furia del rigor violento ; etc.*

“Cease, cease the fury of thy cruel spell!  
It is enough, Marquino, 'tis enough  
To suffer torment in the world below  
Without thy tortures added. Or thinkest thou,  
It yields me joy to feel myself resume  
The form of this brief, transitory life,  
Which, even as I awake, begins to fail me ?  
Nay rather do I feel a thrilling pain,  
Since death even now hath reassumed his power,  
And gains a second triumph o'er my life.”

There is nothing of this dignity in the incantations of Marlow's Faustus, which belong to the contemporary period of the English stage, nor do we feel the same sympathy with the armed head raised by the weird sisters, to answer Macbeth's guilty questions, that we do with this suffering spirit recalled to life, but already enduring the pains of a second dissolution.

The scenes of private and domestic affliction arising from the pressure of the famine, are introduced with striking effect, especially one, between a mother and her child, which is incapable of translation, but which reminds us more than once, of the horrors of Dante's Ugolino. The first scene of this sort, however, is between a lover, Morandro, and his mistress, Lira, whom he now sees for the first time, wasted by the famine, and mourning over the universal desolation :

*Morandro. Enjuga, Lira, los ojos, etc.*

*Morandro.* “Nay, dry thy tears, my love, and rather  
Let me weep, that I behold thy wasted form.  
But thou—thou mayst not, shalt not perish thus,  
While I have life to win thee food ; and while  
But walls and fumes obstruct my way to what  
Can rescue thee, though but an instant,  
From this dreadful fate. The bread the Roman  
Eats even now, shall from his lips be dashed  
And borne to thine. For what is life or death,  
While thus I perish to behold thy griefs ?  
No! in defiance of the Roman's power  
He shall not taste of food and live,  
If but these arms still hold their wonted strength.

*Lira.* “Thou speak'st, Morandro, like a lover still,  
Forgetful, that thou bear'st the seal of death.

But think not, I can find a joy in food  
 Bought with thy danger, yea, perhaps, thy life,  
 Or hope for nourishment in what thou seek'st  
 When thou may'st lose thyself, not rescue me.  
 No, my sweet friend, enjoy thy youth,  
 Enjoy thy fresh and happy youth. Thy life  
 Hath value to the state; thine arm can still  
 Maintain the right against this cruel foe.  
 But, I, a weak and melancholy maid,  
 What can I do but die? Away, then,  
 With this desperate thought. I taste no food  
 Bought at such deadly price. For, at the best,  
 Thou canst but ransom for a day, a life,  
 Which this too piercing hunger must, at last, destroy.

*Morandro.* "In vain thou strivest—my will and fate alike  
 Invite and urge me on. Do thou, meanwhile,  
 Invoke all favouring Gods, and pray that I  
 Return with spoils to save us both. I go —

*Lira.* "Morandro, gentle friend,—go not—for see,  
 Before mine eyes, there waves a Roman sword,  
 Red with thy blood. O, go not, then, Morandro,  
 For, if the sally be with danger barred,  
 Death waits for thy return."

He persists, and accompanied by a friend, penetrates into the Roman camp, and obtains some bread. In the contest, he is wounded; but still forcing his way back into the city, gives her the bread, wet with his blood, and falls dead at her feet. Other scenes are marked with similar originality and poetical power. The whole piece, indeed, succeeds in awakening strong sensations, and shows a bold attempt to create a drama, which, though not like that of *Æschylus* in most points, certainly reminds us of his hardy genius and unbending originality.

But, at this point in the history of his life, when he had successfully represented on the theatre, the twenty or thirty plays, of which the two just mentioned are all that remain to us, the career of Cervantes on the stage was suddenly stopped; and very soon afterwards, that remarkable person appeared, who gave to it, its final form and character. The circumstances of this revolution are rather hinted at, than explained by Cervantes himself. "I became occupied in other affairs," he says, "I left my pen and dramas; and immediately there appeared that prodigy of nature, the great Lope de Vega, who raised himself to the monarchy of the stage, subjugated it, and placed all the actors under his jurisdiction; filled the world with dramas of his own, happy and well composed; and, in such numbers, that what he has written, amounts to about ten thousand sheets, all of which, it is astonishing to relate, he has seen represented, or, at least, heard that they have been; and if some persons, (and there are indeed many) have sought to take a share in the glory of these labours, all they have written, if put together, would not amount to the half of what he alone has done."



As far as we can now ascertain, the period at which Lope de Vega thus appeared, and, as it were, took possession of the Spanish stage, was soon after the year 1590. He was then nearly thirty years old, and had passed through many of the adventures of his checkered life. He had been secretary to the Grand Inquisitor; he had lived in the family of the famous Duke of Alva; had been in exile; and was now just returning from serving in that disastrous armada, which had been sent against England. To understand, however, the extensive and lasting effects he produced on the drama of his nation, we must consider, not only the history of it during the forty-five years it was in his hands, but the forms into which he divided and settled it; and the general direction and character, he gave to it in all its branches.

That Lope began to write, when young, such plays as were then known, is certain; such plays, we mean, as were usually divided into four parts, resembling scenes rather than acts; short, rude, and little connected. Of his earliest efforts, he gives the following distinct account in his art of writing plays, first printed in 1609.

*El Capitan Virues, insigne ingenio, etc.*

“Plays in three parts, we owe to Virues’ pen,  
Which ne’er had crawled but on all fours till then;  
An action suited to that helpless age,  
The infancy of wit, the childhood of the stage.—  
Such plays, not twelve years old did I complete,  
Four sheets to every play: one part on every sheet.”

This must, of course, have been as early as 1574, and, therefore, before even Cervantes’ captivity. A few years later, while Lope was with Manrique, the Inquisitor, and, therefore, before 1580, he wrote, as his friend Montalvan tells us, a drama called *La Pastoral de Jacinto*, which was the first he ever composed, in three acts; but this piece is not now known to exist, and there is no ground to suppose, that any of the pieces he wrote during this period of his life, were represented, or that he, in any way, appeared before the public as a dramatic writer, until after the defeat of the armada, and his return to Madrid. At this time, Cervantes was at Seville. The theatre of the capital, therefore, was, as it were, empty, and waiting for Lope, whose success was unexampled. This encouraged him to greater efforts. He devoted himself almost entirely to dramatic composition; and, for several years, no name, we are told, was known on the rolls of the theatre except his. Nor does it seem as if any other could have found room there; for, in 1604, he gives us a list of three hundred and forty-three pieces he had then written; in a poem published in 1609, he says, the week he composed it, he had finished his four hundred and eighty-third piece; in 1632, his friend, Montalvan, declares the number to have been fifteen

hundred that had been represented, without reckoning the shorter pieces; and in the eulogy at his death, the whole number of his plays is settled at eighteen hundred, and of his religious pieces (*autos*) at four hundred. The prodigious facility this implies, is further set forth, by what he says, in a poem published after his death; that more than a hundred of his pieces had been written, each in a day; and by the anecdote told by Montalvan, that he wrote five in a fortnight, and a large portion of another in four hours, without making any particular effort; so that after all, incredible as the account is, we are compelled to believe it, especially, as above five hundred of the pieces are extant to bear witness to the fact.

The plays with which Lope thus filled the Spanish theatre, were in a style and manner unknown before his time, but so different in their forms and subjects, that from his time and his influence, the drama in Spain fell into certain settled divisions, which it never afterwards entirely lost. In speaking of Lope's dramatic works, therefore, we must consider them in classes.

The *first* class of plays, then, that Lope wrote, and the one which, to this day, remains more popular in Spain than any other of the elder drama, consists of those called *Comedias de Capa y Espada*,—dramas of cloak and sword—which obtained their name from the circumstance, that the principal personages exhibited in them, belonged to that genteel portion of society, which was accustomed to wear cloaks and swords. Their principle is gallantry, such as it appeared in the age when Lope lived, mixed, however, with the most involved intrigue; generally accompanied with a hardly less involved underplot; and always extending to the length of regular pieces for the theatre, which was now settled at three *jornadas* or acts, each of which Lope recommended, should be compressed at least within the limits of a single day, though he is himself seldom so scrupulous as to do it. They are not properly comedies, for nothing is more customary in them, than duels, murders, and assassinations; and they are not properly tragedies, for they conclude happily, and are composed chiefly of humorous and sentimental dialogue, and carried on chiefly by lovers who are full of exaggerated feeling, or inferior characters, whose wit often savours of buffoonery. One of these pieces is, in fact, a dramatised novel, whose prominent characteristic is the complication of its intrigue, and the rapid and even tumultuous and disorderly movement of its action, which is often so confused, that if the spectator turns his attention for a moment from its progress, he loses the thread and is unable to regain it. It sometimes resembles the tales that were then so popular in the *gusto picaresco*, but oftener depends on a sentimental interest, though never without burlesque wit, and

always preserving the full character, costume, and manners, of the age and country.

Lope wrote a vast number of plays of this kind; several hundreds at least; and many of those we have read, show great dramatic talent. Among the best are, *La Hermosa Fea*, The Ugly Beauty; *Dineros son Calidad*, Money makes the Man; *La Moza de Cantaro*, The fair Water-Bearer; *Por la puente Juana*, Over the bridge Joanna; and *Antes que te cases, mire lo que haces*, or, When you marry, look before you leap. It is impossible, however, to understand the characteristics of this class of plays by definition or description, and therefore, we will attempt a compressed analysis of one of them—*Por la puente Juana*—which, though by no means one of our favourites among Lope's plays, may, perhaps, on that very account, be a fairer specimen.

Don John del Valle, and Doña Isabel de Navares, both of noble rank, are the lovers of the principal plot. Their marriage is hindered by their friends, and in the midst of their trials and difficulties, Don John kills his rival in one of those sudden duels with which the old Spanish drama abounds—the two lovers escape; but, by the pursuits of justice, are separated, and the lady Isabella takes refuge in a peasant's cottage, stripped of every thing by a faithless valet, and, therefore, perfectly forsaken and desolate. The discussion between the peasant and the lady may be given on average, but not as a favourable specimen of Lope's dialogue.

*Templad, Señora, el dolor, etc.*

*Peasant.* "Be not so overcome of grief, fair lady:  
You are not exiled to a foreign land.

*Isabella.* "O, my good friend, there is no desert waste  
More desolate than absence is to love.  
The sun sheds not his silvery beams to cheer  
Such inward darkness;—even the home we trust,  
Grows solitary, and the very life  
That dwelt within the soul seems fled. But oh!  
For my disastrous lot! for my most hopeless fate!  
Where shall I turn? where look for help or trust?  
The faithless slave, who left me here to seek  
My lord, (whom I confess Lord of my love)—  
That coward wretch has found a baser guilt  
Than I had known, and left me in a misery  
I had not feared. For am I not a woman?  
A woman, too, deserted, houseless, friendless?  
Yet still I feel, that I have acted well.  
I fled my home; but flight was all my hope—  
Sad hope! for now alas! cast on the world  
And far from all I love, even hope is gone!  
For never woman overcame her fate,  
When she was severed from the heart she loved."

By the advice of the peasant, she enters the service of Doña Antonia, a principal lady of Toledo, where she was left, and as-

sumes, to disguise herself, the name of Juana, and the dress of one in humble life. Her lover, Don John, in the mean time, had come to the same city, and, under the name of Diego Pacheco, had entered the service of the Marquis de Villena. They, of course, soon meet, but it is only to be involved in new anxieties. Juana is employed by Doña Antonia to carry a letter to Diego, with whom she is in love, while Diego, on the other hand, is commissioned by the Marquis to assist him in winning the affections of the fair Juana. Now, therefore, begins the underplot of the new attachments; and the play and intrigue of jealousy. The distressing situations are brought about naturally, but with great address. Each of the lovers is made to believe that the other has proved false, and each, therefore, seems willing to justify the other's suspicion, and so only aggravates the distress. At last, Juana, who seems on the point of yielding to the passion of the Marquis, takes the sudden resolution of explaining frankly, all the characters and disguises. Her lover overhears her, and is, therefore, satisfied of her fidelity, and the whole ends with an universal reconciliation.

To this class of drama, Lope not only gave its essential characteristics, but its peculiar forms. He invented the standing characters of the *Galan*, or lover, the *Dama*, or mistress, the *Barba*, or old man who opposes their union, and the *Gracioso*, who is a sort of parody of the *Galan*, and laughs at the author, the actors, and the audience. All these have since become standing characters in the old Spanish drama, and are at once as easily recognised by their distinctive attributes, as the Arlecchino of Venetian comedy; so that the whole is his creation, to which we should add a praise seldom due to inventors, that none have since surpassed him, or produced better plays of this class than his own.

The *second* class, into which the dramas invented by Lope may be divided, is that called in Spain *Comedias historiales*, or *Comedias heroycas*; that is, historical or heroic dramas. The chief difference between these and the last is, that their personages are of higher rank, such as kings and princes; and that they generally have an historical foundation; that they are more frequently grave and tragical; and that they are intended to produce a more imposing and theatrical effect. They have, however, the same underplots; the same play of jealousy; the same imbroglio and intrigue; and the same parody and humour of the *Gracioso*, which are found in the *Comedias de Capa y Espada*.

Lope wrote a great number of this class of Dramas—almost as many, probably, as of the first. Among the most esteemed, are two on the story of Bernardo del Carpio; one on that of Belisarius; and a great number on different portions of Spanish history, resorting generally to the old chronicles and ballads for his

farces have never ceased to be acted on the Spanish stage. But, while this attempt to begin a merely popular theatre was going forward so successfully, though so silently, because it was confined to the lower classes, some efforts were making to satisfy the upper classes, who were partly acquainted with the works of the ancients, and to whom the adventurous and splendid expeditions of Charles V. had opened the poetry and theatres of Italy, where regular tragedies had been represented from 1520. These efforts were made partly in the way of translations from the ancients, like those made by Oliva from Sophocles, Euripides, and Plautus, or those made by Abril from Terence; and partly in the way of dramas modelled or intended to be modelled on those of the ancients, of which the most remarkable, were those by Geronimo Bermudez, in 1577, on the story of Inez de Castro, and those by Argensola in 1585, of which the canon gives so interesting an account in the first part of *Don Quixote*. But these attempts produced no lasting effect. It was no more in the Spanish character than in the English, to follow in the footsteps of antiquity, and, therefore, while Lope de Rueda found successors, the efforts of Bermudez and Argensola, though in some respects higher and more poetical, remained unimitated.

Indeed, though Lope de Rueda has been sometimes called the founder and father of the Spanish drama, yet up to this period, it may be truly said, that no proper theatre existed. For besides, that, in three centuries, very few efforts had been made, and these few, of the most different and inconsistent kinds, in eclogues, farces, translations from the ancients, and tragedies in the ancient manner, it is also true, that no spot could be found in Spain, at the time of Lope de Rueda's death, in 1567, where a drama could be represented so as to give to it a dramatic effect. In this point of view, indeed, as an entertainment for the people, it was not thought of before the year 1492, if it was before the time of Lope de Rueda, above half a century later. Even then, the persons, who represented the very few pieces which were known, were companies of strolling players, who stopped but a few days even in the largest cities, and were sought when there, only by the commonest classes of the people. The first notice we have of any thing approaching a regular theatre, and this is far removed from one—is in 1568, when an arrangement was begun, which subsists at Madrid down to our own time. Recollecting, no doubt, the origin of dramatic exhibitions in Spain for religious edification, it was then ordered by the government, that no actors should make any exhibition in Madrid, except in some place appointed by two religious houses, who should receive a rent for the privilege; an order, in which, the General Hospital of the city was included in 1583, and which, with this addition, remains, we believe, in force, down to the

present time. Under this order, plays were acted in Madrid, but only in the open area of a court-yard, without seats, decorations, roof, or machinery, except such as is humorously described by Cervantes to have been packed with all the dresses of the company into one vast sack. In this state, things continued for about a dozen years. Only strolling parties of actors were known, and they remained but a few days. No fixed place was settled for their reception; but sometimes they were sent to one court-yard, and sometimes to another; they acted in the daytime and in the open air; and so small was the concourse of spectators, and so inconsiderable the sum paid for admission, that the profit derived from them to the two convents and the hospital by whose permission they acted, never exceeded ten dollars. At last, in 1579, and 1583, two court-yards were fitted up with stage and benches; but still without a roof; the spectators sat in the open air, or at the windows of the house whose court they occupied; and the actors performed under a very slight shelter, and with decorations and scenery, which did not deserve the name. In short, the theatre in Madrid, was, down to 1586, in the condition in which the stages of mountebanks are now; and, of course, was entirely unfit to aid any efforts, that might be hazarded to produce a national drama.

But though the proper foundation was not laid, all was tending to it, and preparing for it. The stage, rude as it was, had yet the advantage of being fixed to two spots; the number of authors, though small, was still sufficient to settle the question, that plays would be wanted; and finally, the public, if those who then resorted to the theatre, deserve a name so respectable, though they had not determined what kind of a drama should become national, had yet determined, that they would be suited and satisfied; and that the drama to be produced, should go forth from the rich and abundant soil of the popular character.

At this point of time, an individual appeared as a writer for the stage, whose uncommon talent had well nigh given it a direction materially different from the one it finally pursued. This remarkable person was Cervantes. He had already lived at Rome, had fought for Christendom, and been maimed at the battle of Lepanto; and had passed five years of suffering and captivity at Algiers. On his return in 1581, after an absence from Spain of ten years, he found his family broken down, and himself poor and unknown, in a land almost of strangers. One of his early efforts to obtain a decent subsistence, was on the stage, which offered strong attractions to one, who seems in his youth to have been fond of the theatre, and who was now in serious want of immediate and profitable success. He wrote, at this time, or about 1585,—as he tells us, many years afterwards, with characteristic carelessness,—twenty or thirty pieces, which

were well received, but which he does not seem to have thought of consequence enough to print or preserve. In his own simple account of what he now attempted to do, not only for himself, but to create a Spanish theatre, he tells us, that he "was so bold as to reduce his plays to three acts or jornadas, from five which they had before"—and that he "represented imaginations," or allegorical personages, like War, Disease, and Famine. The twenty or thirty dramas, in which these changes were attempted, disappeared before the success with which Lope de Vega, a few years later, was followed, and were forgotten. Two of them, however, were discovered in 1782, and printed in 1784. They show with sufficient distinctness, both what was his purpose, and what was his success.

The first of them is, *El Trato de Argel*, or *Life at Algiers*; and resembles in its structure, its rude predecessors, which, as Cervantes himself tells us, were little more than conversations, like eclogues, lengthened out with episodes and interludes. His purpose seems to have been, to set before his audience, a lively dramatic picture of the life and sufferings of the Christians in Algiers, then so fresh in his own recollections. He introduces us, therefore, into the midst of the captives, and exhibits to us what he had himself witnessed or undergone, making himself one of his own dramatis personæ. We have, therefore, a love-story, which really happened as it is related, and which we find again in his little tale of the Generous Lover; and we have episodes, more important even than the story that connects them, such as the relation of the burning of Miguel de Aranda as it really occurred, the escape of Pedro Alvarez, a sale of Christian captives, and several more, all of which are intended to set before us, what is implied in the title of the piece, "Life at Algiers." There are, however, passages, which show the poetical spirit of the author with great power, and prove, that he aspired after a degree and form of dramatic excellence, unknown, at that time, in Europe. Take, for instance, a single specimen; not because it is the best, but, because it illustrates, in a characteristic manner, one of the changes he wished to introduce into the national drama. Aurelio, who is a Christian, affianced to Sylvia, is loved by Zara, a Moorish lady, and two immaterial agencies are introduced upon the stage, Necessity and Opportunity, who, like Mephistopheles, in the church scene in Goethe's *Faustus*, are invisible to Aurelio, though to the spectators they are visible, and prompt the evil thoughts which come into his mind, soliciting him to yield to the seductions of the fair infidel. When they are gone, he thus discourses with himself, trembling at the thought of having almost yielded and followed the seducing Zara:—

*Aurelio adonde vas ? Para do mueves, etc.*

"Aurelio, whither goest thou ? Whither bend  
Thy wandering steps their course ? What hand conducts thee ?  
Darest thou indulge thy mad and wild desires  
And cast aside the fear of God forever ?  
Can light and easy opportunity  
So far provoke thy soul to guilty pleasure  
That thou wouldst trample virtue down at once  
And yield thyself a prey to wanton love ?  
Is this the elevated thought ? Is this  
The firm intent, which thou didst vow to keep,  
That no offence to God should stain thy soul  
Though torture rack'd the remnant of thy days ?  
So soon hast thou offended ? to the winds  
Released the anticipations of a lawful love,  
And taken to thy memory instead  
Thoughts vain, dishonest, light and infamous ?  
Begone, ye base suggestions ! far away  
Each wish impure of evil ! Let the hand  
Of chaste and blameless love destroy the web,  
Which the seducer strives to wind around thee.  
The faith which I profess, that faith I'll follow,  
And though it lead to dark extremities,  
Nor gift nor promise, artifice nor guile,  
Shall make me swerve one instant from my God."

The conception of this passage, and of the scenes preceding it, may not be very dramatic, but it is very poetical. The whole piece, indeed, is a mixture of feeling and enthusiasm struggling against the condition of the theatre, as it then existed in Spain. Perhaps the *Trato de Argel* should not strictly be called a drama, since it is only an attempt to give dramatic effect to a series of disconnected events, so that when Cervantes has carried us through the scenes and circumstances he thought necessary to produce the impression he intended, he, at last, as he said afterwards, brings it to no conclusion at all.

The other play of Cervantes, that remains to us from this period of his life, is founded on the tragical history of Numantia, which, having resisted the Roman arms fourteen years, was taken by famine; the Roman army under Publius Æmilianus Scipio, consisting of eighty thousand men, and the Numantian of less than four thousand, all of whom perished; for when Scipio entered the city, he found not a soul alive: those who had not perished from famine, having fallen by their own hands. This siege, with its public and private horrors, from the arrival of Scipio to the fall of the city, is the subject of Cervantes' *Numancia*. And surely never was the romance of real life exhibited in such bloody extremity. The whole piece is crowded with the heart-rending effects of the famine on the Numantians; of their desperate efforts to break up the siege; and of the dreadful details involved in their final resolution to perish. With all this are mingled the discourses and predictions of allegorical existences, like the genius of Spain and the river Douro, and in-



cantations of a wild and awful magic, which still further darken the scene with supernumerary horrors. Schlegel speaks of it, as if it were one of the most distinguished efforts, not only of the Spanish theatre, but of modern poetry ; and though this opinion may not be entirely followed, it is not to be denied, that the Numancia is marked with poetical talent, and singular boldness and originality. Take, for instance, the following complaint of a body just rising under the unhallowed incantations of Marquino, a magician, to announce the fate of the city, and observe how entirely original it is.

*Cese la furia del rigor violento ; etc.*

“ Cease, cease the fury of thy cruel spell!  
It is enough, Marquino, 'tis enough  
To suffer torment in the world below  
Without thy tortures added. Or thinkest thou,  
It yields me joy to feel myself resume  
The form of this brief, transitory life,  
Which, even as I awake, begins to fail me ?  
Nay rather do I feel a thrilling pain,  
Since death even now hath reassumed his power,  
And gains a second triumph o'er my life.”

There is nothing of this dignity in the incantations of Marlow's Faustus, which belong to the contemporary period of the English stage, nor do we feel the same sympathy with the armed head raised by the weird sisters, to answer Macbeth's guilty questions, that we do with this suffering spirit recalled to life, but already enduring the pains of a second dissolution.

The scenes of private and domestic affliction arising from the pressure of the famine, are introduced with striking effect, especially one, between a mother and her child, which is incapable of translation, but which reminds us more than once, of the horrors of Dante's Ugolino. The first scene of this sort, however, is between a lover, Morandro, and his mistress, Lira, whom he now sees for the first time, wasted by the famine, and mourning over the universal desolation :

*Morandro. Enjuga, Lira, los ojos, etc.*

*Morandro.* “ Nay, dry thy tears, my love, and rather  
Let me weep, that I behold thy wasted form.  
But thou—thou mayst not, shalt not perish thus,  
While I have life to win thee food ; and while  
But walls and fens obstruct my way to what  
Can rescue thee, though but an instant,  
From this dreadful fate, The bread the Roman  
Eats even now, shall from his lips be dashed  
And borne to thine. For what is life or death,  
While thus I perish to behold thy griefs ?  
No! in defiance of the Roman's power  
He shall not taste of food and live,  
If but these arms still hold their wonted strength.

*Lira.* “ Thou speak'st, Morandro, like a lover still,  
Forgetful, that thou bear'st the seal of death.

But think not, I can find a joy in food  
 Bought with thy danger, yea, perhaps, thy life,  
 Or hope for nourishment in what thou seek'st  
 When thou may'st lose thyself, not rescue me.  
 No, my sweet friend, enjoy thy youth,  
 Enjoy thy fresh and happy youth. Thy life  
 Hath value to the state ; thine arm can still  
 Maintain the right against this cruel foe.  
 But, I, a weak and melancholy maid,  
 What can I do but die ? Away, then,  
 With this desperate thought. I taste no food  
 Bought at such deadly price. For, at the best,  
 Thou canst but ransom for a day, a life,  
 Which this too piercing hunger must, at last, destroy.

*Morandro.* "In vain thou strivest—my will and fate alike  
 Invite and urge me on. Do thou, meanwhile,  
 Invoke all favouring Gods, and pray that I  
 Return with spoils to save us both. I go —

*Lira.* "Morandro, gentle friend,—go not—for see,  
 Before mine eyes, there waves a Roman sword,  
 Red with thy blood. O, go not, then, Morandro,  
 For, if the sally be with danger barred,  
 Death waits for thy return."

He persists, and accompanied by a friend, penetrates into the Roman camp, and obtains some bread. In the contest, he is wounded ; but still forcing his way back into the city, gives her the bread, wet with his blood, and falls dead at her feet. Other scenes are marked with similar originality and poetical power. The whole piece, indeed, succeeds in awakening strong sensations, and shows a bold attempt to create a drama, which, though not like that of *Æschylus* in most points, certainly reminds us of his hardy genius and unbending originality.

But, at this point in the history of his life, when he had successfully represented on the theatre, the twenty or thirty plays, of which the two just mentioned are all that remain to us, the career of Cervantes on the stage was suddenly stopped ; and very soon afterwards, that remarkable person appeared, who gave to it, its final form and character. The circumstances of this revolution are rather hinted at, than explained by Cervantes himself. "I became occupied in other affairs," he says, "I left my pen and dramas ; and immediately there appeared that prodigy of nature, the great Lope de Vega, who raised himself to the monarchy of the stage, subjugated it, and placed all the actors under his jurisdiction ; filled the world with dramas of his own, happy and well composed ; and, in such numbers, that what he has written, amounts to about ten thousand sheets, all of which, it is astonishing to relate, he has seen represented, or, at least, heard that they have been ; and if some persons, (and there are indeed many) have sought to take a share in the glory of these labours, all they have written, if put together, would not amount to the half of what he alone has done."

As far as we can now ascertain, the period at which Lope de Vega thus appeared, and, as it were, took possession of the Spanish stage, was soon after the year 1590. He was then nearly thirty years old, and had passed through many of the adventures of his checkered life. He had been secretary to the Grand Inquisitor; he had lived in the family of the famous Duke of Alva; had been in exile; and was now just returning from serving in that disastrous armada, which had been sent against England. To understand, however, the extensive and lasting effects he produced on the drama of his nation, we must consider, not only the history of it during the forty-five years it was in his hands, but the forms into which he divided and settled it; and the general direction and character, he gave to it in all its branches.

That Lope began to write, when young, such plays as were then known, is certain; such plays, we mean, as were usually divided into four parts, resembling scenes rather than acts; short, rude, and little connected. Of his earliest efforts, he gives the following distinct account in his art of writing plays, first printed in 1609.

*El Capitan Virues, insigne ingenio, etc.*

“Plays in three parts, we owe to Virues’ pen,  
Which ne’er had crawled but on all fours till then;  
An action suited to that helpless age,  
The infancy of wit, the childhood of the stage.—  
Such plays, not twelve years old did I complete,  
Four sheets to every play: one part on every sheet.”

This must, of course, have been as early as 1574, and, therefore, before even Cervantes’ captivity. A few years later, while Lope was with Manrique, the Inquisitor, and, therefore, before 1580, he wrote, as his friend Montalvan tells us, a drama called *La Pastoral de Jacinto*, which was the first he ever composed, in three acts; but this piece is not now known to exist, and there is no ground to suppose, that any of the pieces he wrote during this period of his life, were represented, or that he, in any way, appeared before the public as a dramatic writer, until after the defeat of the armada, and his return to Madrid. At this time, Cervantes was at Seville. The theatre of the capital, therefore, was, as it were, empty, and waiting for Lope, whose success was unexampled. This encouraged him to greater efforts. He devoted himself almost entirely to dramatic composition; and, for several years, no name, we are told, was known on the rolls of the theatre except his. Nor does it seem as if any other could have found room there; for, in 1604, he gives us a list of three hundred and forty-three pieces he had then written; in a poem published in 1609, he says, the week he composed it, he had finished his four hundred and eighty-third piece; in 1632, his friend, Montalvan, declares the number to have been fifteen

hundred that had been represented, without reckoning the shorter pieces; and in the eulogy at his death, the whole number of his plays is settled at eighteen hundred, and of his religious pieces (*autos*) at four hundred. The prodigious facility this implies, is further set forth, by what he says, in a poem published after his death; that more than a hundred of his pieces had been written, each in a day; and by the anecdote told by Montalvan, that he wrote five in a fortnight, and a large portion of another in four hours, without making any particular effort; so that after all, incredible as the account is, we are compelled to believe it, especially, as above five hundred of the pieces are extant to bear witness to the fact.

The plays with which Lope thus filled the Spanish theatre, were in a style and manner unknown before his time, but so different in their forms and subjects, that from his time and his influence, the drama in Spain fell into certain settled divisions, which it never afterwards entirely lost. In speaking of Lope's dramatic works, therefore, we must consider them in classes.

The *first* class of plays, then, that Lope wrote, and the one which, to this day, remains more popular in Spain than any other of the elder drama, consists of those called *Comedias de Capa y Espada*,—dramas of cloak and sword—which obtained their name from the circumstance, that the principal personages exhibited in them, belonged to that genteel portion of society, which was accustomed to wear cloaks and swords. Their principle is gallantry, such as it appeared in the age when Lope lived, mixed, however, with the most involved intrigue; generally accompanied with a hardly less involved underplot; and always extending to the length of regular pieces for the theatre, which was now settled at three *jornadas* or acts, each of which Lope recommended, should be compressed at least within the limits of a single day, though he is himself seldom so scrupulous as to do it. They are not properly comedies, for nothing is more customary in them, than duels, murders, and assassinations; and they are not properly tragedies, for they conclude happily, and are composed chiefly of humorous and sentimental dialogue, and carried on chiefly by lovers who are full of exaggerated feeling, or inferior characters, whose wit often savours of buffoonery. One of these pieces is, in fact, a dramatised novel, whose prominent characteristic is the complication of its intrigue, and the rapid and even tumultuous and disorderly movement of its action, which is often so confused, that if the spectator turns his attention for a moment from its progress, he loses the thread and is unable to regain it. It sometimes resembles the tales that were then so popular in the *gusto picaresco*, but oftener depends on a sentimental interest, though never without burlesque wit, and

always preserving the full character, costume, and manners, of the age and country.

Lope wrote a vast number of plays of this kind; several hundreds at least; and many of those we have read, show great dramatic talent. Among the best are, *La Hermosa Fea*, The Ugly Beauty; *Dineros son Calidad*, Money makes the Man; *La Moza de Cantaro*, The fair Water-Bearer; *Por la puente Juana*, Over the bridge Joanna; and *Antes que te cases, mire lo que haces*, or, When you marry, look before you leap. It is impossible, however, to understand the characteristics of this class of plays by definition or description, and therefore, we will attempt a compressed analysis of one of them—*Por la puente Juana*—which, though by no means one of our favourites among Lope's plays, may, perhaps, on that very account, be a fairer specimen.

Don John del Valle, and Doña Isabel de Navares, both of noble rank, are the lovers of the principal plot. Their marriage is hindered by their friends, and in the midst of their trials and difficulties, Don John kills his rival in one of those sudden duels with which the old Spanish drama abounds—the two lovers escape; but, by the pursuits of justice, are separated, and the lady Isabella takes refuge in a peasant's cottage, stripped of every thing by a faithless valet, and, therefore, perfectly forsaken and desolate. The discussion between the peasant and the lady may be given on average, but not as a favourable specimen of Lope's dialogue.

*Templad, Señora, el dolor, etc.*

*Peasant.* "Be not so overcome of grief, fair lady:  
You are not exiled to a foreign land.

*Isabella.* "O, my good friend, there is no desert waste  
More desolate than absence is to love.  
The sun sheds not his silvery beams to cheer  
Such inward darkness;—even the home we trust,  
Grows solitary, and the very life  
That dwelt within the soul seems fled. But oh!  
For my disastrous lot! for my most hopeless fate!  
Where shall I turn? where look for help or trust?  
The faithless slave, who left me here to seek  
My lord, (whom I confess Lord of my love)—  
That coward wretch has found a baser guilt  
Than I had known, and left me in a misery  
I had not feared. For am I not a woman?  
A woman, too, deserted, houseless, friendless?  
Yet still I feel, that I have acted well.  
I fled my home; but flight was all my hope—  
Sad hope! for now alas! cast on the world  
And far from all I love, even hope is gone!  
For never woman overcame her fate,  
When she was severed from the heart she loved."

By the advice of the peasant, she enters the service of Doña Antonia, a principal lady of Toledo, where she was left, and as-

sumes, to disguise herself, the name of Juana, and the dress of one in humble life. Her lover, Don John, in the mean time, had come to the same city, and, under the name of Diego Pacheco, had entered the service of the Marquis de Villena. They, of course, soon meet, but it is only to be involved in new anxieties. Juana is employed by Doña Antonia to carry a letter to Diego, with whom she is in love, while Diego, on the other hand, is commissioned by the Marquis to assist him in winning the affections of the fair Juana. Now, therefore, begins the underplot of the new attachments; and the play and intrigue of jealousy. The distressing situations are brought about naturally, but with great address. Each of the lovers is made to believe that the other has proved false, and each, therefore, seems willing to justify the other's suspicion, and so only aggravates the distress. At last, Juana, who seems on the point of yielding to the passion of the Marquis, takes the sudden resolution of explaining frankly, all the characters and disguises. Her lover overhears her, and is, therefore, satisfied of her fidelity, and the whole ends with an universal reconciliation.

To this class of drama, Lope not only gave its essential characteristics, but its peculiar forms. He invented the standing characters of the *Galan*, or lover, the *Dama*, or mistress, the *Barba*, or old man who opposes their union, and the *Gracioso*, who is a sort of parody of the Galan, and laughs at the author, the actors, and the audience. All these have since become standing characters in the old Spanish drama, and are at once as easily recognised by their distinctive attributes, as the Arlecchino of Venetian comedy; so that the whole is his creation, to which we should add a praise seldom due to inventors, that none have since surpassed him, or produced better plays of this class than his own.

The *second* class, into which the dramas invented by Lope may be divided, is that called in Spain *Comedias historiales*, or *Comedias heroycas*; that is, historical or heroic dramas. The chief difference between these and the last is, that their personages are of higher rank, such as kings and princes; and that they generally have an historical foundation; that they are more frequently grave and tragical; and that they are intended to produce a more imposing and theatrical effect. They have, however, the same underplots; the same play of jealousy; the same imbroglio and intrigue; and the same parody and humour of the *Gracioso*, which are found in the *Comedias de Capa y Espada*.

Lope wrote a great number of this class of Dramas—almost as many, probably, as of the first. Among the most esteemed, are two on the story of Bernardo del Carpio; one on that of Belisarius; and a great number on different portions of Spanish history, resorting generally to the old chronicles and ballads for his

choicest materials. The one, however, which, out of those we have read, has most interested us, is, *Estrella de Sevilla*, which preserves almost uniformly a tragic tone, has a high poetical merit, and is liable to few of the objections that are commonly urged against the Spanish drama. For these reasons, but especially because it is contained in the volume we are noticing, and is, therefore, accessible to all, we will give some further account of it, as an example of the entire class.

It is founded on the history of Sancho the Valiant, king of Castille, who, arriving in about 1290 at Seville, where the scene is laid, hears such accounts of the beauty of Estrella, that he determines to obtain her as his mistress. For this purpose, he sends for her brother, Bustos de Tabera, and loads him with marks of personal favour. The high, stern character of Bustos, is immediately announced. He receives, with grateful loyalty, the honours offered him, but is put effectually on his guard, by their profusion. As he leaves the royal presence, he says aside:

"Such sudden favours cannot come to good.  
Why should he trust a man he never knew?  
Honours like these are but disguised bribes  
To win my virtue; not rewards for merit.

The king now makes his attempt. Bustos is engaged away from home; and Matilda, Estrella's maid, is bought. Bustos, however, returns unexpectedly, overhears, in the darkness, a man's voice, and draws upon him. The incognito, who is the king, and who had not yet entered the house, being driven to the wall, avows who he is to save his life. Bustos affects to disbelieve him, and, under that pretence, upbraids him bitterly for his baseness, but suffers him to escape. On his return to the palace, the king, in the midst of his passion, sees hanging in the dawn on the castle walls, the form of Matilda, conveyed there by Bustos, as a warning, that the king should no further prosecute his infamous attempt.

Revenge, however, is as necessary to the king, as it is dangerous, from the high character and great consideration of Bustos; and he resorts to the most odious and degrading means to obtain it. At the instigation of his minister of state, he sends for Sancho Ortis de las Roelas, a brave and noble soldier, whose valour had obtained for him the name of the Cid of Andalusia; and requires him to put to death the person, whose name he gives him sealed in a paper, to be opened afterwards. Sancho claims, for his reward, the bride he shall ask; and the king assents, but does not know, though the spectators know it, that this bride is no other than Estrella, to whom Sancho Ortis was already, in private, affianced. A part of the dialogue, in which this arrangement is made, is spirited and characteristic—in full accordance with the devoted loyalty, which then, and even now, is an essen-

tial constituent of the Spanish national feeling. The king, after introducing the matter generally, goes on to say:—

"Much it concerns the safety of the state,  
A man should die;—should die by secret hands;  
But in the circuit of this loyal city,  
I can find none to trust so true as you.

*Sancho.* "The man is surely guilty?"

*King.* "Aye, he is.

*Sancho.* "Then wherefore should he die by secret hands?  
If justice and the law demand his life,  
In public let his guilty blood be shed;  
For he who privately and darkly strikes,  
Seems more to strike for vengeance than for justice.  
I speak but my poor thought in humbleness,  
And pray my lord, to grant his pardon with it.

*King.* "Sancho, I have not called you here to be  
A traitor's advocate, but to procure  
A traitor's death. And, since it is my will,  
That justice should be done in secrecy,  
You may be sure, your honour shall be safe.  
But tell me, Sancho, he that draws upon  
The royal life, deserves he death?"

*Sancho.* "Aye, at the stake.

*King.* "And then, if he, the wretch of whom we speak  
Have thus assail'd my life?"

*Sancho.* "My liege, he dies.  
I do intreat his death. Were he my brother,  
He should not be spared.

*King.* "Give me your hand and word.

*Sancho.* "And with them take my heart and faith.

*King.* "Strike then;—but mark me and be sure you do it,  
When he heeds not; when he looks not for the blow.

*Sancho.* "My liege, my name's Roela, and I bear  
A soldier's spotless sword. Would you disgrace it?  
Would you bid me learn th' assassin's trade,  
And shrink from honourable, open strife?  
No—no—my Lord,—there is no way but one—  
In Seville; in the public street or public mart,  
Amidst the throng of multitudes, and in  
The face of day—there will I meet him—  
Man to man, and sword to sword.

*King.* "Even as thou wilt, then, Sancho. But take, first,  
This paper, signed by my hand. It is  
The royal pledge to hold thee safe and free  
From punishment in all thou undertakest.

*Sancho reads it: then, after a pause, says:*

"Does then my liege so meanly deem of me?  
Give me a paper? Give me seals and signs?  
O, no, my lord, your word is my best warrant,  
And such base parchments do but cast a doubt  
Upon my confidence, and your sure honour.  
Perish such deeds! (*He tears the paper.*)

"What need of bonds?

For, surer than all witnesses and seals,  
Our honours both are bound—mine to avenge  
Your wrongs, and your's to hold me safe."



After this genuinely Spanish scene, Sancho goes out and opens his other paper, which informs him, that the person he is to challenge is his best friend, and the brother of his betrothed bride. He is confounded; but, though overwhelmed with grief, he does not hesitate in what he considers his plain duty, since that friend had attempted the royal life. In the mean time, Bustos, alarmed at the king's base projects, has informed his sister of all that has passed; and they have agreed, that the marriage with Sancho shall be at once solemnized. Bustos is actually on his way to give Sancho this news of his happiness, when he meets him, is rudely challenged in the public street, and there slain; while Estrella, in the midst of the most delightful expressions of innocent joy at the prospect of her marriage, is suddenly summoned to receive her brother's dead body, and the assurance that he has been slain by her lover—a tragical change and contrast, which produce one of the most moving scenes in the drama of any country.

Sancho is immediately arrested, and thrown into prison. He avows the murder, but refuses to give his motives or defence. Estrella claims of the king, her right, according to ancient Spanish usage, to decide the fate of her brother's murderer. The king grants it, and gives her the keys of the prison. Estrella goes there, and offers Sancho his liberty, which he refuses, determined to die, if he cannot be saved by being honourably exonerated. The king endeavours to corrupt his own judges; but they firmly refuse, and pronounce sentence of death on Sancho. The king then persuades Estrella to withdraw the prosecution; but the judges sternly require that justice shall have its course. Finding, therefore, all other means fail, and urged by his own remorse, the king confesses his own guilt, and pardons Sancho. He then urges Estrella to marry Sancho, but, though she does not conceal her love for him, she refuses, and the piece ends with an intimation of her resolution to enter a religious house, and leave the world entirely.

It is not possible, perhaps, to give a more striking specimen of what is peculiar to the heroic drama of Spain, than Estrella of Seville, which is still acted on the Spanish stage, though altered much for the worse, under the name of Sancho Ortis de las Roelas. Turning, then, from this class of dramas, we come to the *third* class to which Lope gave its character and direction—the *Comedias de Santos*, or Dramas of Saints—dramas, in which the lives, or part of the lives, of Saints, Patriarchs, or other holy persons, are employed, and religious instruction provided in the serious portions, while wit and entertainment are afforded in the remainder. Lope wrote a great number of these dramas, as well as of the others—above an hundred, certainly—and was partly led to it by the force of circumstances,

which he could not control. The secular theatre was not then in good reputation in Spain, on many accounts. The clergy, in particular, opposed it almost uniformly, as a licentious amusement; and the government frequently issued edicts, restraining, embarrassing, or altogether forbidding its representations. The actors and their authors, therefore, endeavoured to attach themselves to the religious interest, and wrote and acted pieces of a religious tendency, to conciliate its opposition; paid a regular rent for their privileges, to convents and hospitals; and were prompt and forward to contribute their part to the general amusement and edification of the multitude, on festivals and other occasions, when the church would vouchsafe to accept their assistance. Sometimes they were successful, and the ecclesiastical influence was no longer exerted against them. In 1587, for instance, just before Lope began to write for the theatre, we find them almost authorized; but, after that, as their number was much increased, and as the dresses and dances grew offensive, they were again discouraged; and, at one time, the severity went so far, as to prohibit almost all the pieces then known on the public theatre, and particularly those of Lope De Vega, which were selected by name, and distinctly forbidden. This, no doubt, was the period when the *Comedias de Santos* were in their most flourishing estate:—the period, we mean, about 1600, when the severest decree was put forth against the secular theatre, and when, as we are told by Rojas, who was then alive, every Saint in the calendar had his appropriate play.

These sacred dramas, have some resemblance and relationship to the ancient mysteries, which had been represented for centuries in the churches; but the form given to them by Lope, was the same he gave to the other species of the national drama. It was but the monk's robe and cowl, thrown loosely over the fashions of the time, without concealing, and almost without disguising them. They are divided into the three recognised acts, or *Jornadas*, which, however, are often little connected; their scenes are laid on earth, in heaven, hell, and purgatory, with equal ease and promptness; and the personages are not only human, angelic, and divine, but all sorts of allegorical personifications, and all the forms of the fallen spirits. Among the great number that Lope wrote, those we have found the most curious, are, *La Creacion del Mundo*, the Creation of the World; *El Nacimiento de Christo*, the Birth of Christ; *El Animal Profeta*, the Prophetic Beast; the two he wrote for the canonization of *San Isidro*; and his *San Nicolas de Tolentino*. The last, though not the best, if regarded merely in a technical point of view, is so characteristic of the species, that a partial examination of it will give a sufficiently distinct idea of the class to which it belongs.

It is founded on the life of Saint Nicholas of Tolentino—the first act embracing the period when he entered a convent; the second, that in which he stayed the progress of a famine; and the third, that of his death, followed by his appearance in glory, rescuing souls from purgatory. Each of these acts, is, indeed, according to the old custom of the Mysteries, a distinct drama, having its separate action, and separate dramatis personæ, so that it will be necessary to analyse only one, in order to comprehend the character of the remainder. The first act, then, has no less than twenty-one personages to carry it on; among whom are God, the Virgin Mary, Mercy, Justice, History, the Devil, &c. It opens with a spirited scene, in the midst of a public masquerading, from which a Mask, who is no other than Lucifer himself, comes up to Orson, a dissolute relation of Nicholas de Tolentino, and draws him away from Nicholas, to attempt an assignation with a lady to whom he is attached. At the suggestion of the Mask, Orson undertakes to enter the window of the house where the lady lives, but finds a death's head posted in it, falls in his fright, and is taken up dead; the Devil, at the same time, dropping his mask, and rejoicing that one of his followers, at least, has perished in an act of mortal sin. At this moment, the scene suddenly opens, and the Judge of the Earth is found with Mercy and Justice on each side of him. The Devil prefers his suit in form, and gives in a list of Orson's crimes. Mercy intercedes for him, but the Devil insists, and Justice maintains the claim. In the midst of this discussion, which grows warm and irreverent, the Virgin enters, and a respectful silence of the parties is enjoined by the Judge himself. The Virgin pleads the merits and prayers of the pious Nicholas to save his cousin. They are admitted by the Judge to be sufficient; Justice consents; and the Devil ends with bitter imprecations, declaring that if he is thus defrauded of his just rights, he may as well think no more of his accustomed trade in souls. He intimates, however, that he will yet be revenged on Nicholas himself, whose piety has been so injurious to him. In the mean time, the Saviour of the world has been, in the shape of a poor pilgrim, to the door of Nicholas, and having received alms and kindness, goes away, promising, that the gifts bestowed on him, shall at last be seen as the acknowledged signs of the good man's glorification in a better world. The scene, immediately afterwards, opens in a public square, where we have, as in a similar scene in Goethe, the common conversation of the loungers; some talking about love, and some about business, but Nicholas occupied with pious thoughts. Suddenly, Father Roger, a famous preacher, rises in the midst of the multitude, and delivers a sermon, not without eloquence, but with a strange mixture of wild allegory, and gross, sensual

fanaticism, taking for his text the parable of the Prodigal Son. All are moved by it ; all crowd round the preacher to kiss his garments, and share some of the power that goes out of him ; but none has been so much touched as the young Nicholas, who now finally resolved to become a monk. A scene of considerable poetical merit follows, in which his father and mother consent, with natural regret, to his determination ; and the act then concludes with a scene of merely farcical parody, between Nicholas's servant, who is the buffoon of the piece, and a servant maid, to whom he was engaged to be married, but whom he now leaves, in order to follow his master into a religious seclusion, which he is every moment making ridiculous, by the manner in which he speaks of it.

Gross, however, as the *Comedias de Santos* must appear, from this very specimen, they were by no means the most indecorous form of the religious drama, which received its character from Lope de Vega ; for, his *Autos Sacramentales*, which constitute the fourth class of his plays, much surpass them, in all the peculiar attributes of a gross and irreverent fanaticism. These *Sacramental Acts*, as they are called, were popular pieces, of half an hour or three quarters of an hour long, which were performed in the streets and public squares, during the gorgeous processions of the *Corpus Christi*. At that festival, which, with its different ceremonies, usually occupied about a month, during which the theatres were shut, canopies, with altars under them richly ornamented, were, and, in fact, are still, erected near the houses of the principal persons of the court and government ; and the procession, composed of all ranks, in vast numbers, who devote themselves to the occasion, stop with the sacrament under these canopies, and perform there certain acts of homage and devotion. In such processions, or rather following them, there anciently went large cars filled with actors, (such as Don Quixote met in his journey through Arragon, disguised as Death, the Devil, Love, &c.,) who stopped on stages opposite these canopies, and performed a short religious farce, if we may use the expression, which thence received the name of *Auto Sacramentale*, or *Sacramental Act*. These pieces, which have an obvious relationship to the old Mysteries, can be traced back to 1568 ; but the oldest one we now know of, to which a date can be affixed, is one by Lope, represented at Valencia in 1598, on the eighth day of the festival, and a very short time after Philip III., in the same city, had married Margaret of Austria. Its subject is the Marriage of Christ to the Soul of Man ; but there is an indecorous confusion intentionally kept up, between the allegorical mystery, and the royal ceremony that had just preceded it ; and there is, throughout the whole piece, a mixture of gallantry and buffoonery, with the holiest feelings of religion, that is perfectly revolt-

ing. Another of Lope's autos, is called the *Name of Jesus*, and has, for its personages, Doubtful, a shepherd, who disbelieves; Divine Love; the World, &c. ; and the subject is, the rejoicings and other circumstances, that followed giving a name to the Saviour, who, as a child, performs a principal part in the piece. Yet another is called *The Priest's First Mass*, in which a buffoon peasant is the prominent personage, but whose subject is the sacrament, given by the Saviour in person, from his own body and blood, and administered by Saint John and Saint Paul, to certain allegorical personages, who are called Portugal, Castille, Toledo, Biscay, and the Indies; and who in return surrender up their several dominions to his sole authority—the whole forming a mixture of buffoonery, with a gross and loathsome fanaticism, which can hardly be credited, except by those who have gone through it for themselves. Lope wrote four hundred of these pieces. During his life, and for above a century later, no pains or expense were spared to give them effect and influence in the capital and large cities. The best companies of actors were obtained for the purpose; immense processions, with much show, apparatus, and dramatic arrangement, were led out to do them honour; all the principal poets of the seventeenth century, particularly Calderon, Montalvan, and Solis, were paid enormous prices for writing them; they were looked upon as religious ceremonies, intended for general edification; wax candles were kept reverently burning, during their representation, as round the altar of a church; and, in different parts of the exhibition, the multitude knelt as for the elevation of the host. So things continued, until far into the last century. Few autos were, probably, written after the year 1700; but the old ones continued to be repeated with success; and it was not until 1765, that public opinion had made such progress as to permit their final suppression, by a royal edict, on the ground of their profaneness and indecency.

One other species of dramatic composition is found among the works of Lope—the *Entremes*, so called, from the Italian *intramesso*, a short farce put in, as the word implies, between some other forms of entertainment. Its origin is to be traced to the pieces of Lope de Rueda; for, as Lope de Vega himself says, when the drama grew grave, and kings and princes were brought upon the stage in heroic costume, then, between the acts, was inserted one of these old farces, or some other piece written in imitation of them. How many Lope composed, we know not. The accounts imply vast numbers. We have seen about thirty, all sustained by characters of the lower class of society, and almost all marked with a spirited humour, such as belongs to the broadest farce. They contain little or no plot; and are, in fact, composed almost entirely of a droll dialogue, to

amuse the audience between scenes of grave interest, which, when it has been protracted as long as the time will permit, is suddenly stopped, without any other reason. Some of them are hardly ten minutes in length, and some would last half an hour; some are in prose, and some in verse; some depend for their humour on the dialect and vulgarisms of the persons represented; and some on their follies or faults; but all have the single purpose of producing merriment; and, from those we have read, we should imagine that most of Lope's must have been successful.

In these five different forms, the *Comedias de Capa y Espada*; the *Comedias Heroicas*; the *Comedias de Santos*; the *Autos Sacramentales*; and the *Entremeses*, Lope made those great exertions, which settled the elder Spanish drama; which gave its direction to the only national theatre of his country; and which made his own influence in it permanent and perceptible, so long as that theatre lasted. For, there is no reason to think, that any thing effectual had been done for the national drama before his time, except what had been done by Cervantes, and by Lope de Rueda and his followers. All this, by Cervantes' own admission, Lope de Vega set aside at once, and constituted himself sole monarch of the scene.

His purpose, however, was by no means to organize a regular drama. He knew what a regular drama was, it is true, for he was a learned man, and had before him the translations of Villalobos, Oliva, and Abril; but his intention was to please—to please *all*; and, therefore, he inquired only what was suited to the taste of his times, rude as he knew it to be. He says expressly, in the Art of the Drama, the best of his didactic efforts:—

“I look up every rule before I write,  
Plautus and Terence drive from out my sight,  
Lest rage should teach these injured wits to join,  
And their dumb tomes cry shame on works like mine.  
To vulgar standards, then, I fit my play,  
Writing at ease;—for, since the public pay,  
'Tis just, I think, we by their wishes steer,  
And write the nonsense, which they love to hear.”

With this purpose, Lope, of course, never attempted to make any accurate or technical division of his theatre. All his pieces, under whatever name they pass, except the very shortest, are *comedias*, which we must by no means translate *comedies*, but *dramas*, since no other name is general and comprehensive enough, to include all their manifold varieties and contradictions. For, besides all other modifications, we have his secular and divine plays, plays satirical and burlesque, those that are comic, and those which are serious, those drawn from high life, and those drawn from the vulgar. There is, however, notwithstanding all this diversity in their forms, one common principle that runs

through the whole, and may, perhaps, be considered as almost uniting them into one class. His purpose was, to interest and please universally; and to effect this, all his pieces that are long enough, are *dramatised novels, or stories of involved and intriguing incidents, thrown into the shape of plays*. This, indeed, in one of his Novelas, he declares to be the very principle of the drama. The story, therefore—the mere interest of an involved plot, is, in Lope, more important than any thing else; and to it, the power and variety of the poetry, and the drawing and preservation of the characters, are altogether subordinate. To increase this interest, the most opposite materials are combined; tragedy and farce; murders, duels, assassinations, and buffoonery; fanaticism and impiety; any thing, in short, that can make the whole attractive, as a dramatic story. And, in this way, it must be confessed, Lope was, to an extraordinary degree, successful. His power, in the invention of interesting plots, is absolutely prodigious. No matter how wild the materials; no matter how much the unities and proprieties of dramatic composition may be violated—he is never dull; he never fails, indeed, to fasten our attention, to stir, to excite, to interest us.

The favour and applause with which he was followed, was in proportion to the great talent and skill he thus showed, in adapting his drama to the times. Multitudes of writers appeared under his influences; but no name, it may be truly said, obtained authority, during the thirty years he wrote for the theatre, except his own; and he gave the drama such a wide extension, and a popularity so general, that, from having, when he began, hardly two companies of miserable strolling players at Madrid, there were, at the time of his death, no less than twelve companies, which together comprehended almost a thousand persons. Nor was his success confined to his own country. His fame was familiar in Italy, and his plays were often performed in their original language, at Rome, Naples, and Milan; he contributed more or less to the formation and progress of the dramatic literature of every country in Europe, by throwing into the world such a multitude of dramas, at a time when the Spanish was more popular and prevalent than any other language; and, singular as it may seem, he had the strange, and, we apprehend, solitary distinction, of having one of his pieces represented before the Sultan, in the seraglio, at Constantinople. With this unexampled popularity, therefore, added to a singular aptitude for dramatic composition—without a predecessor, and without a rival—it was evidently Lope's ambition, to determine the characteristics and direction of his country's drama. He succeeded; and from his time, to the period when the French taste and system came in with the French dynasty, the Spanish theatre remained on the foundations where he established it, and, on

which, till that period, all the Spanish dramatic writers are found.

But while, in the phrase of Cervantes, Lope thus made himself sole monarch of the stage, he at the same time surrounded himself with a multitude of imitators and followers. In 1615, when Cervantes, compelled by his wants, published a collection of plays, entirely unlike the *Numancia*; and the others he had written thirty years before, and altogether in the popular and triumphant manner of Lope, he speaks of Mira de Mescua, Gaspar de Aguilar, Guillen de Castro, Luis Velez de Guebara, Avila, and several others, all of whom are followers of Lope, as already favourably known on the stage.

We possess the works of all these authors, and it would be curious and not uninteresting to enter into an examination of their peculiar and characteristic merits; but the number increases so rapidly, as we come down in the series, that we must, in what remains of our present notice, confine ourselves to the most prominent. The first we shall take, is, *Guillen de Castro*, a Valencian, who flourished as a dramatic writer at Madrid, from 1615 to 1626. Of his plays, twenty-six we know have been published, of most unequal merit. His *Amor Constante*, (Constant Love,) is distinguished by an uncommonly happy versification, and by the beauty and tenderness of the dialogues, between Nicida and Zelamo, who have been separated fifteen years, and have yet retained the feelings of an early attachment. *La Piedad en la Justicia*, (Mercy and Justice,) is, on the contrary, formed of a tissue of horrors and extravagancies. *Don Quixote*, is an easy, light, drama, on the touching story of Dorothea, in the first part of the romance, supported by that of Lucinda, for an underplot, in which the Knight and Esquire appear chiefly at the end of each act, and do little more than play the part of buffoons. The rest of Guillen's pieces, as far as we have read them, are, in general, not better than these, though the versification of most of them is fluent and harmonious, and nearly all contain passages of a gentle tenderness, for which Cervantes has appropriately praised them.

The name of Guillen de Castro, however, is always associated with that of the *Cid*, whose fame, through him, and through Corneille, his imitator, has obtained its chief honours outside of the Pyrenees. On the history of this romantic hero, to whom so many popular traditions have fondly attached themselves, Guillen wrote two plays, called *Las Mocedades del Cid*, (the Youth of the Cid,) parts, first and second. They are both founded on the common ballads of the country, which, in the time of Guillen, were sung in the streets, even more frequently than they are now; and formed, therefore, a part of the earliest recollections of the whole population. He was, of course, fortu-



nate in the choice of a subject, on which he was sure of commanding the sympathies of his audience ; and, in the first part, to which we shall confine our remarks, he was certainly successful in the use he made of it.

Its story is that of the well known insult of the Cid's aged father, by the father of Ximena, with whom the Cid was in love—the Cid's revenge of the insult, by the death of the offender, in a duel—Ximena's claim to the king for justice against her lover, to whom she is yet tenderly attached—the Cid's escape from the punishment she claims, by his prodigious victories over the Moors, who then threatened the capital of the kingdom—the confession of Ximena's love procured, by false news of the Cid's death—and her final consent to marry him, drawn from her, by divine intimations, and by the natural progress of her admiration and attachment, during a long series of exploits achieved by the Cid in her honour, and for the defence of his country.

This play has become well known, by name at least, throughout Europe, from the circumstance that Corneille, who was a contemporary of Guillen, and whose attention had been drawn to it, when the contests about the organization of the French drama were at their height, made use of it, in 1635, as the basis of his own tragedy of the Cid, which did more by its permanent success, than any other single play, to determine the character and foundations of the tragic theatre, not in France merely, but throughout the continent of Europe. But, though Corneille has made many alterations, not a few of which are judicious, he has not, in our estimation, added to the spirit and power of the whole. He has, indeed, sometimes fallen into considerable errors. By compressing the time of the action within twenty-four hours, instead of suffering it to extend through many months, as it does in the original, he is guilty of the absurdity of overcoming Ximena's scruples to the murder of her father, while his dead body is still before her eyes. By changing the cause of the quarrel, he has made it less natural. By a singular mistake in chronology, he places the Spanish court at Seville, which was not wrested from the Moors, till two centuries after the Cid's death. And by the general straightening of the subject within the limited conventions, that were then beginning to bind the French theatre, he has, indeed, avoided such absurdities as the introduction of the miracle of St. Lazarus, and the contest with a giant;—but he has hindered the free and easy movement of the action, and diminished its general spirit and effect. Guillen, on the contrary, took the fresh and original traditions of his country, sometimes with even an unwise fidelity, just as he found them in the old poetry and old chronicles: but, in this way, he has preserved the very spirit of the times he de-

scribes, and introduces with effect into his dialogue, passages from the ancient ballads, on which, indeed, no small portion of the interest and poetry of his piece depend.

The following is a specimen of this use of the old ballads. It is taken from Ximena's spirited complaint to the king:—

*Xim.* “Señor, hoy hace tres meses,  
Que murió mi padre á manos  
De un rapaz, á quien las tuyas  
Para matador criaron.  
Don Rodrigo de Bivar  
Soberbio, orgulloso, y bravo,  
Profanó tus leyes justas,  
Y tú le amparas ufano.  
Son tus ojos sus espías,  
Tu retrete, su sagrado,  
Tu favor, sus alas libres ;  
Y su libertad mis daños.  
Si de Dios los Reyes justos  
La semejanza y el cargo  
Representan en la tierra,” etc.

*Jornada Primera.*

“Señor, hoy hazen dos meses  
Que murió mi padre á manos  
De un muchacho, que las tuyas  
Para matador criaron.  
Don Rodrigo de Vivar  
Rapaz, orgulloso, y bravo  
Profana tus leyes justas  
Y tu le amparas profano.  
Son tus ojos sus espías,  
Tu retrete su sagrado,  
Tu favor sus alas libres  
Y su libertad mis daños.  
Si de Dios los Reyes justos  
La semejanza y el cargo  
Representan en la tierra,” etc.

*Romancero Gen. 1602. f. 213. Jo.*

Other passages can easily be found, equally striking.

Above all, he has imparted to the whole action a strong national air and colouring ; and while he gives to the characters, the full play of their individual passions, he has preserved the Spanish loyalty, honour, and enthusiasm, which, with the contest of opposite feelings in the heart of the hero, during the first part of the piece, and of Ximena, during the last, constitute the interest of the plot. The scene between the king and his council, in which the Cid's aged father is disgraced by a blow, which his infirmities prevent him from avenging ; several of the scenes between the Cid and his mistress ; and several between her and the king, are managed with dramatic skill, and a genuine poetical enthusiasm. Perhaps, however, the following scene, where the Cid's father is waiting for his son in the evening, at the place he had appointed to meet him, after the duel, if he should be successful, is as striking as any ; and, in our estimation, its original is at least equal to any passage in Corneille, and superior, certainly, to the corresponding passage in the French play, which may be found in the fifth and sixth scenes of the third act:—

*(The Father enters alone, speaking.)*

“Each shade I pass amidst the darkness,  
Seems to wear his form, and mocks my eager arms.  
Oh, why, why comes he not ? I mark'd the spot,  
I gave the sign, and yet he is not here.  
Has he neglected ? Can he disobey ?  
Or, must I find, at last, that he has failed ?  
The very thought freezes my breaking heart !  
Perhaps he may be slain or hurt ; wounded, or seiz'd ?  
Kind Heaven ! how many ways of suffering  
Fear finds out ! But hark ! Is it his footsteps ?  
Oh no ! I am not worth such happiness !

'Tis but the echo of my grief, I hear.  
 But hark again! Methinks it is a gallop  
 On the clattering stones. He springs from off his steed!  
 Has God then given me such happiness?—  
 (*The Cid enters.*) Is it my son?

*Cid.* "My father!

*Father.* "May I trust myself, my child?  
 Am I, indeed, within thine arms? Let me  
 Compose my thoughts, that I may honour thee  
 As greatly as thou hast deserved! But why  
 Hast thou delayed? And yet, since thou art here,  
 Why should I weary thee with questioning?  
 O, thou hast bravely borne thyself, my son;  
 Hast bravely stood the proof; hast vindicated well  
 Mine ancient name and strength; and well hast paid  
 The debt of life, which thou receivedst from me.  
 Come near to me, my son; touch the white hairs,  
 Whose honour thou hast saved from infamy;  
 And kiss the cheek, whose stain thy valour  
 Hath washed out in blood. O my son, my son;  
 The pride within me that was never bent to man,  
 Humbles itself before thy presence,  
 And owns the greater power, that has preserved  
 From shame, the blood that erst hath honoured kings.

*Cid.* "My lord! my lord! Remember who I am,  
 And who you are. If I have strength or valour,  
 Name or worth, Oh! whence have I received them  
 But from thee, my father?

*Father.* "Nay, nay, my son,  
 But I *must* do thee grateful reverence;  
 For if I gave thee once the doubtful gift of life,  
 Thou hast repaid the debt a thousand fold,  
 Since thine own arm has rescued my grey hairs  
 From such disgrace and infamy."

If Guillen had always written thus, he would have found few rivals in the dramatic literature of any country. But he began late, and under discouraging circumstances. Most of his plays bear marks of carelessness and haste. The second part of the *Cid*, founded chiefly on events that took place at the siege of Zamora, when King Sancho was assassinated, is much inferior to the first, and contains passages which are even ridiculous and revolting, from the gross neglect of all dramatic proprieties. But the first part has been enough for his reputation. Corneille's imitation of the plot, and his translation of large portions of the dialogue in his own *Cid*, have made Guillen known, at least by name, throughout Europe, while those who can read his plays in the original, will always bear testimony to the richness and inventive power of his dramatic genius.

After the time of Guillen de Castro, the theatre continued more crowded than ever. We have Jacinto Cordero; Gabriel Tellez, commonly called Tirso de Molina; Juan Perez de Montalvan; Alvaro de Cubillo; Antonio de Mendoza, and others, who would deserve special notice in a history of the Spanish

drama. In 1632, we have a list of no less than seventy-six writers for the theatre in Castille alone, excluding all other parts of Spain, in some of which, especially in Valencia and Andalusia, dramatic talent was by no means of rare occurrence.

At this period, however, a remarkable impulse was given to the progress of the drama in Spain. To Philip III., cold, severe, and fanatical, succeeded, in 1621, Philip IV., only seventeen years old, a monarch of talent and spirit; but devoted to pleasure, and extravagantly fond of the theatre. All restrictions were, of course, soon removed from the stage. The number of actors and companies was increased to a licentious extravagance; the theatres, or rather court-yards, were enlarged, multiplied, and made more splendid than they had been before; the king had more than one private theatre of luxurious magnificence; his favourite, the Count-duke of Olivares, of whom we have such a living portrait in *Gil Blas*, erected another, on a floating basis, in the midst of a sheet of water, in the royal gardens, where, in 1631, he gave his master one of the most sumptuous festivals ever offered to royalty; and, finally, the king himself wrote plays, and even took part in occasional dramatic improvisations, which, as the most whimsical luxury of the art, were practised at the *Buen Retiro*, by a few court favourites. The reign of Philip IV., therefore, was the period when the drama in Spain was most encouraged, by a fortunate concurrence of external circumstances, and when in fact it spread out more widely, and had the most fashionable, as well as the most extensive success.

Of all the authors produced or sustained by this state of things, none was so remarkable, or has sent down such a reputation to our own times, as *Pedro Calderon de la Barca*. He was already known as a dramatic author, when Lope died, in 1635. The next year, he was called to court, and continued the reigning favourite on the theatre, from that time till his death, in 1687. He was not so prolific as Lope, but still, the number of his pieces was extraordinary. He wrote an hundred *entremeses*, or short farces; an hundred *Sacramental Autos*; two hundred *Loas*, or dramatic prologues; and above an hundred and twenty dramas of the full length of three acts. At least, so stands the account, in the narrative of one of his most intimate friends. But, from the very condition of the theatre when Calderon lived, many of these pieces, thrown off at short warning, and, perhaps, never represented but once, perished with him. The most complete edition, however, of his works, contained seventy-three *Sacramental Autos*, seventy-four *Loas*, and one hundred and seven dramas of the regular length. On these his reputation now rests.

There is, however, a considerable difficulty in examining them. We can make no such definite classes as in the case of Lope. Some of Calderon's pieces, indeed, like *No Siempre lo peor*

es cierto, (the worst is not always sure,) and *Dar tiempo al tiempo*, (Give time a chance,) are purely comedias de Capa y Espada; while others, like *El Principe Constante*, (the firm-hearted Prince,) and *Amor despues de la Muerte*, (Love ends not with life,) are purely comedias heroycas. But this is accidental. He finally settled the principle, that, whatever would amuse and interest the audience, by an intriguing plot, full of romantic feeling, was a good drama; and he has availed himself of the privilege this implies, with all the license of a popular author, who knew how to use the fashions and feelings of his time, for his own fame and success. He has, therefore, rioted through all classes of subjects, and seems to take a pleasure in breaking down whatever divisions of the drama had been attempted by Lope. In this way, we have ancient history travestied in Spanish costumes, as in "*The Arms of Beauty*," (*Las Armas de la Hermosura*,) where Coriolanus, instead of coming forth the stern hero, to whom we have been accustomed in Livy and Shakspeare, is an intriguing gallant, with a buffoon servant to make sport for us. Mythology is produced in the same way; as in the story of Cephalus and Procris, (*Cefalo y Procris*;) in that of Phæton, (*El Hijo del Sol Faeton*;) and that of Perseus and Andromeda, (*Fortunas de Andromeda y Perseo*;) in all which, the gallant, intriguing spirit of the Spanish drama, is as fully sustained, and the Spanish national character as fully brought out, as if the whole Pantheon had been subjects of Philip III. And, finally, in many other pieces, as in the Wonder-working Magician, (*El Magico Prodigioso*;) Angels, Devils, and Miracles are produced, as if they were to be met with every day in the streets, the Prado, and the Tertulias of Madrid. The principle, therefore, first established by Lope, that the Spanish national stage was to maintain its peculiar character, by representing dramatised novels, founded on intriguing plots, love, and the Castilian point of honour, was now forced by Calderon to the utmost limit to which it was capable of being carried, and being applied to all classes and forms of the drama, broke down all its distinctions, and made it, in fact, under whatever names it might be called, substantially the same thing.

It is impossible, of course, to go into a detailed examination of Calderon's dramas; but we will endeavour to give some idea of their general characteristics, by an analysis of two of them.

The first we shall take for this purpose, is, *El Principe Constante*, (The Firm-hearted Prince,) one of the pieces contained in the volume of Mr. Sales. It is founded on the expedition against the Moors, in 1438, by the Portuguese, under their Infante, Don Ferdinand, which ended in their total defeat, before Tangiers, where the Infante remained a slave, condemned to the most cruel and degrading suffering until his death, in 1443, and

whence his bones were brought, as those of a saint and martyr, and buried at home, with religious pomp, in 1473. A part of this story, which Calderon found in the old, beautiful, picturesque Portuguese chronicle of Ruy de Pina, he took for the subject of his drama; but added to it the magnanimous self-devotion of Regulus, recorded in Livy.

The scene opens with lyrical beauty, in the gardens of the King of Fez, whose daughter is enamoured of Muley, the king's principal general. Immediately afterwards, Muley enters, and announces the approach of a Christian armament, commanded by the two Portuguese Infantas. The king orders his general to collect such force as he may be able to find for the emergency, and, if possible, to prevent their landing; adding, at the same time, the following characteristic exhortation:—

“Go forth to our defence,  
And let the scourge of our great Prophet's power,  
Wave fearfully in thine unconquer'd hand :  
Tear from the book of Death its bloodiest leaf  
And let this day bear witness to the dark  
Fulfilment of that ancient prophecy,  
Which promised erst to make the sandy shore  
Of Africa, a sepulchre of blood  
To bury the proud crown of Portugal.”

The Portuguese, however, land without much difficulty, and obtain an easy victory over Muley, who is himself taken prisoner, by the Infante Ferdinand in person. A long dialogue immediately follows, formed out of an unfortunate amplification of a beautiful ballad by Gongora, in which the Moor explains his attachment to the daughter of the King of Fez, and the probability that she will be forced to marry the Prince of Morocco, if he remains in captivity. The Portuguese, with chivalrous generosity, immediately gives up his prisoner; but, just afterwards, he is again attacked by a large army brought by the Prince of Morocco to the assistance of his ally, and the Infante himself, in his turn, is made prisoner. From this moment begins the tragic trial of the Infante's patience and fortitude, that gives its name to the piece. The King of Fez, at first, treats his prisoner generously, but will not give him up, except on condition the important fortress of Ceuta, which had just been wrested from him, is paid as the ransom. On hearing the news of Ferdinand's captivity, his brother, the King of Portugal, dies of grief; but leaves orders in his will, to have Ceuta surrendered, and his brother set free. Henry, another of the brothers, comes with the news, ready to fulfil the injunction of the deceased monarch;—but in the midst of his message, Ferdinand breaks in upon him, and reveals to us, at once, his whole character :

“Nay, Henry; nay, my brother, say no more ;  
It is not seemly in a Prince of Portugal,

It were not seemly in the meanest serf,  
 That sits beneath his throne, to *speak* of it.  
 The king, my brother,—who is now in Heaven,—  
 May well have left such seeming orders  
 In his testament, though never with a thought,  
 They would be thus fulfill'd. For, when he says :—  
 'Surrender Ceuta'—he but means to say ;  
 Use every art of Peace ; urge fiercest war ;  
 Do deeds, that ne'er were done by man before ;  
 Perform impossibilities ; yea, work miracles ;  
 And let my brother be emancipated.  
 But, to give up a city bought with Christian blood ;  
 A city, on whose walls, his own right hand  
 Planted a Christian standard—'tis not true—  
 He never did command it ;—and it never  
 Shall be done."

On this resolute decision, the remainder of the drama rests, and the deep enthusiasm, on which it was founded, and which constitutes the interest we feel in Ferdinand's character, is explained in a few words he says to the King of Fez. who, after urging him to submit to the exchange, asks :—

" And why not give up Ceuta ? "

to which Ferdinand solemnly replies :

" Because it is not mine to give  
 A Christian city—it belongs to God ! "

In consequence of this determination, he is, at once, reduced to the condition of a common slave, and treated with inhuman rigour ; and it is not one of the least touching incidents of the drama, that he finds the other captives with whom he is sent to labour, and to whom he is not personally known, promising freedom to themselves from his return to Portugal. At this point, comes in the operation of Muley's gratitude. He offers Ferdinand the means of escape ; but the king suspecting some understanding between them, binds Muley to honourable fidelity by making him Ferdinand's keeper. In the mean time, the sufferings of the unfortunate prince are aggravated, till his strength is broken down, and he dies of mortification, misery, and want ; but, with his mind unshaken, and with an heroic constancy, which sustains our interest in his fate to the last moment.

Just after his death, the Portuguese army, destined for his rescue, arrives. In a night scene of much dramatic effect, Ferdinand's form, in the habiliments of the religious order of knighthood, in which he had required to be buried, appears at their head, and, with a torch in his hand, beckons them on to victory. They follow the supernatural leading ; entire success fulfils their purpose ; and the miraculous conclusion of the whole, by which his consecrated remains are rescued from Moorish pollution, seems, at least, in keeping with the romantic pathos, and high-wrought enthusiasm, of the scenes that lead to it.

This, and some other of Calderon's efforts, like *Amor despues de la Muerte* (Love survives Life) and *El Medico de su Honra*, (The Physician of his own Honour), approach the character of Tragedy ; but still they preserve the standing part of the *Gracioso*, and rely more on the intrigue of the plot and love-adventures for the interest they are to excite, than on the moving development of such characters as Tuzani and Ferdinand. In order, therefore, to give a more fair exhibition of Calderon's peculiar style and genius, than we could by taking one of his best dramas, we will now examine his *Magico Prodigioso*, (The wonder-working Magician) which, from its mixture of tragedy and farce ; buffoonery and religion, with whatever is tumultuous and disorderly in the complication of the plot, may be considered extremely characteristic of its author. We select this piece, too, the more gladly, because we can avail ourselves of a translation from some parts of it, made by Mr. Shelley.

The scene is laid in different parts of the city of Antioch, and its neighbourhood, during a persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Decius, A. D. 250 ; and the time occupied by the action is something over a year. The first act, (*jornada*) opens with a pleasing description of natural scenery. Cyprian, the hero, or *primer Galan*, of the piece, is represented as having on a day devoted to Jupiter, retired from the bustle of Antioch, to pursue certain inquiries concerning a Supreme Deity, upon which he had been brought by a passage in Pliny. He begins thus to his two servants, who enter with him.

" In the sweet solitude of this calm place,  
This intricate, wild wilderness of trees  
And flowers and undergrowth of odorous plants,  
Leave me. The books you bro't from out the house,  
To me are ever best society ;  
And, whilst with glorious festival and song,  
Antioch now celebrates the consecration  
Of a proud temple to great Jupiter,  
And bears his image in loud jubilee  
To its new shrine, I would consume what  
Lives of the dying day, in studious thought,  
Far from the throng and turmoil."

One of his servants much wonders at all this. The other, Clarin, who is the *Gracioso*, replies :—

" My master's in the right ;  
There is not any thing more tiresome  
Than a procession-day, with troops of men  
And dances and all that.

*Muscon.*

" From first to last,  
Clarin, you are a temporizing flatterer,  
You praise, not what you feel, but what he does,  
Toad-eater !

*Clarin.*

" You lie—under a mistake,—  
For this is the most civil sort of lie,  
That can be given to a man's face. I now  
Say, what I think, Sir."



Cyprian adjusts this petty quarrel; and, continuing his metaphysical inquiries, seems likely to arrive at conclusions not remote from the truth. Of course, according to the notions of the time, such a result would be particularly unwelcome to the Grand Enemy of the human race. In the next scene, therefore, the Devil himself, in the disguise of a fine gentleman, (*vestido de gala*,) breaks upon the solitude of Cyprian, pretending himself a stranger, who has lost his way. Struck apparently by the books round Cyprian, the Devil announces himself as a Scholar; and, according to a fashion not rare in Calderon's time, at the Universities, offers to hold a dispute with Cyprian on any subject. Cyprian, of course, chooses the one that was then troubling his thoughts, and, after a tedious logical discussion, according to the habit of the Schools, obtains the victory, and is filled with admiration at his antagonist's skill. The Devil, however, though defeated, does not yield. He determines to try the power of temptation. For this purpose, he brings, at once, Lælius, the son of the governor of Antioch, and Florus, both friends of Cyprian, to fight a duel near the place of his meditations, respecting a lady by the name of Justina, secretly a Christian, and the supposed daughter of Lysander, a Christian Priest, come to convert the idolaters of Antioch. Cyprian prevents the duel; the parties refer their quarrel to him; and he, in consequence, visits Justina; but, instead of executing his commission, falls in love with her himself, while, in order to make a running parody on the principal action, common in Spanish plays, the two followers of Cyprian fall in love with Justina's maid. Now, therefore, begins the complication of the intrigue. That same night, Lælius and Florus come separately before the house of Justina, to offer her homage; but the Devil makes them believe that Justina disgracefully favours some other lover; for he descends from her balcony, before them, by a rope-ladder, in the guise of a gallant, and then disappears between them. As they had not seen each other before, each takes the other to be this favoured rival, and a duel ensues on the spot. Cyprian again interferes opportunely, but is astonished to find, that they both renounce Justina as no longer worthy of them. This ends the first act.

At the opening of the second, Cyprian explains his passion to Justina, and she rejects it, after which the whole scene is parodied by the servants of the parties; Livia, her waiting maid, accepting, at the same time, both of Cyprian's followers, and promising to devote herself to each, on alternate days. Cyprian, meanwhile, grows furious under his disappointment; and, in a soliloquy of great passion, declares he would give his soul to obtain Justina. The Devil, who is very potent with spirits in this state, immediately avails himself of it. A violent storm

arises, which Cyprian, standing on a solitary seacoast, thus describes, in one of those lyrical portions, which are often, without particular reason, interposed between the dialogue, in Spanish dramas:—

“What is this? Ye heavens for ever pure,  
At once intensely radiant and obscure!  
Athwart th’ etherial balls  
The lightning’s arrows and the thunder-balls  
The day-affright;  
As from the horizon round  
Burst with earthquake sound,  
In mighty torrents the electric fountains,  
Clouds quench the sun, and thunder-smoke  
Strangles the air, and fire eclipses heaven.  
From yonder clouds, even to the waves below,  
The fragments of a single ruin choke  
Imagination’s flight;  
For, on flakes of surge like feathers light,  
The ashes of the desolation cast  
Upon the gloomy blast  
Tell of the footsteps of the storm.  
And nearer see the melancholy form  
Of a vast ship, the outcast of the sea,  
Drives miserably!  
And it must fly the pity of the port  
Or perish; and its last and sole resort  
Is its own raging enemy.”

From this ship, which is a Phantom-ship, the Devil appears at the feet of Cyprian, as the only person escaped from the wreck. Coming as a man in suffering, he is hospitably received, and gives the following account of himself, which is obviously an ingenious allegory on his state in heaven, and his fall:—

“Since thou desirest, I will then unveil  
Myself to thee;—for in myself I am  
A world of happiness and misery;  
This I have lost, and that I must lament  
For ever. In my attributes I stood  
So high and so heroically great,  
In lineage so supreme, and with a genius,  
Which penetrated with a glance the world  
Beneath my feet, that, won by my high merit,  
A king—whom I may call the King of kings,  
Because all others tremble in their pride  
Before the terrors of his countenance—  
Named me his counsellor. But the high praise  
Stung me with pride and envy; and I rose  
In mighty competition to ascend  
His seat, and place my foot triumphantly  
Upon his subject thrones. Chastised, I know  
The depth to which ambition falls. Too mad  
Was th’ attempt; and yet more mad were now  
Repentance of th’ irrevocable deed.  
Therefore, I chose this ruin with the glory  
Of not to be subdued, before the shame  
Of reconciling me with him who reigns,  
By coward cession. Nor was I alone;

Nor am I now ; nor shall I be alone ;  
 And there was hope, and there may still be hope ;  
 For many suffrages among his vassals  
 Hailed me their lord and king, and many still  
 Are mine, and many more perchance shall be."

The Devil ends this artful and poetical account of himself, by exciting a love for magic in Cyprian, and offering his instruction.

After this, we have again a scene of thoroughly Spanish intrigue. Lælius goes to Justina, to reproach her with the lover he supposed he had seen descending from her balcony, and finds her just coming out of her house. The Devil immediately shows himself within the house, as if anxious to be concealed ; but in such a way, that he is seen only by Lælius, whose suspicions and anger, are, of course, greatly increased by it. Lælius, to discover who it is, forces his way in, against the intreaties of Justina ; and thus, at last, that great offence against Spanish honour is consummated—a lover of the lady is in her apartments, unknown to her family. At this moment, Lysander comes home, and laments to Justina, that a persecution of the Christians is ordered ; thus confessing, in the hearing of Lælius, son of the governor, that both himself and Justina are Christians. This further increases the cruel embarrassment of Justina, which seems to be at its height, when Florus comes to reproach her with the affair of the balcony, and detecting Lælius concealed in the house, can no longer doubt who is the favoured lover. They fight—it being the third duel in the piece—the Governor, Lælius's father, enters, and imprisons them both, excessively indignant at Justina, as the cause of his son's folly and danger. And so this part of the action is closed. Meanwhile, Cyprian's love has grown more and more ungovernable, and the Devil irritates and excites him more and more with the hopes of magic, until, at last, he surrenders his soul to perdition, if, at the end of a year, he can possess Justina.

This year elapses between the second and the last act, which opens with Cyprian, as an accomplished magician, demanding a fulfilment of the compact. The Devil attempts to do it, by tempting Justina to love, in every possible way. This is allegorically expressed in a beautiful lyrical dialogue, where, whatever surrounds her, seems to grow vocal and solicit her to love. It opens thus :—

*A voice within.* "What is the glory far above  
 All else in human life ?

*All.* "Love ! Love !

*Voice within.* "There is no form, in which the fire  
 Of love its traces has impressed not.  
 Man lives far more in love's desire,  
 Than by life's breath too soon possess'd not.  
 Since all that lives must love or die,  
 All shapes on earth, or sea, or sky

With one consent to heaven cry  
That the glory far above  
All else in life is—

*All.*

“Love! O, Love!”

This allegory is carried on occasionally with great beauty; but, though Justina is partly tempted to love, still, by the entire purity of her thoughts, she prevents the Devil from obtaining the least power over her. She is, however, greatly alarmed, by these preternatural solicitings, which thus seem to come from whatever she beholds, and she therefore determines to resort for strength, to the secret church and worship of her persecuted sect. The Devil, in the mean time, unable to fulfil his compact with Cyprian, endeavours to deceive him, and sends a phantom in the form of Justina, which, when Cyprian approaches it, proves a loathsome corpse. The Devil now confesses he has no power over Justina. Cyprian insists on the reason: and the Devil again confesses it is because she is protected by one greater than himself, who, by further compulsion and adjuration, he is made to acknowledge is the God of the Christians. This, of course, brings all back to the original argument at the opening of the piece. Cyprian's doubts are solved. He devotes himself to the Supreme Deity, whom he has thus discovered, and surrenders himself, as a Christian, to the Governor of Antioch. The Governor, in the mean time, pursuing Justina with vengeance, for his son's follies and crimes, has traced her to the Christian Church, where she, too, is seized, and brought before him. Both are carried out for martyrdom; the buffoon servants make many poor jests on the occasion; and the whole ends, by the appearance in the air, of a great dragon ridden by the Devil, who is again compelled to confess the Supreme Deity, and, amidst thunder and earthquake, to proclaim that Cyprian and Justina are already welcomed into heaven.

This piece, the *Magico Prodigioso*, contains, we think, as many of the peculiar marks and characteristics of Calderon's manner, as any one that could be selected from his works. Among his more popular pieces in Spain, are the *Dama Duende*, (The Fairy Lady,) which may be seen again in Hauteroche's *Esprit follet*; *No hay burlas con el Amor*, (No jesting with Love,) and *La Vanda y la Flor*, (The Scarf and the Flower.) These, with others of the same character, but all dramatised novels, constitute his chief merit at home, where pathetic dramas, which, like the Firm-hearted Prince, depend on a deep tragic interest, have never maintained the rank they do with the grave nations of the North.

On looking over the mass of Calderon's works, and considering him as the immediate successor of Lope, we shall still find, that, during the fifty years he was unquestioned master of the stage,

he did not effect or attempt any considerable revolution on the Spanish theatre. He added to it no new forms of dramatic composition, and he did not much modify those which had been arranged and settled by Lope. But he gave the whole a new colouring; and, in some respects, a new physiognomy. His drama is more poetical in its objects and tendencies, and has less an air of reality and truth, than that of his great predecessor. We have, in its best portions, a sense of treading in a new world, governed by higher motives, and stimulated by new passions; and we must have our own feelings and imaginations not a little raised and excited, before we can take part in what we witness. To this elevated tone, and the constant effort necessary to sustain it, we are to trace what is characteristic both in Calderon's merits and defects. It renders him less easy, graceful, and natural, than Lope. It imparts to his style, a constraint and mannerism which often offend us. It leads him to repeat from himself, till his personages become standing characters; and his ladies and gallants seem brought out, like the masks of the ancient theatre, to represent, with the same attributes and costume, the different stories and actions his different plots require. It leads him to break down all the distinctions of national, as well as individual, character, and to bring on the stage Greeks and Romans, Heathen divinities, and the supernatural fictions of a Christian imagination, all in Spanish fashions, and with Spanish feelings; and to carry them all, much in the same way, through a long succession of singular intrigues and adventures, during which a proud, idealized, romantic elevation of mind is constantly produced, in striking situations, and with brilliant effect. In short, it has led him to consider the whole Spanish Drama a mere form, within whose limits his imagination may be indulged without restraint; and, the consequence is, that while the high tone of Spanish honour, courtesy, and love, is every where preserved, his actions are often combined in such gross disproportions, and his characters are produced with such fantastic and impossible attributes, that a large majority of his dramas must, after all, be considered as failures, and a still greater number be admitted to have any thing for their support, rather than truth and nature.

But where he does succeed, his success is of no common character. He sets before us a world of ideal beauty, splendour, and perfection, into which nothing enters but the highest and purest elements of the Spanish character. The fervid and solemn enthusiasm of Moorish heroism; the chivalrous adventures of Castilian honour; the generous self-devotion of individual loyalty; and that love, which is the most reserved secret of woman's heart in a state of society, where it must be so severely withdrawn from the world—all seem to find in Calderon their peculiar and appropriate home. And, when he has once entered

into this poetical fairy-land, whose glowing impossibilities his own genius has created, and when he has gathered around himself forms of heroism and loveliness, like those of Tuzani, Gutierrez, Clara, and Don Ferdinand, he has reached the point he proposed to himself; he has set before us the magnificent show of an idealized drama, resting on the purest and noblest elements of the Spanish national character, and which, with all its inevitable defects, is, at least, one of the most extraordinary phenomena in modern poetry.

Calderon, like Lope, was surrounded with many imitators and followers, in whose hands the national drama gradually decayed. Among the more prominent of them, was Moreto, of whom, if we had time, we would gladly speak, not only for the sake of his great merit, but because his delightful and humorous play, *El Desden con el Desden*, is in the volume of Mr. Sales. There was also Diamante and Roxas; Solis, the historian, Candamo, the lyrical poet, Zamora, an actor; and, finally, Cañizares, who compounded his works, in a great measure, from the elder dramatists. All these, and multitudes of other writers, flourished between the time when Calderon came upon the stage, and its final fall, about the time when the Bourbons came to the throne, in 1700. They mark, too, its decay.

The theatre, however, as we have already intimated, did not depend in Spain, so much on the full length dramas, as it did in other countries. There were, besides, the *Loas*, or long dramatic prologues, the *Entremeses* between the acts; the *Saynetes*, or farces at the end; the *Xacaras*, which were a sort of old ballads, sung where they were needed; and lyrical dances, or dances with song, like the *Zarabandas*, which were put in for the same general purpose of increasing the zest of the entertainment. They were all, however, in one tone and spirit, and constitute the dramatic literature of the public, popular theatres in Spain, during the seventeenth century. The genuine and exclusive nationality of this literature, is its most prominent characteristic. It was a more popular amusement; it belonged more to all classes of the nation, than any theatre since the Greek. Its actors were almost always strolling companies, with a person at their head, called *El Autor*, because from the time of Lope de Rueda, the manager often wrote the pieces he caused to be represented; and this Author, as he was called, when he came to a place, where he intended to act, went round in person and posted his bills, announcing the entertainment. When dramatic representations were not so common as they afterwards became, such occasions were eagerly seized, and pieces performed both morning and afternoon. Even later, when they grew common, they were still always given in the day-time, beginning, in the winter, at two o'clock, and in the summer at three, so that every

body might return home unmolested before dark. The place of representation was almost uniformly an open court-yard,\* at one end of which was a covered and sheltered stage; and, on its sides, rows of seats, as in an amphitheatre; but, the best places were the rooms and windows of the houses, that opened into the area; and such was the passion for scenic representation, that the right to particular seats was often preserved and transmitted, as an inheritance, from generation to generation. When the audience was collected, the Author came forward, and, according to the technical phrase, threw out the *Loa*, (*echò la Loa*,) in which he, perhaps, complimented some of the persons present, or, perhaps, boasted how strong his company was, and how many new plays they had ready for representation. Then followed a dance, or a ballad. Afterwards, the first act of the play, with its *Entremes*; then the second, and the second *Entremes*; and finally the last, after which another farce was given, (the *Saynete*,) and the whole concluded with dancing, which was often interspersed in other parts of the entertainment, and accompanied with singing. The costume of the actors was always purely and richly Spanish, though they might represent Greek or Roman characters; the women sat separate from the men, and were veiled; and officers of justice had seats on the stage to preserve order, one of whom was once so deluded by the representation of one of Calderon's most extravagant pieces, that he interfered, sword in hand, to prevent what he believed an outrage, and drove the actors from the boards. The audiences, when Lope began to write, seem to have been very quiet and orderly; but soon after 1600, they began to decide on the merits of the plays, and the acting, with little ceremony; and, before 1615, they took the character, which, in Madrid at least, they maintained to the end of the century, of being the most violent and rude audiences in Europe.

This, then, was the state of dramatic literature in Spain, from the appearance of Lope, to the time of Cañizares; and these were the means used for producing it to the nation, as a general amusement, when, under Philip IV., it was at the height of its success. It was, therefore, in all its forms, essentially a popular drama; and, in any other country, would, under similar circumstances, never have risen above the character it had, in the time of Lope de Rueda, when it was the amusement of the lowest portions of the populace. But, the Spanish is, and always has been, a poetical people. There is something romantic about the national genius, and something picturesque in the national manners, habits, and feelings, which cannot be mistaken. A deep enthusiasm runs at the bottom of the Spanish character; and the

\* The two theatres in Madrid, are still called *Corrales*, court-yards.

workings of strong passion, and a powerful original imagination, are every where visible on its surface. The same power, the same fancy, the same excited popular feeling, which, in the thirteenth century, produced the most rich, various, and poetical ballads of modern times, was still active in the seventeenth; and the same national character, which, under Alonso the wise, and Ferdinand, drove the Moorish crescent through the plains of Andalusia, and found utterance for its exultation, in a popular poetry of unrivalled sweetness and force, was no less active under the Philips, and called forth, controlled, and directed a drama, which grew out of the national genius and manners, and which, in all its forms and varieties, is essentially popular, Spanish, and poetical.

But the poetical drama, which grew out of a state of excitement in the whole nation, could be sustained in its original freshness and power, only by preserving, in the same degree, the enthusiasm of the popular character. This, however, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was no longer possible. The romantic, the chivalrous, the poetical genius, which had been breathed into the whole body of the Spanish people, during their contest of seven centuries with the Moors, and which had been sustained by the vast ambition and magnificent projects of Charles V., had gradually faded away under the cold, close, and cheerless tyranny of his successors. The independence and dignity of the national feeling were broken down by an unrelenting despotism; and its poetical elevation was humbled by disasters abroad, and disgrace at home. The drama, therefore, which, in all its forms, and in every period of its history, had, in Spain, more than in any other country, depended on the general tone of feeling in the people, failed with the failing character of the nation; and when, at last, a French prince was placed on the throne of Saint Ferdinand, and the generous and poetical spirit of Spanish Independence was made to bow before the power of Louis XIV., then this popular drama, which had been to the Spanish character, what a costume is to an age, or a physiognomy to a nation, disappeared in the common overthrow, and, if not forgotten for ever, has never been effectually revived.

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ART. IV.—*Histoire des Expéditions Maritimes des Normands, et de leur établissement en France au dixième siècle; par C. P. DEPPING. Ouvrage couronné en 1822 par l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1826. History of the Maritime Expeditions of the Normans, and of their establishment in France in the tenth century; by C. P. DEPPING. A work which obtained the palm in 1822 from the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. Paris: 1826.*

THE science of history has recently been much improved as to the selection, arrangement, and critical examination of the materials used in composition. In respect to the external qualities of style, and all that belongs to historical painting, and perhaps, also, in acuteness and depth of reflection, the historical writers of antiquity, never have been, and probably never will be surpassed. Polybius in political wisdom, Tacitus in knowledge of the human heart, and Livy in splendid colouring, have had few rivals in modern times. But it must be confessed, the modern historians, with some exceptions, excel in patient investigation and the laborious comparison of authorities, and in that philosophical spirit of candour and impartiality by which the historical pen ought always to be guided. In France, particularly, historical studies have been recently revived with fresh ardour, and every thing which can throw light upon the early annals of the nation, has been diligently explored. The excellent work now before us, is, among others, the fruit of a laborious study of the antiquities of that famous race of pirates, who wrested from the successors of Charlemagne, one of the finest provinces of France,—subdued England, Naples, and Sicily, and established in those countries dynasties of their princes, who reigned for ages. The romantic story of the establishment of the Norman adventurers in the kingdom of the two Sicilies, has been told by Gibbon, with his usual felicity;—the conquest of England, by William, has been recently illustrated in the valuable work of Mr. Thierry; and the present work relates to the successive incursions of the Normans into France, and the history of Normandy, from Rollo the first duke, to its reunion with the French monarchy, by Philippe Auguste, in 1204. The Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris, proposed, in the year 1820, as the subject of a prize essay, “to develop, from historical monuments, and especially from those of the North, the causes of the numerous emigrations of the people known by the name of Normans, and to compose an abridged history of their establishment in France.” The present work is an amplification of a Memoir on the subject thus suggested, which was crowned by the Academy in

1822. It contains a critical account of the original authorities from which it was written. Of the various monuments which might be supposed to illustrate the early history of the Normans, M. Depping makes but little account of the ancient mounds and tumuli—the huge blocks of stone marking the places of worship or of the public assemblies—and the numerous inscriptions in the Scandinavian language and Runic characters, which are to be found scattered all over the North. He attaches still less importance to the vestiges of the pagan and pirate race, which are to be found in Normandy itself. These are reducible to a few remains of forts and fortified camps, which are still to be traced in that province. That species of religious architecture which is distinguishable by the national appellation of Norman, and of which there are so many fine specimens in England, was not formed even in its rude elements, until long after their conversion to Christianity, and according to the opinion of some recent English writers, is but an improvement on the Saxon style, which they found already established in the conquered country. In the Dutchy itself, the style of architecture was mean and barbarous, until the beginning of the eleventh century, when from some unknown cause it suddenly rose to a high pitch of perfection. The Runic inscriptions which are still to be seen in such profusion, not only in the three kingdoms of the North, but in all the islands of the West, conquered and colonized by the Scandinavians, might have been expected to yield something to gratify curiosity respecting the transactions of the heroic age, before books were known, and when the national annals were preserved and transmitted by oral tradition. But these expectations have been constantly disappointed, and it is satisfactorily shown in a Memoir by Appelbad, a learned Swede, crowned by the Academy of Belles Lettres at Stockholm in 1781, that the eleven hundred Runic inscriptions which had then been copied and described, throw no light whatever upon the general history of the Northern nations. Those which have since been decyphered, are found to relate almost exclusively to private individuals and their transactions, unconnected even by dates with public events, and incapable of illustrating any of the dark passages in the history of those remote times. Saxo Grammaticus, indeed, asserts that the ancient Danes engraved upon rocks and stones, verses containing accounts of the exploits of their ancestors. But he does not pretend to give any Runic inscriptions of this sort; and though he speaks of the rock on which king Harald Hildetand had caused the achievements of his heroic father to be inscribed, he admits, that when Valdemar I. endeavoured to copy this lapidary inscription, it was found to be, for the most part, effaced and illegible.

The materials from which the history of the Normans must  
VOL. IV.—NO. 8.

be compiled, are then reduced to written documents, with few collateral aids from other sources of information. These consist—1. Of those written in the countries of the North, from which they emigrated. 2. Of those published in the countries conquered by them.

Among the former, are those very remarkable ancient compositions noticed in our sixth Number, art. viii., called the *Eddas and Sagas*. The first, are mythic, or mytho-historical books; the latter, are ancient traditionary histories, or romances in prose and verse, composed by the Skalds, and collected and reduced to writing, after the introduction of Christianity. Each of the *Sagas* relates the story of some distinguished king or family of the heroic age, in a style of perfect simplicity, and frequently of great beauty, in which metrical passages are interspersed, to aid the memory of those who were to recite them while they remained in tradition only. The *Edda* contains a great body of fragmentary poetry, consisting of one hundred and fifty passages, selected from the ancient songs of eighty different Skalds, and intended to illustrate the poetical use of figurative language and mythology. These fragments refer to many events purely historical; and even where mythological persons figure in them—where the gods and the men of the heroic age are mingled together—they reflect the image of ancient manners, customs, and religious feelings and prejudices. So also the mythico-historical odes, which are published in the second volume of the Arna-Magnæan edition of the *Edda Sæmundar*, throw great light upon the general history of the North, though they have not a very close connexion with that of the Normans in particular. The Skalds also composed pieces of verse in the form of ballads or romances, to celebrate the exploits of the illustrious families, under whose patronage and protection they lived, and adapted to interest and touch the feelings of their countrymen, by appealing to the great deeds of their heroic ancestors. When this race of Pagan bards began to disappear, with the progress of civilization and Christianity, and the art of writing on paper was introduced, various collections of these songs were made in Iceland, where the knowledge of the ancient Scandinavian language has been constantly preserved and cultivated. So that though the early ages of the North have no *historians*, properly so called, yet the place of the monkish chroniclers, by whom the history of the middle ages in other parts of Europe has been generally written, is well supplied by *poets*, who, instead of dwelling with tiresome minuteness upon dry and barren events, have presented a living picture of national character and manners. Professor P. E. Müller, of Copenhagen, has suggested, that the very poetical cast of the *Sagas*, is itself an additional guarantee of their authenticity as histories. They are written,

as we have already remarked, in prose and verse. "This blending of prose and verse," says Professor Müller, "appears naturally to have occurred in the infancy of the art. It was only such striking incidents as seemed adapted to touch the heart, or excite the mind, that were versified; the rest was left to oral-recitation or prose. Thus, the more traces we find in a particular *Saga*, of its primitive poetical form, the more ancient we conclude it to be, and consequently the more nearly approximated to the age of whose history it treats." But the most ancient Sagas are confined to the narrow limits of the valley in which their scene is laid, and to the particular hero or family whose exploits they celebrate. "It was not," says Professor Müller, "it was not the political importance of an event which determined the bards to make it the subject of a song; they chose it for effect, and selected that which most interested the feelings of their auditors, and at the same time best admitted of poetical ornament." These remarks are, however, exclusively applicable to the most ancient Sagas. As to the more modern, they resemble chronicles, or, what were called in the south of Europe, *romans* in the middle ages. They are in general family histories; but occasionally branch out, and connect themselves with the transactions of the lands and the seas of the North in the heroic age. For a long time, no distinction was made between these two classes of traditions, and they were both regarded as furnishing equally authentic materials for national history. Even Suhm, to whom the history of Denmark is so much indebted, seems to have relied with nearly the same confidence upon one, as the other kind of Sagas. It is only recently, that the true spirit of criticism has been applied to those curious ancient compositions. They may properly be divided into mythic, romantic, and historical; including, in the first class, those which retrace a faithful picture of ancient manners, feelings, and prejudices; the second, those where the authors give full scope to their imaginations; and the third, those which may be considered as authentic histories. But, one general remark made by Professor Müller, is applicable to all of them, that the ancient poetry of the North, deals more in reality, and less in fictitious invention, than that of the South. He explains this, by the well known fact, that the history of the middle ages in the southern countries of Europe, was written by the clergy; and the lay poets having only the field of fiction left to them, could distinguish themselves as writers in no other way, than by giving a higher colouring to the marvellous stories they found in the monkish chronicles. In the North, on the contrary, the Skalds, who were attached to the courts of kings, and to the most distinguished families of the country, were the depositaries of its historical traditions, which it was their interest, as well as glory, faithfully to preserve.

Among the illustrious families who fled to Iceland, from the tyranny of Harald the Fair-haired, king of Norway, in the ninth century, were the descendants of the Ynlings, who had formerly reigned in Sweden and Norway, and were supposed to have sprung from Odin. They naturally felt a pride in preserving the traditions respecting the exploits of the ancient Scandinavian kings, from whom they derived their descent. Among these, was Are-Trode, (the Wise,) who was the friend and fellow student of Sæmund, the compiler of the poetical Edda, and was born in Iceland, in the year 1067. *Are*, was the first Northern author who assigned fixed dates to events, by reference to any certain chronology. There are only a few fragments of his writings remaining; from which, however, a very favourable opinion may be formed of his talents, as an historian, in comparison with his monkish cotemporaries on the continent. He writes with the manly spirit of a free citizen and a patriot, uninfected by that grovelling superstition which then darkened the face of Europe. Snorro Sturleson, born in Iceland, in 1179, made great use of the works of Are-Trode, and of the ancient *Sagas*, in his history of Norway, entitled *Heimskringla*. Professor Müller, in his essay on the sources from whence Snorro derived his materials, expresses the opinion, that this work is a mere compilation from the ancient *Sagas*, which Snorro arranged, corrected, and sometimes enlarged, from other sources, causing the whole to be carefully transcribed in its present form. Snorro seems to give some countenance to this opinion, by the modest manner in which he speaks in the commencement of the preface to his work. "In this book," says he, "I have recorded, from the traditions of the wise men, the history of ancient events, and of the great deeds of the heroes who have reigned over the countries of the North. I have also inserted their genealogies, so far as they were known to me, and that, partly from the most ancient chronicles, where the kings, and other illustrious persons, have caused to be transcribed their lineages, and partly from the old songs and poems," &c. The *Sagas* collected by Snorro are still much admired by the Icelanders, the language being so little altered that the common peasants can read them. They cherish his memory with lively veneration, and point out the small farm which he cultivated, with the fountain of hot water, at Reikholt, which he used as a bath, and which is still called *Snorrolang*.

M. Depping justly attributes little or no weight to Saxo Grammaticus, as an historical authority, for events long antecedent to his own times. He has gathered something from Adam of Bremen, who lived during the latter part of the eleventh century, and has left a geographical description of Denmark and other Northern countries which he had visited, and also from

the great collection of Danish chronicles, entitled *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*. He also does justice to the merit of Suhm, as a collector of materials for history, and, above all, to the illustrious scholars of Denmark of the present day, who, by their laborious researches, and sound criticism, have recently thrown such a flood of light upon the antiquities of the North.

As to the historians who have written in France upon the Norman invasions—it appears that the dukes of Normandy were sufficiently disposed to patronise any attempt to emblazon the exploits of their heroic ancestors. The earliest chronicler who undertook this task, was Dudon, dean of Saint-Quentin, who lived about a century after the first establishment of the Normans in the kingdom, and who being received and treated with great attention at the court of duke Richard, wrote their history from Rollo, to the year 996. His style is prolix—his prose mixed with bad verses—he is full of credulity and partiality, and describes the Pagan Normans, as mere freebooters, destitute of every redeeming quality in their character. William, a monk of Jumièges, who wrote in the same century, abridged the history of Dudon, and continued it down to the subjugation of England, by William the Conqueror. Two priests were encouraged by the kings of England, of the Norman line, in the twelfth century, to write the history of their dynasty. One of these was Robert Vace, canon of Caen, and one of the most ancient Anglo-Norman poets. His chronicle in rhyme, called the *Roman du Ron*, is a very curious literary monument. The first part relates to the adventures of Rollo, the life of his son William, and a part of the reign of duke Richard. In the second part, he continues the history of Normandy, down to the commencement of the reign of Henry I. In the third portion of his work, which appears to have been intended as an introduction to this national chronicle, the poet describes the adventures of the first Norman chieftains who invaded France. He follows the chronicles of Dudon, and William of Jumièges, but endeavours to give, after his fashion, a poetical colouring to the events which he recounts. Only parts of this poem have been published, but complete MSS. of it exist in the libraries at Paris. That portion of it which relates to the Norman settlements in France, was published at Copenhagen, by Mr. Brænsted, in 1817–18. The other priest, retained by Henry II., to write the history of the Normans, was Benedict de Saint-Maur. His chronicle contains 46,000 verses, and is more difficult to be understood than that of Vace, because his diction is less French, he having resided in that part of Normandy, where the ancient language of the North was the longest preserved. A single MS. only of his work now exists, which is in the British museum.

The received opinion, that all the barbarous nations by whom

the Roman empire was subverted, originally emigrated from the Scandinavian peninsula, is easily refuted by the consideration that these northern countries, with their sterile soil, frozen climate, and broken, mountainous surface, could never have sustained that superabundant population which this notion implies. If, with the present improved state of the arts of life, the three northern kingdoms do not contain 5,000,000 of inhabitants, how exaggerated must be those accounts, which represent the same territory as swarming with people, in the first centuries of the Christian era, when it was almost covered with forests, and the inhabitants lived principally by hunting and fishing. In fact, more recent and accurate investigation has shown, that one of these nations, and that not the least famous, the Goths, emigrated *to*, and not *from* the countries north of the Baltic, their original seat being in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea. But the Scandinavian origin of the Normans is incontestable. There has, indeed, been much doubt, whether this national appellation should be confined to the maritime adventurers who issued from Norway, or whether it ought also to be extended to the natives of Denmark. But, if a common origin, language, and religion, constitutes one nation, all the people of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the adjacent islands, in that remote age, must be considered as forming one family or race. Robert Vace has quaintly expressed this, in his homely old verses.

*Man en Engleis et en Norreis  
Hume signifie en Franceis,  
Justy ensemble North et Man  
Ensemble dites Northman.  
Ceo est hume de north en Romanz.  
De ceo vint li nuns as Normanz—  
Normant soelent estre apelée  
Cil ki la dunt North sunt né,  
Et en Romanz est apelée  
Normandie que il unt poplée.*

*Roman du Ron.*

Various causes are enumerated by M. Depping, which gave rise to those predatory expeditions, by which the coasts of Europe were infested, during the decline of the empire founded by Charlemagne. Among these, was that roving and predatory disposition natural to all maritime nations, in the infancy of civilization. The occupation of a pirate, was considered as honourable, in the heroic age of the North. The religion of Odin, stimulated the thirst of blood and the desire of martial renown, by promising the joys of paradise, as the reward of those who fell gloriously in battle. These motives, by which the Scandinavians were induced to quit their native seats, and to roam over the seas, were strengthened by an usage which early acquired the force of law, and under which a portion of the people were pe-

riodically expelled by force from the country, as the increasing population pressed against the means of subsistence. Indeed, the yearly chronicles of Normandy speak of a custom prevailing in the North, by which the eldest son inherited his father's estate, and the younger sons were obliged to seek an establishment beyond the seas. According to Robert Vace, where a man had several sons, it was determined by lot which of them should be his heir, and the rest were obliged to emigrate.

Costume fut jadis long tems  
En Dannemarche, entre païens  
Quand homme avoit plusors enfanz,  
Et il les avoit norriz granz,  
L'un des fils retenoit par sort  
Qui ert son her après sa mort;  
Et cil sur qui le sort tornoit,  
En autre terre s'en alait.

*Roman du Ron.*

It is remarkable, however, that none of the *Sagas*, or other ancient histories of the North, make any mention of such a custom or law. Still, it does not follow, that it may not have existed. The laws were preserved by oral tradition only. They were framed by the people, in their public assemblies in the open air; the old men also pronounced judgment in the same public manner, according to the approved customs of which, they possessed the traditions, which they handed down from generation to generation. None of these were reduced to writing, before the thirteenth century. At this period, emigration had ceased, and consequently no mention is made of this manner of providing for younger sons, although the law of primogeniture, as to the descent of real property, was firmly established, at least in Norway. The Scandinavian nations were broken into petty states, like the tribes of Greece in their heroic age, each of which had its chief or king, and all of whom were constantly engaged in deadly wars, the result of hereditary feuds. These chieftains were at first elective, and by degrees became hereditary. Sometimes the succession was divided, the younger sons retaining the title of kings, and becoming sea rovers: at others they agreed, when there were two sons, that they should reign alternately for a limited period, one over the sea, and the other over the land. Thus piracy became the favourite pursuit, and the most graceful accomplishment of princes and nobles, and was surrounded with all the lustre of chivalry. The younger sons of the kings, and the *Jarls*, who had no other inheritance but the ocean, naturally collected around their standards the youth of the inferior orders, who were equally destitute. Thus the flower of the nation was launched upon the waves, and the chiefs who followed this mode of life, are designated in the *Sagas* by the appellation of Sea-Kings, (*Sea-Kongar*.) "And they are rightly named Sea-



Kings," says the author of the *Ynlingar-Saga*, "who never seek shelter under a roof, and never drain their drinking horn at a cottage fire."

It is easy to see, that all these circumstances combined, tended to give the national character a strong impulse to maritime enterprises, and to stimulate it by the desire of distinction and of wealth, which last was not to be gained by any honest and peaceful pursuit. Their religion bore the impress of a wild and audacious spirit, such as, according to tradition, marked the character of its founder. Odin is represented as a skilful navigator, and the patron of martial prowess. Hadding, a Norwegian king, and the pirate Liser, had made a joint expedition against a certain chieftain who reigned on the banks of the Dwina, by whom they were bravely repulsed. But the deity rescued Hadding, and carried him upon his celestial steed, *Sleipner*, back to Norway. Some of these chieftains carried their audacity so far, as to defy the gods themselves. Thus we are told in the Sagas of two famous heroes who never sacrificed to the deities. King Olaf, the Saint, demanded of one of them, who offered to enter his service, of what religion he was? "My brother in arms and I," said Gauthakon to the king, "are neither Christians nor Pagans. We have no faith but in our arms, and on strength to vanquish our enemies, and these we have ever found sufficient." So also in the Saga of Olaf Tryggveson, another of these heroes says: "I have no faith in idols: I have encountered giants and evil spirits; they have never been able to prevail against me. I rely solely upon my strength and my courage."

Their national freedom contributed to swell this proud spirit, which was also fomented by the songs extemporized or recited by the Skalds, in praise of martial renown, or the exploits of their ancestors. The chieftains were surrounded by *Champions*, (in Icelandic, *Cappar*; in Danish, *Kæmpe*;) who were devoted to their fortunes, and dependent upon their favour for advancement. These heroes were sometimes taken with a sort of phrenzy—a *furor Martis*, produced by their excited imaginations dwelling upon the images of war and glory,—and perhaps increased by those potations, in which the people of the North, like other savage tribes, indulged to great excess. When this phrenzy was upon them, these Orlandos committed the wildest extravagancies, attacked indiscriminately friends and foes, and even waged war against inanimate nature, the rocks and the trees. The language of the North had a particular term, appropriated to distinguish the Champions who were subject to this species of madness. They were called *Berserker*, and the name recurs so frequently in the Sagas, that we must conclude that this disease prevailed generally among the pirates who passed their lives in roving the seas and fighting duels. Even the female sex did not

escape this general contagion of martial fury, and the love of wild and perilous adventure. Women of illustrious birth frequently became pirates, and roved the seas. These Sea-Amazons were called *Skjoldmæer*, or "Virgins of the Shield." The *Sagas* are filled with traits of their heroic bearing. In the *Volsunga-Saga*, we have the romantic tale of Alfhilda, daughter of Sigund, a king of the Ostrogoths, who was chaste, brave, and fair. She was always veiled, and lived in a secluded bower, where she was guarded by two Champions of extraordinary strength. Sigund had proclaimed, that whoever aspired to his daughter's hand, must vanquish the two Champions, his own life to be the forfeit, if he failed in the perilous enterprise. Alf, a young Sea-King, who had already signalized himself by his exploits, encountered and slew the two Champions; but Alfhilda herself was not disposed to surrender tamely. She boldly put to sea with her companions, all clothed in male attire, and armed for war. They fell in with a band of pirates, who, having just lost their chieftain, elected the intrepid heroine for his successor. She continued thus to rove the sea, at their head, until the widespread fame of her exploits came to the ear of Alf her suitor, who gave chase to her fleet, and pursued it into the gulf of Finland. The brave Alfhilda gave battle. Alf boarded the ship of the princess, who made a gallant and obstinate resistance, until her helmet being cloven open by one of his Champions, disclosed to their astonished view the fair face and lovely locks of his coy mistress, who, being thus vanquished by her magnanimous lover, no longer refuses him the hand he had sought, whilst his Champion espouses one of her companions.

The neighbourhood of the sea, with the numerous friths and harbours by which the coasts were indented, all studded with islands, and the profusion of materials for ship-building, with which the shores and mountains of these Northern countries abounded, soon turned the attention of their inhabitants to the art of naval construction. But their first efforts in this art, did not surpass those of our North American Indians; and, even the fleets with which they invaded France, were composed of small canoes hollowed out from the trunks of trees, and so light as to be carried on men's shoulders, or dragged over the portage, from one river to another. They penetrated into the interior of the country, by sailing up the rivers, and, when the inhabitants opposed their progress by bridging the streams, the indefatigable invaders carried their batteaux higher up, or transported them across the land to another water course. Thus when the Normans sailed up the Seine, with their flotilla, in 886, and besieged Paris, being repulsed in their attempt upon the capital, they dragged their boats across the land to the Yonne, where they again embarked, to lay waste the interior provinces. In

the subsequent progress of the art of ship-building, the size of their vessels was increased, and their equipments improved. The Sagas mention the various names of those different vessels, as the *Snekkar*, or Serpent,—a long, light ship, with twenty banks of rowers;—the *Draker*, or Dragon, a very large vessel,—with the figure of a dragon or some other fantastic animal carved upon its prow, and highly ornamented with painting and gilding, in which the Sea-Kings embarked, with their Champions and *Berserker*. According to the Saga of Rolf-Krake, king of Zealand, the *dragon* Grimsnorth, which this monarch had captured in a sea fight with a famous pirate, surpassed all other ships, as much as Rolf surpassed all other kings of the North. For the purpose of organizing the maritime forces of the country, the coasts of Scandinavia were divided into convenient districts, called Hundara,—each of which furnished a certain number of vessels, which were manned by a sort of maritime conscription. This compulsory service was called *Sceppvist*, and if the king did not think fit in any particular year to equip a fleet for sea, an equivalent was exacted, similar to the *Ship-Money*, so famous in the constitutional history of England. The fitting out a piratical expedition annually, had become an inveterate usage in the Northern kingdoms, and the principal ground of dissatisfaction on the part of the Swedes against their king, St. Olaf, was his omission to make every year a predatory incursion against Finland, Esthonia, or Courland, according to the custom which had been observed from time immemorial. This custom is also referred to in the Anglo-Saxon laws, and the first constitution of Ethelred directs an expedition to be in readiness every year, immediately after Easter. The Swedish hundred of Westmanland, furnished two batteaux; another district contributed four; and Gothland equipped seven *Serpents*.

The immense number of vessels that are mentioned as composing the Northern fleets, may be accounted for, by their diminutive size. They were like the ships of the Greeks, in the time of the Trojan war. At the famous battle of Bravalla, where all the maritime forces of the North were assembled, there were thousands of vessels and batteaux engaged. This battle was fought about the year 735, on the coast of Scania, in consequence of a defiance between Harald Hyldetand, king of Zealand, and Sigund-Ring, a Swedish prince, who endeavoured to dethrone his relative, Hialland, king of Sweden. All the sea-kings and land-kings, chieftains and pirates of the North, rushed to this scene of glory, with their Champions and *Berserker*. Two of the most celebrated *Skioldmæer*, or Virgins of the Shield, of that time, Hetha and Visina, brought a reinforcement to the king of Zealand, the one of a hundred Amazonians like herself, the other a troop of Svends, armed with long swords, and small

bucklers of an azure hue. All the tribes bordering on the Baltic, were represented in this great land and sea fight. The Slaves, the Livonians, and Saxons, with a famous Frisian pirate named Ubbo, joined the party of Harald, who counted seventy-four Champions. Sigund, his adversary, reckoned ninety-six, all of whom are immortalized in the songs of the Skalds, who were themselves present, and actively engaged. The kings and champions disembarked, and fought hand to hand on the shore. After a furious and protracted contest, the Norwegian archers of Thelemark, who served in the ranks of the Swedish prince, decided the fortune of the day. Harald perished, with fifteen other kings; and the poets who have painted this battle, not satisfied with the mortal agency by which the victory was obtained, have represented Odin himself as taking part against the Danes. The heroic Harald, old, infirm, and blind, was seated upon his battle-car. Odin, who had been his protector, had formerly revealed to him the secret in the military art, by which the ranks of an enemy might be penetrated and broken, by an order of battle, in the form of a wedge or echelon. Harald learns from his charioteer, that Sigund is turning against him this very tactic; and immediately perceives that the day is lost, and that his chariot is guided by Odin himself. In vain does he supplicate the god of war to grant him one more victory! The perfidious deity turns upon the venerable monarch, and despatches him with his war club. The body is soon covered with heaps of the slain, but is discovered after the battle, and graced with magnificent funeral obsequies.

The Normans made their first appearance upon the coasts of France, before the extinction of the Merovingian race of French kings. But they were at that time repulsed, and prevented from penetrating into the interior of the kingdom. The genius of Charlemagne effectually bridled the Northern invaders, but, under his degenerate successors, they laid waste the country with fire and sword. The civil war between the sons of Louis le Debonnaire, and the fatal battle of Fontenay, in which the flower of the French chivalry was destroyed, effectually broke the power of the Carlovingian dynasty, and undermined the empire of the Franks. No effectual resistance was thenceforth opposed to the Pagan invaders. —

Là périt de France la flor,  
Et des barons tuit li plusor.  
Ainsi trouvèrent Païens terre  
Vuide des gent, et bonne à conquerre.

*Roman du Ron.*

They penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, by the great rivers, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. From the mouth of the latter, they equipped an expedition, which coasted along

the shores of the bay of Biscay,—touched at Lisbon, and, sailing south, ascended the Guadalquivir to Seville, where they came in contact with the Arab conquerors of Spain. The contrast between these two races of fanatic barbarians, one issuing from the frozen regions of the North, the other from the burning sands of Africa, is one of the most striking pictures presented by history. But the sectaries of Odin prevailed over those of Mahomet, and they carried off the prisoners and booty, which were the sole objects of their incursion. They subsequently passed the outlet of the Mediterranean, which seemed to them another Baltic strait, and which is called in the Sagas *Niorva-Sund*. If we are to confide implicitly in the monkish chroniclers, their savage fury was mainly directed against the monasteries and the clergy. They burnt the one, and slaughtered the other. But the poetical chronicles describe with touching simplicity the sufferings of the people in a desolated country, where the land no longer yielded rent to the lord, the fields and vineyards were laid waste, the peasantry scattered abroad, the highways deserted by pilgrim and merchant. At last, Charles-le-Chauve was reduced to the humiliating necessity of purchasing a truce, by paying the invaders a tribute wrung from his miserable subjects; and the old poet Benedict de St. Maur, though he wrote under the patronage of the English kings of the Norman line, closes the first book of his chronicle, with indignant lamentations upon the degradation of the once proud and invincible Franks, prostrate before

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These expeditions were not without their political effects upon the Northern countries, from whence they were equipped. They weakened the power of the petty kings and chieftains, and enabled Gorm the Old to consolidate all the states of Denmark into one monarchy, whilst Harald the Fair-haired vanquished the kings of Norway, and drove the discontented Jarls into exile. Iceland was peopled with Norwegian emigrants, who established there a sort of federal republic; the grand council of which assembled, annually, on the elevated plain of the volcanic mountain of Thingvalla, which was thence called *Lugberg*, or Rock of the Law. Harald sought to extirpate piracy in the Northern Seas, and to reclaim his people from habits, which, however unfavourable to the progress of civilization, nourished the spirit of liberty and independence. Rollo, or as he is called in the language of the North, Hrolf, or, Hrolfur, surnamed Gaunger-Krolf, or Rolf the Walker, was the son of one of the most illustrious Jarls of Norway, who traced his genealogy from the ancient kings of Sweden. Like many other of the Scandi-

navian youth of high birth, he had abandoned his family and home in early life, and roamed over the seas in search of plunder and adventures. Among other practices connected with piracy, Harald had prohibited, under the severest penalties, the *Strandhug*, or impressment of provisions, which the sea-rovers were in the habit of exercising, by seizing the cattle of the peasantry. Being taken in the fact, Rollo was, by a solemn sentence, banished for ever from his native country. The story is told as follows, in the Saga of Harald Harfager :—

“Rognevald, Jarl of Møre, was the most intimate friend of king Harald, who held him in great esteem. He had married Hildur, daughter of Rolf-Nefio; their sons were Hrolf and Thorer. Rognevald had also other sons by his concubines; one was called Hallathur, another Einar, and the third Hoolanger. They had already grown up, whilst his legitimate children were yet in their infancy. Rolf was a powerful *Viking*, (pirate,) and was so stout that no horse could carry him. He was therefore obliged to go on foot, and thence was called Gaunger-Rolfur, (Rollo the Walker.) He cruised much in the Baltic sea.

“One summer, returning from a cruise, he landed at Vigen, and there exercised the right of *Strandhug*. King Harald, who was there, was greatly enraged, when he was informed of what had taken place, for he had strictly prohibited this practice in his territories. He caused a *Thing*, (council,) to be assembled, to banish Rolf from Norway. Hildur, the mother of Rolf, as soon as she heard this, went to the king to intercede for Rolf, but Harald was inexorable. Hildur then exclaimed to the king :—

“You reject the name of Nefio from the country as an enemy. Ah! listen to the brother of Haulda! Why do this? It is dangerous to attack the wolf; hardly will he spare the flock of Hilmir scattered abroad in the forest.”\*

“Rolf the Walker passed the western seas, and came to the *Sudar-eiar*, (the Hebrides,) and thence to *Walland*, (France,) where he carried on war, and acquired a great lordship, which he planted with Normans, and which was afterwards called Normandy. From his stock came the Jarls of Normandy; his son, was William, the father of Richard, who begot another Richard, father of Rollo long-sword, from whom came William the Bastard, king of England. From this last, have descended all the other English kings.”

In the course of his former fugitive and wandering life, Rollo had served both for and against Alfred in England; and that politic prince, probably as much for the sake of ridding himself of so troublesome an ally, as for the purpose of annoying the Car-

\* This is supposed to be a verse of some Skald, recited by Hildur as apt to her purpose.

lovingians, had assisted Rollo in his first incursion into France, which took place before his final banishment from Norway. A remarkable dream, which a Christian had interpreted as a celestial vision, announcing to him the great things that awaited him in France, determined him to seek his fortune in that direction. In this dream, Rollo found himself afflicted with leprosy, on a high mountain, from which flowed a fountain of pure and limpid water. He plunged into the stream, and was purified. He perceived also, upon the mountain, a flock of birds, who bathed in the same fountain, and flew away to make their nests. The Christian informed him that the leprosy typified Sin,—the mountain the Church,—and the fountain of water, that Baptism by which he must be regenerated, after which he should establish himself in France, with his companions in arms, who were figured by the birds. But this prophetic vision was not realized until twenty years afterwards. His first expedition to the French coast was fruitful only of plunder, with which he returned to England, and thence to Norway. After his final relegation from his native country, by Harald, he collected a band of *Vikings* and military adventurers, with which that age abounded, and took possession of Rouen, with the avowed determination to plant himself permanently with his followers in Neustria. From this position, he made continual incursions into the interior. Charles the Simple being unable to make any effectual resistance against these attacks, was at last obliged to yield to the importunities of his people, and cede to the Normans the territory they had conquered, in order to preserve the rest of his dominions from continual devastation.—

Li évesques de France, et li bon ordené,  
 Li baron et li conte, li viel et li puisné,  
 Virent li gentil regne à grant honte atorné.—  
 Au roiz Challon-le-Simple en ont merci crié :  
 Qu'il prenge conroi de la Christienté,  
 Voient les monstiers arz, et le peuple tué,  
*Par deffaute de roiz et par sa fiebleté,*  
 Des Normanz et de Ron qui le regne ont gasté,  
 Voient lor felonnie, voient lor cruauté !  
 De Bleiz à Saint-Liz n'a un arpent de blé ;  
 Marchant n'osent en vigne laborer, ne en pré ;  
 Se cette chose dure, moult auront grant chierté ;  
 Ja tant comme guerre soit, n'en auront gran plenté ;  
 Fasse pais as Normanz ; trop a cest mal duré.

*Roman du Ron.*

The prose chronicles confirm the fact of these representations, made to Charles by his prelates and barons, to which the king replied :—" You should have aided me with your council and your arms to expel the Normans ; what could I do alone against so many enemies ?"

Que peut faire un soul homme, et que peut exploitier,  
 Si li homme li failient qui li doivent aidier ?  
 Bonne gent fait roi fort, et cil fait estre fier.

*Roman du Ron.*

The feudal anarchy, and the usurpations of the clergy and great vassals of the crown, had so weakened the power and diminished the revenues of the Carlovingian kings, that they were hardly able to defend themselves against their domestic enemies, much less to repel a foreign invader. Charles, accordingly, ceded Neustria to Rollo, in 911, with his natural daughter Gisele in marriage, upon condition that he should become a Christian and do homage for his dutchy. His example was followed by his principal companions in arms, who abjured the errors of Paganism, were baptised, and they with their chiefs were soon distinguished for their profuse liberality and blind obedience to that clergy they had plundered and massacred. Rollo established in his dutchy a feudal aristocracy, or rather, it grew out of the peculiar circumstances under which the province was acquired and settled, as naturally as a republican form of government arose in Iceland, under different circumstances. M. Houard, a modern Norman lawyer, distinguished for his extensive knowledge of the legal antiquities of his country, concludes that the first dukes of Normandy adopted the ancient customary law of the Franks, which they found already established in the country. In fact, the *Grand Coutumier*, which is the earliest monument of Norman legislation now extant, expressly states, that duke Rollo, having become sovereign of Neustria, *recorded*, i. e. collected the ancient customs of the country, and where any difficulty or doubt occurred in ascertaining these, he consulted “avec moults saiges hommes par qui la vérité estoit sue, sur ce qui toujours avoit été dict et fait.”—But, as M. Depping observes, the custom of Normandy has many analogies with the ancient Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon laws, and these different people have borrowed so much from each other, and were so often blended and confounded together in their various wars and emigrations, that it is difficult to distinguish with accuracy, the origin of their different institutions. The perfect security afforded by the admirable system of police, established by Alfred, in England, is also attributed to the legislation of Rollo, duke of Normandy,—Frode, king of Denmark,—and Brian, one of the petty kings of Ireland :—the chronicles of every one of these countries, repeating with some variations, the story of the bracelets, or purse of gold, suspended by the road side. The natural conclusion seems to be, that the incident never in fact happened in either country, but is merely a poetical mode of expressing the public security enjoyed under the firm and impartial administration of justice by these princes. This was maintained in Normandy by the institu-



the Roman empire was subverted, originally emigrated from the Scandinavian peninsula, is easily refuted by the consideration that these northern countries, with their sterile soil, frozen climate, and broken, mountainous surface, could never have sustained that superabundant population which this notion implies. If, with the present improved state of the arts of life, the three northern kingdoms do not contain 5,000,000 of inhabitants, how exaggerated must be those accounts, which represent the same territory as swarming with people, in the first centuries of the Christian era, when it was almost covered with forests, and the inhabitants lived principally by hunting and fishing. In fact, more recent and accurate investigation has shown, that one of these nations, and that not the least famous, the Goths, emigrated *to*, and not *from* the countries north of the Baltic, their original seat being in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea. But the Scandinavian origin of the Normans is incontestable. There has, indeed, been much doubt, whether this national appellation should be confined to the maritime adventurers who issued from Norway, or whether it ought also to be extended to the natives of Denmark. But, if a common origin, language, and religion, constitutes one nation, all the people of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the adjacent islands, in that remote age, must be considered as forming one family or race. Robert Vace has quaintly expressed this, in his homely old verses.

*Man en Engleis et en Norreis  
Hume signifie en Franceis,  
Justy ensemble North et Man  
Ensemble dites Northman.  
Ceo est hume de north en Romanz.  
De ceo vint li nuns as Normanz—  
Normant soelent estre apelée  
Cil ki la dunt North sunt né,  
Et en Romanz est apelée  
Normandie que il unt pohlée.*

*Roman du Ron.*

Various causes are enumerated by M. Depping, which gave rise to those predatory expeditions, by which the coasts of Europe were infested, during the decline of the empire founded by Charlemagne. Among these, was that roving and predatory disposition natural to all maritime nations, in the infancy of civilization. The occupation of a pirate, was considered as honourable, in the heroic age of the North. The religion of Odin, stimulated the thirst of blood and the desire of martial renown, by promising the joys of paradise, as the reward of those who fell gloriously in battle. These motives, by which the Scandinavians were induced to quit their native seats, and to roam over the seas, were strengthened by an usage which early acquired the force of law, and under which a portion of the people were pe-

riodically expelled by force from the country, as the increasing population pressed against the means of subsistence. Indeed, the yearly chronicles of Normandy speak of a custom prevailing in the North, by which the eldest son inherited his father's estate, and the younger sons were obliged to seek an establishment beyond the seas. According to Robert Vace, where a man had several sons, it was determined by lot which of them should be his heir, and the rest were obliged to emigrate.

Costume fut jadis lonc tems  
En Dannemarche, entre païens  
Quand homme avoit plusors enfanz,  
Et il les avoit norriz granz,  
L'un des fils retenoit par sort  
Qui ert son her après sa mort;  
Et cil sur qui le sort tornoit,  
En autre terre s'en alait.

*Roman du Ron.*

It is remarkable, however, that none of the *Sagas*, or other ancient histories of the North, make any mention of such a custom or law. Still, it does not follow, that it may not have existed. The laws were preserved by oral tradition only. They were framed by the people, in their public assemblies in the open air; the old men also pronounced judgment in the same public manner, according to the approved customs of which, they possessed the traditions, which they handed down from generation to generation. None of these were reduced to writing, before the thirteenth century. At this period, emigration had ceased, and consequently no mention is made of this manner of providing for younger sons, although the law of primogeniture, as to the descent of real property, was firmly established, at least in Norway. The Scandinavian nations were broken into petty states, like the tribes of Greece in their heroic age, each of which had its chief or king, and all of whom were constantly engaged in deadly wars, the result of hereditary feuds. These chieftains were at first elective, and by degrees became hereditary. Sometimes the succession was divided, the younger sons retaining the title of kings, and becoming sea rovers: at others they agreed, when there were two sons, that they should reign alternately for a limited period, one over the sea, and the other over the land. Thus piracy became the favourite pursuit, and the most graceful accomplishment of princes and nobles, and was surrounded with all the lustre of chivalry. The younger sons of the kings, and the *Jarls*, who had no other inheritance but the ocean, naturally collected around their standards the youth of the inferior orders, who were equally destitute. Thus the flower of the nation was launched upon the waves, and the chiefs who followed this mode of life, are designated in the *Sagas* by the appellation of Sea-Kings, (*Sea-Kongar*.) "And they are rightly named Sea-

Kings," says the author of the *Ynlingar-Saga*, "who never seek shelter under a roof, and never drain their drinking horn at a cottage fire."

It is easy to see, that all these circumstances combined, tended to give the national character a strong impulse to maritime enterprises, and to stimulate it by the desire of distinction and of wealth, which last was not to be gained by any honest and peaceful pursuit. Their religion bore the impress of a wild and audacious spirit, such as, according to tradition, marked the character of its founder. Odin is represented as a skilful navigator, and the patron of martial prowess. Hadding, a Norwegian king, and the pirate Liser, had made a joint expedition against a certain chieftain who reigned on the banks of the Dwina, by whom they were bravely repulsed. But the deity rescued Hadding, and carried him upon his celestial steed, *Sleipner*, back to Norway. Some of these chieftains carried their audacity so far, as to defy the gods themselves. Thus we are told in the Sagas of two famous heroes who never sacrificed to the deities. King Olaf, the Saint, demanded of one of them, who offered to enter his service, of what religion he was? "My brother in arms and I," said Gauthakon to the king, "are neither Christians nor Pagans. We have no faith but in our arms, and on strength to vanquish our enemies, and these we have ever found sufficient." So also in the Saga of Olaf Tryggveson, another of these heroes says: "I have no faith in idols: I have encountered giants and evil spirits; they have never been able to prevail against me. I rely solely upon my strength and my courage."

Their national freedom contributed to swell this proud spirit, which was also fomented by the songs extemporized or recited by the Skalds, in praise of martial renown, or the exploits of their ancestors. The chieftains were surrounded by *Champions*, (in Icelandic, *Cappar*; in Danish, *Kæmpe*,) who were devoted to their fortunes, and dependent upon their favour for advancement. These heroes were sometimes taken with a sort of phrenzy—a *furor Martis*, produced by their excited imaginations dwelling upon the images of war and glory,—and perhaps increased by those potations, in which the people of the North, like other savage tribes, indulged to great excess. When this phrenzy was upon them, these Orlandos committed the wildest extravagancies, attacked indiscriminately friends and foes, and even waged war against inanimate nature, the rocks and the trees. The language of the North had a particular term, appropriated to distinguish the Champions who were subject to this species of madness. They were called *Berserker*, and the name recurs so frequently in the Sagas, that we must conclude that this disease prevailed generally among the pirates who passed their lives in roving the seas and fighting duels. Even the female sex did not

escape this general contagion of martial fury, and the love of wild and perilous adventure. Women of illustrious birth frequently became pirates, and roved the seas. These Sea-Amazons were called *Skjoldmær*, or "Virgins of the Shield." The *Sagas* are filled with traits of their heroic bearing. In the *Volsunga-Saga*, we have the romantic tale of Alfhilda, daughter of Sigund, a king of the Ostrogoths, who was chaste, brave, and fair. She was always veiled, and lived in a secluded bower, where she was guarded by two Champions of extraordinary strength. Sigund had proclaimed, that whoever aspired to his daughter's hand, must vanquish the two Champions, his own life to be the forfeit, if he failed in the perilous enterprise. Alf, a young Sea-King, who had already signalized himself by his exploits, encountered and slew the two Champions; but Alfhilda herself was not disposed to surrender tamely. She boldly put to sea with her companions, all clothed in male attire, and armed for war. They fell in with a band of pirates, who, having just lost their chieftain, elected the intrepid heroine for his successor. She continued thus to rove the sea, at their head, until the widespread fame of her exploits came to the ear of Alf her suitor, who gave chase to her fleet, and pursued it into the gulf of Finland. The brave Alfhilda gave battle. Alf boarded the ship of the princess, who made a gallant and obstinate resistance, until her helmet being cloven open by one of his Champions, disclosed to their astonished view the fair face and lovely locks of his coy mistress, who, being thus vanquished by her magnanimous lover, no longer refuses him the hand he had sought, whilst his Champion espouses one of her companions.

The neighbourhood of the sea, with the numerous friths and harbours by which the coasts were indented, all studded with islands, and the profusion of materials for ship-building, with which the shores and mountains of these Northern countries abounded, soon turned the attention of their inhabitants to the art of naval construction. But their first efforts in this art, did not surpass those of our North American Indians; and, even the fleets with which they invaded France, were composed of small canoes hollowed out from the trunks of trees, and so light as to be carried on men's shoulders, or dragged over the portage, from one river to another. They penetrated into the interior of the country, by sailing up the rivers, and, when the inhabitants opposed their progress by bridging the streams, the indefatigable invaders carried their batteaux higher up, or transported them across the land to another water course. Thus when the Normans sailed up the Seine, with their flotilla, in 886, and besieged Paris, being repulsed in their attempt upon the capital, they dragged their boats across the land to the Yonne, where they again embarked, to lay waste the interior provinces. In

the subsequent progress of the art of ship-building, the size of their vessels was increased, and their equipments improved. The Sagas mention the various names of those different vessels, as the *Snekhar*, or Serpent,—a long, light ship, with twenty banks of rowers;—the *Druker*, or Dragon, a very large vessel,—with the figure of a dragon or some other fantastic animal carved upon its prow, and highly ornamented with painting and gilding. in which the Sea-Kings embarked, with their Champions and *Berserker*. According to the Saga of Rolf-Krake, king of Zealand, the *dragon* Grimsnorth, which this monarch had captured in a sea fight with a famous pirate, surpassed all other ships, as much as Rolf surpassed all other kings of the North. For the purpose of organizing the maritime forces of the country, the coasts of Scandinavia were divided into convenient districts, called Hundara,—each of which furnished a certain number of vessels, which were manned by a sort of maritime conscription. This compulsory service was called *Sceppvist*, and if the king did not think fit in any particular year to equip a fleet for sea, an equivalent was exacted, similar to the *Ship-Money*, so famous in the constitutional history of England. The fitting out a piratical expedition annually, had become an inveterate usage in the Northern kingdoms, and the principal ground of dissatisfaction on the part of the Swedes against their king, St. Olaf, was his omission to make every year a predatory incursion against Finland, Esthonia, or Courland, according to the custom which had been observed from time immemorial. This custom is also referred to in the Anglo-Saxon laws, and the first constitution of Ethelred directs an expedition to be in readiness every year, immediately after Easter. The Swedish hundred of Westmanland, furnished two batteaux; another district contributed four; and Gothland equipped seven *Serpents*.

The immense number of vessels that are mentioned as composing the Northern fleets, may be accounted for, by their diminutive size. They were like the ships of the Greeks, in the time of the Trojan war. At the famous battle of Bravalla, where all the maritime forces of the North were assembled, there were thousands of vessels and batteaux engaged. This battle was fought about the year 735, on the coast of Scania, in consequence of a defiance between Harald Hyldetand, king of Zealand, and Sigund-Ring, a Swedish prince, who endeavoured to dethrone his relative, Hialland, king of Sweden. All the sea-kings and land-kings, chieftains and pirates of the North, rushed to this scene of glory, with their Champions and *Berserker*. Two of the most celebrated *Skioldmaer*, or Virgins of the Shield, of that time, Hetha and Visina, brought a reinforcement to the king of Zealand, the one of a hundred Amazonians like herself, the other a troop of Svends, armed with long swords, and small

simple and direct barter. If however the good faith of the purchaser was ever relied upon, the rude method of tallies served all the purposes of a memorandum. A plausible writer has lately attempted to account for the diffusion of alphabetic writing, and even to ascribe its invention to the merchants of Phenicia. We cannot however admit that this would have been a natural mode of conveying this valuable discovery. Phenician colonies would indeed carry this art along with them, as well as such others as would be necessary to their existence, and might have communicated them to the surrounding barbarians; but, as in modern times, this, because least obvious in its value, would probably be the last they would have been called upon to impart. Our own country perhaps furnishes the best practical method of judging of the chance of letters being introduced by mere traders among their customers. Two centuries have elapsed since our traders, keeping written accounts, have been in the practice of daily traffic with the Indians, and yet that people has never yet become sensible of the want of such a method of recording the terms of their contracts. So far then from being inclined to acquiesce in the opinion that the necessities of commerce either led to the invention, or caused the diffusion of alphabetic writing, we are fully satisfied that commerce was one of the very last of the arts to which it was applied.

Even when formal histories superseded the poetic rhapsodies that were the earliest form in which traditions were conveyed, the expense of manuscripts, and the scarcity of persons capable of reading them, compelled the authors to publish them, not by the multiplication of copies, but by reciting or reading them to an assembled multitude. In this way the Father of profane history communicated his work to the states of Greece collected for the celebration of the Olympic games.

Before the history of Herodotus becomes authentic, all the annals of the ancient heathen world are involved in darkness and fable, and that part to which credit can be given, reaches to a comparatively short distance from the date at which he wrote. If such be the state of the history of nations, the earliest in civilization, we have far less to expect from the annals of one so late in its admission to the rank of a polished people, as the Roman.

But even had the Romans possessed records of their earlier times, we find that one æra of their history was attended by a catastrophe, in which by far the greater part must have perished. We refer to the destruction of the city by the Gauls, in the three hundred and sixty-fourth year after the usually received date of its foundation, and three hundred and ninety years before the Christian æra. By this disaster, the whole accumulated riches of centuries of prosperity perished. Temples, buildings both private and public, monuments of every description, the records of the

the shores of the bay of Biscay,—touched at Lisbon, and, sailing south, ascended the Guadalquivir to Seville, where they came in contact with the Arab conquerors of Spain. The contrast between these two races of fanatic barbarians, one issuing from the frozen regions of the North, the other from the burning sands of Africa, is one of the most striking pictures presented by history. But the sectaries of Odin prevailed over those of Mahomet, and they carried off the prisoners and booty, which were the sole objects of their incursion. They subsequently passed the outlet of the Mediterranean, which seemed to them another Baltic strait, and which is called in the Sagas *Niorna-Sund*. If we are to confide implicitly in the monkish chroniclers, their savage fury was mainly directed against the monasteries and the clergy. They burnt the one, and slaughtered the other. But the poetical chronicles describe with touching simplicity the sufferings of the people in a desolated country, where the land no longer yielded rent to the lord, the fields and vineyards were laid waste, the peasantry scattered abroad, the highways deserted by pilgrim and merchant. At last, Charles-le-Chauve was reduced to the humiliating necessity of purchasing a truce, by paying the invaders a tribute wrung from his miserable subjects; and the old poet Benedict de St. Maur, though he wrote under the patronage of the English kings of the Norman line, closes the first book of his chronicle, with indignant lamentations upon the degradation of the once proud and invincible Franks, prostrate before

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These expeditions were not without their political effects upon the Northern countries, from whence they were equipped. They weakened the power of the petty kings and chieftains, and enabled Gorm the Old to consolidate all the states of Denmark into one monarchy, whilst Harald the Fair-haired vanquished the kings of Norway, and drove the discontented Jarls into exile. Iceland was peopled with Norwegian emigrants, who established there a sort of federal republic; the grand council of which assembled, annually, on the elevated plain of the volcanic mountain of Thingvalla, which was thence called *Lugberg*, or Rock of the Law. Harald sought to extirpate piracy in the Northern Seas, and to reclaim his people from habits, which, however unfavourable to the progress of civilization, nourished the spirit of liberty and independence. Rollo, or as he is called in the language of the North, Hrolf, or, Hrolfur, surnamed Gaunger-Krolf, or Rolf the Walker, was the son of one of the most illustrious Jarls of Norway, who traced his genealogy from the ancient kings of Sweden. Like many other of the Scandi-

"Sic Fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,  
Quas bisquingue viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum  
Vel Gabia, vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,  
Pontificum Libros, annosa volumina vatum ;"

*Liv. 2. Epist. I. v. 23.*

This list, tallies exactly with that in the passage we have quoted from Livy, differing merely in its particularizing two treaties, instead of expressing them in general terms. Besides these treaties mentioned by Horace, one with Gabii, the other with the Sabines, Livy mentions one with the inhabitants of Ardea, Pliny quotes an article of one with Porsenna, and Polybius gives us an entire translation of one of great importance, made immediately after the expulsion of the kings with the government of Carthage. The last two, give us a view of the history of the times, entirely different from any we would derive from the historians. The condition of the article in the treaty with Porsenna, is, that the Romans shall employ iron for no other purpose but that of agriculture ; a condition which we cannot suppose to have been imposed upon any but a conquered people, who had placed their arms and their persons at the disposal of the victor. No other historian but Tacitus, uses even an expression which can denote such a terrible humiliation, and yet no doubt can be entertained by those who sift the truth from the mass of falsehood in which it is involved, that the Romans were not only subdued and rendered tributary, but that one third part of their tribes passed back to the state whence their territory had originally been severed by the force of arms. Rome owed the restoration of its independence, neither to the magnanimity of its conqueror, nor the prowess of its own citizens, but to the defeat of the army of Porsenna, when in pursuit of new conquests.

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"I am now come to the question so often raised, as to the genuineness and credibility of the original annals ; a question, the discussion of which has now been placed on a firm ground, such as our predecessors wanted, by the fortunate discoveries which have enriched philology in our days.

"According to a well known custom, manifestly derived from very ancient times, the chief pontiff wrote on a white table, the events of the year, prodigies, eclipses, a pestilence, a scarcity, campaigns, triumphs, the deaths of il-



lustrous men; in a word, what Livy brings together at the end of the tenth book, and in such as remain of the following ones, mostly when closing the history of a year, in the plainest terms, and with the utmost brevity; so dry that nothing could be more jejune: this table was then set up in the pontiff's house: the annals of the several years were afterwards collected in books.† This custom obtained until the pontificate of P. Mucius, and the times of the Gracchi; when it ceased, because a literature had now been formed, and, perhaps, because the composing such chronicles, seemed too much below the dignity of the chief pontiff.

"Now, I grant, that Antonius, in Cicero, says, that this custom had subsisted from the beginning of the Roman state; but it does not follow from this, that Cicero meant that the annals in the possession of the Roman historians, who did not begin to write until so late, reached thus far back. Those of the earlier times may have perished; which Livy, and other ancient writers, without specific mention of the *Annales Maximi*, state as having happened at the destruction of the city by the Gauls: and certainly this fate may have easily befallen them at that time; as the tables perhaps were not yet transferred into books, and it is still less likely that transcripts of such books should be in existence; besides, they may not have been preserved in the Capitol, where the chief pontiff did not reside, and where he had no occasion to keep his archives, like the *dumvirs* of the Sibylline books.

"I think we may now consider it as certain, that those annals really met with such a fate at that time, and that they were replaced by new ones. Cicero says, that the earliest eclipse of the sun mentioned in the *Annales Maximi*, as having been observed, fell on the nones of June, about the year 350 U. C.: the earlier eclipses were calculated backward from it, unto that during which Romulus was carried up to heaven.‡ A fragment of Cato informs us, that eclipses of the Sun and Moon belonged essentially to the contents of the pontifical annals; and the fact of their having been computed backwards, agrees with this statement, and shows an attempt to replace the loss of the actual observations: the same has been done in the Chinese chronicles, for the times of which the annals are said to have existed but to have been destroyed."

Enough has, we think, been said, to show that the histories of Rome, usually received as genuine, are at least liable to suspicion, and that Niebuhr is justified in his attempt to derive a more accurate knowledge, in relation to the more early periods, from the collation of other authorities, and the application of the rules of criticism, to the works of these historians themselves.

We cannot but think he has been very successful in showing that the foundation of the earlier portions of the history, is not to be sought in documents, but in traditionary poems, which have been deprived of their beauty of imagery, and force of expression, without being for that reason, rendered more consistent with the truth. That much may have had a foundation in real events, or have been adopted to explain mythically, existing circumstances, cannot be doubted; but while the slight and insufficient web is true, it is concealed and embellished by a tissue of brilliant poetical fiction.

On this head, our author thus argues:—

"These lays are much older than Ennius, who moulded them into hexameters, and found matter in three books of his poem; Ennius, who seri-

\* Cicero de leg. 1, 2.

† Cicero de Orat. 11, 12.

‡ Cicero de Rep. 1. 16.

ously believed himself to be the first poet of Rome, because he shut his eyes against the old native poetry, and tried successfully to suppress it. Of that poetry and of its destruction, I shall speak elsewhere : here, only one further remark is needful. Ancient as the original materials of the written lays were, the form in which they were handed down, and a great part of their contents, seem to have been comparatively recent. If the pontifical annals adulterated history in favour of the patricians, the whole of this poetry is pervaded by a plebeian spirit, by hatred towards the oppressors, and by visible traces, that at the time it was sung, there were already great and powerful plebeian houses. The assignments of land by Numa, Tullus, Ancus, and Servius, are in this spirit; all the favourite kings befriending freedom; the patricians appear in a horrible and detestable light, as accomplices in the murder of Servius; next to the holy Numa, Servius is the most excellent king; Caia Cecilia, the Roman wife of the elder Tarquin, is a plebeian, a kinswoman of the Metelli; the founder of the republic and Mucius Scaevola are plebeians; among the other party, the only noble characters are the Valerii and Horatii, houses friendly to the commons. Hence I should be inclined not to date these poems, in the form in which we know their contents, before the restoration of the city after the Gallic disaster, at the earliest. This is also indicated by the consulting of the Pythian oracle. The story of the instructions sent by the last king to his son, to get rid of the principal men of Gabii, is a Greek tale in Herodotus; so likewise we find the stratagem of Zopyrus repeated; we must therefore suppose some knowledge of Greek legends, though not necessarily of Herodotus himself."

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"Between the completely poetical age, which stands in a relation to history altogether irrational, and the purely historical age, there intervenes in all nations a mixed age, which may be called the mythico-historical. It has no precise limits: but it reaches to the point where cotemporary history begins; and its character is the more strongly marked, the richer the nation has been in heroic lays; and the less later writers, neglecting those songs, and without calling up in their minds any distinct image of the past, have filled up the void in its history from monuments and authentic documents. Hence, in the history of the middle ages, we find such a character in the North and in Spain; whereas during the same period, the history of countries, which, like Italy, possess no historical lays, scarcely contain a trace of it. Among the Greeks, the Persian war still displays the character of a free epical narrative; in earlier times, almost every thing that is stirring and attractive in their story is poetry. In Roman history, the range of pure fiction does not reach much lower; although from time to time, it appears again, even down to the fifth century: the disease which preys on this history, until the war of Pyrrhus, is studied alteration. This is sheer corruption: the poetical story is something other, but it is also something better than pure history, on the field of which we only find again what wearies and troubles us in life. The relation of such poetical history to mythology, is that the former must have a historical foundation; that it borrows its materials mainly from history as transmitted in free narrative; while the latter takes them from religion and poems on a larger scale, and does not give itself out to be a possible history of the common order of things in the world; although, so long as it confines itself to the earth, it can have no other theatre. To the latter kind, for instance, belong Hercules, Romulus, and Siegfried, to the former, Aristomenes, Brutus, and the Cid."

Our author thus speaks of the sources whence he supposes the histories of Livy and Dionysius were derived.

"The poems, out of which what we call the history of the Roman kings was resolved into a prose narrative, were different from the *nenia* in form, and of great extent; consisting partly of lays united into a uniform whole, partly of such as are detached, and without any necessary connexion. The history of Romulus is an epos by itself: on Numa there can have been only short lays. Tullus, the story of the Horatii, and of the destruction of Alba, form an epic whole, like the poem on Romulus: indeed, here Livy has preserved a fragment of the poem entire, in the old Roman *verse*. On the other hand, what is related of

tion of the *Clameur de Haro*, under which the inhabitants of every hundred were made responsible for robberies and other crimes committed within its limits, as in the Anglo-Saxon legislation.

The subsequent incursions of the Northern adventurers into France, under Harald Blaatand the son of Gorm the Old, and under Olauf Tryggveson, are detailed at large, by M. Depping.—The Normans soon became undistinguishably blended with the Franks and other conquered nations. They adopted the laws, religion, and manners, of the people they had vanquished, and almost every vestige of their Scandinavian origin, was obliterated in the time of William the Conqueror. The pagan religion and language lingered in the rural districts, and a certain Norman count of the province of Cotentin, who came to the court of Sicily during the eleventh century, was obliged to apologise for not being able to speak French. But at Rouen, which was the ducal capital, the French language was firmly established, and William carried it with him into England, as the language of the court and the law. The remarkable tapestry which adorns the walls of the cathedral of Bayeux, worked by a princess Mathilda, (either the wife of William, or the empress of that name, daughter of Henry I.), the subject of which, is the conquest of England, is the most ancient monument, descriptive of the Norman costume and armour. They are the same with the Danish arms and costumes represented in the miniatures of an illuminated missal of the reign of Canute the Great, preserved in the British museum. They are also similar to those which were worn and used by all the nations of Europe, during the middle ages. The Normans caught the spirit of chivalry from the nations of the South, rather than imparted it to the latter, although there was certainly a tendency in the manners and institutions of the North, towards chivalry and the feudal system. The song which Taillefer, the *trouvère* or bard of William the Conqueror, chaunted at the battle of Hastings, was that of Roland, and not a national ode of the Sckalds. But, as with their laws, so with their literature, all the Scandinavian, Gothic, and German tribes, mutually borrowed and received so much from each other, and their manners and social condition bore so strong a resemblance, in many points approaching to identity, that it is difficult to appropriate distinctly to each nation the original fruits of its own inventive genius.

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ART. V.—*The History of Rome*, by B. G. NIEBUHR. Translated by JULIUS CHARLES HARE, M. A. and CONNOP THIRLWALL, M. A., *Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. The first volume.* pp. 556. Cambridge: 1828.

OF all the nations that at successive periods held the empire of the civilized earth, we are under the most direct obligations to the Roman people. If their conquests were conducted upon the erroneous belief, that wealth is the product of victory, and that to lay waste the surface of the earth, will create riches, we must still admit the wisdom of the principles by which they converted the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, first into useful servants, then into brave and faithful allies, and finally, into fellow-citizens. Thus, although their successes were often attended with circumstances of great cruelty, and accompanied by much individual suffering, they finally ameliorated the general condition of the subject nations. By the prevalence of Roman arms, one uniform system of laws and civil policy was spread throughout the whole of Southern Europe. One language prevailed, at least as that of fashion and judicial process, through all their dominions. These laws still rule the greater part of Europe; this language still forms the key to the spoken tongues of the south of that continent. But few years have elapsed since Latin ceased to be the general medium of communication between all who pretended to learning; it still furnishes its majestic tones to the rites of the Catholic Church; and so thoroughly is the print of Roman government impressed upon civilized Europe, that we offend not against probability in assuming, as a key to the darkest of prophecies, the fact, that the Roman empire is still in being, although subdivided among many heads.

Of the language, the arts, and the literature of the Romans, we therefore know more than we do of those of any other ancient nation. If the latter be far less extensive than that of the Greeks, and in most of its authors rather imitative than original, it still possesses high claims to our attention. It has for ages formed the grand and principal means of exercising the minds of youth, and preparing them not merely for literary pursuits, but for all the purposes of an active life. It is not our purpose here to enter into a discussion in respect to the propriety of devoting so great a part of the years of education, to the study of the Latin language. It is sufficient to say, that we are ourselves convinced of the wisdom of that system, which makes a thorough knowledge of this tongue a part of liberal education. Nay more, we would make the rudiments at least, of Latin, a part of all education, as is practised in the common schools of

Scotland and Switzerland, and would deprecate that short-sighted policy which draws a line between the schools supported by public appropriations, and those deriving their income from private patronage, by the exclusion of Latin from the former.

Of the later conquests of the Romans, of their civil wars, their factions, their systems of laws and of religion, satisfactory accounts have reached us; but it is otherwise, when we inquire into the origin, of that discipline: before which, barbarian myriads, and Greek phalanges, alike gave way; of that form of government, so nicely balanced in all its parts; of those wise laws, that still rule, not from their authority, but in virtue of the sound reason on which they are based; of that religion, which retained stronger traces of the primeval tradition, than any other of antiquity, and which, although it ended in the adoption of the deities of all the nations subdued by the Roman legions, seems, in its earliest form, to have deviated but little from the belief of a single and all-powerful God. Such, at least, is the impression we have derived, from an attentive view of the first shape of the religion of the Romans, before it borrowed the elegant fables of Greek poetry, or was debased by the adoption of Phrygian or Egyptian idolatry. The origin of Rome, of its people, its laws, its government, and its religion, are hidden from us in the mazes of a fable. Who is there, that can believe in the divine descent of the Alban kings?—the wolf-fed nurslings, sons of a god and a vestal?—the unrevengeed rape of the virgins of a powerful people, by a handful of robbers? not to mention the many palpable absurdities that the less important events carry upon their very face. The origin of nations, is, in truth, rarely to be discovered from their own annals or records. Records are not kept, until a necessity for them has become manifest from experience; annals are not written, until tradition has become so far uncertain, that it cannot be relied upon; oblivion of the best materials, whence annals might be compiled, is the usual precursor of their composition; and the annalist will be compelled to trust to vague recollections, to scanty traditions, or to search inscribed monuments, or written documents, intended as memorials of particular events, or of distinguished persons, but unfit to form a regular series of historic narrative. Rome is not the only important city, the history of whose foundation is fabulous.

It is a weakness to which all mankind are subject, to pride themselves upon an honourable and lofty origin. Even in our republican and democratic country, we find a pride of birth, hanging about the families who can trace an undoubted descent from names celebrated in the annals, or ennobled in the peerages of Europe. And where individual honours no longer attach, states and communities feel the same influence—exult in the endurance and patient fortitude of the pilgrims, or boast the gal-

lantry of the younger sons of good houses who founded Virginia; we even recollect the humbler manifestation of the same feeling, in a few families of a race shut out by their physical characteristics, from the higher privileges of freemen, but which could boast that their ancestors had never borne the badge of slavery, but were recruited as soldiers for the wars of Brazil, by princes of the house of Nassau.

In nations where honourable descent confers immunities and privileges, these feelings, founded, no doubt, in instinctive veneration for paternal authority, are rendered more intense by custom and law, but in none are they absolutely wanting. In the absence of positive knowledge, they would lead to invention. Among the more ancient nations, the same principle caused the deification of their founders; and newer colonies, so soon as they began to inquire into their own origin, would scorn to be outdone in the honours of a divine original, and would engraft upon the vague traditions of their real descent, the fables and legends of an older mythology.

This combination of truth with fiction was rendered more easy, from the want of those means by which history is rendered precise. Written language, although a very ancient invention, existed many ages before it was adopted for general use. Even where it was understood and practised, it did not supersede the use of traditions, arranged in that metrical form, by which the ear could be an aid to the memory. Striking figures and images, the interposition of supernatural agency, and the exaltation of the principal personages beyond the scale of ordinary life, would add to the interest of poetic narrative, and increase the reputation and popularity of the narrator. Hence, in all nations, the earlier histories, whether actually written, or only conveyed by oral communication, are couched in poetic diction. But, in the more early nations, they were never committed to writing. The characters which convey to the sight the impression of sounds, were originally of a form unfit to be rapidly and conveniently traced. Images of physical objects, they required the aid of the arts of design to render them intelligible, and the labour of tracing them would have been considered as wasted upon perishable materials. Various and diverse in their forms for every single sound, they became susceptible of an elegance of expression that would entitle them to a close and laborious study, in order to combine them in the mode best adapted to illustrate the subjects they were applied to commemorate. In their first seat of Egypt, then, we find them applied in the form of sculptures of the greatest elegance, upon materials the most lasting; but the information they convey, bears no proportion in its value to the labour of thought required in their poetic arrangement, or the waste of the means of art lavished upon their delineation.

The discovery of substances upon which the simple labour of conception was capable of conveying the same ideas, as surely as when all the skill of the painter and sculptor was brought into action, on harder and more costly materials, led to the multiplication of written documents. The step to the substitution of a few spirited traces for correct and finished outlines, would be the next in order, and the convenience that was found in conveying by such written documents intelligence of various kinds to distant places, would naturally lead to the substitution of conventional characters bearing a fancied but distant resemblance to the original physical object, and to the restriction of these characters to the smallest possible number. Such no doubt was the source of alphabetic writing. The discoveries of Champollion have traced it to its primitive form in the Hieroglyphics of Egypt; and the link is supplied by the Hebrew alphabet, by which to connect it with the writing of modern Europe. In that alphabet, we still find the letters distinguished by the names of physical objects, whose first articulation is that which is expressed by the letter. The system is identical in principle with that of Egypt, but is applied to a different language. From a dialect cognate to that of the Hebrews, the Phenician, the Greeks derived their letters both in form and in name, but the latter ceased to be significant in the mouths of a nation of wholly distinct origin, and hence in the transfer of the Greek alphabet to the other nations of Europe, while the form remained with no farther modifications than will permit the descent to be distinctly traced, the name ceased to be employed, and settled into the simplest combination of vowels and consonants that will enable the power of the letter to be distinctly articulated. Such at least are the present names of nearly all the letters used by the nations of modern Europe.

Even after writing became thus decidedly alphabetic, the forms of the letters remained such as to prevent them from being used in the rapid manner that they are at present. Nothing would appear more inconvenient to men of business at the present day, than the stiff and formal writing of the Greeks and Romans. Nor was it possible to introduce a more rapid method, until after the invention of printing, when no inconvenience could arise from the use of a rapid and flowing character in manuscript, along with another more precise and distinctly defined for the publication of books. We therefore find that the business character of modern times dates no farther back than the introduction of printing.

Commerce, among the ancients, did not however need the multiplied written records that its vast extension and increased complication demand at the present day. The system of credit was almost unknown, and commercial transactions were limited to

simple and direct barter. If however the good faith of the purchaser was ever relied upon, the rude method of tallies served all the purposes of a memorandum. A plausible writer has lately attempted to account for the diffusion of alphabetic writing, and even to ascribe its invention to the merchants of Phenicia. We cannot however admit that this would have been a natural mode of conveying this valuable discovery. Phenician colonies would indeed carry this art along with them, as well as such others as would be necessary to their existence, and might have communicated them to the surrounding barbarians; but, as in modern times, this, because least obvious in its value, would probably be the last they would have been called upon to impart. Our own country perhaps furnishes the best practical method of judging of the chance of letters being introduced by mere traders among their customers. Two centuries have elapsed since our traders, keeping written accounts, have been in the practice of daily traffic with the Indians, and yet that people has never yet become sensible of the want of such a method of recording the terms of their contracts. So far then from being inclined to acquiesce in the opinion that the necessities of commerce either led to the invention, or caused the diffusion of alphabetic writing, we are fully satisfied that commerce was one of the very last of the arts to which it was applied.

Even when formal histories superseded the poetic rhapsodies that were the earliest form in which traditions were conveyed, the expense of manuscripts, and the scarcity of persons capable of reading them, compelled the authors to publish them, not by the multiplication of copies, but by reciting or reading them to an assembled multitude. In this way the Father of profane history communicated his work to the states of Greece collected for the celebration of the Olympic games.

Before the history of Herodotus becomes authentic, all the annals of the ancient heathen world are involved in darkness and fable, and that part to which credit can be given, reaches to a comparatively short distance from the date at which he wrote. If such be the state of the history of nations, the earliest in civilization, we have far less to expect from the annals of one so late in its admission to the rank of a polished people, as the Roman.

But even had the Romans possessed records of their earlier times, we find that one æra of their history was attended by a catastrophe, in which by far the greater part must have perished. We refer to the destruction of the city by the Gauls three hundred and sixty-fourth year after the usually reckoned date of its foundation, and three hundred and ninety years Christian æra. By this disaster, the whole accumulated centuries of prosperity perished. Temples, buildings both private and public, monuments of every description, the records



nation, and of individuals, the books of the pontiffs, all shared in the general disaster. Of this we have the most abundant evidence, in the confession of the very authors whom we are now accustomed to quote, as the authentic historians of the antecedent times.

The passage in the sixth chapter of the sixth book of Livy, is express in stating that nearly all perished. Such is the unquestioned meaning of the word *pleræque*, although we have seen an attempt to limit its meaning to "many," or "a large number." The capitol, the only part of Rome that escaped the general devastation, had not been previously the only or even principal receptacle of the public documents, as is evident from the necessity of seeking, after the departure of the Gauls, for treaties and laws.

"Imprimis fœdera ac leges (erant autem eæ duodecim tabulæ, et quædum regiæ leges) conquiri quæ compararent jusserunt: alia ex iis edita etiam in vulgus: quæ autem ad sacra pertinebant, a pontificibus maxime, ut religione obstrictos haberent multitudinis animos, suppressa." *Tit. Liv. Lib. 6. cap. i.*

That documents existed in later times, purporting to be the records of the kings and consuls, prior to the Gallic invasion, is evident from various passages in the ancient writers. But their authenticity is liable to much question, nay, we have direct testimony that they were considered as forgeries.

"A certain writer, however, named Clodius, in his emendations of chronology,\* affirms that the ancient archives were destroyed when Rome was sacked by the Gauls; and that those now shown as such,† were forged in favour of those who were anxious to stretch their lineage far back, and deduce it from the most illustrious houses." *Plutarch's Numa, in Langhorne's translation.*

A stronger proof, that these documents are not genuine, appears in the fact, that, when they are referred to, no notice is taken of the difficulty of understanding them, growing out of the obsolescence of the language, a difficulty which is most strongly expressed by the author, who gives us the only authentic transcript of the most important of the genuine documents. This record is, indeed, as we shall have occasion to mention, in direct contradiction to the histories of Livy and Dionysius, which could not have been the case had they been drawn from other sources of equal age and authenticity.

In the ancient authors, we find direct evidence of the existence of no more than a very few monuments saved from this general wreck. We shall therefore not fear to weary our readers by giving a list of them, particularly as it may be done very succinctly in the words of Horace.

\* *ἀντιχρονολογία* in the original.

† *ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων συνθεσθέναι* in the original.

"Sic Fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,  
Quas bisquinque viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum  
Vel Gabiis, vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,  
Pontificum Libros, annosa volumina vatum ;"

*Lib. 2. Epist. I. v. 23.*

This list, tallies exactly with that in the passage we have quoted from Livy, differing merely in its particularizing two treaties, instead of expressing them in general terms. Besides these treaties mentioned by Horace, one with Gabii, the other with the Sabines, Livy mentions one with the inhabitants of Ardea, Pliny quotes an article of one with Porsenna, and Polybius gives us an entire translation of one of great importance, made immediately after the expulsion of the kings with the government of Carthage. The last two, give us a view of the history of the times, entirely different from any we would derive from the historians. The condition of the article in the treaty with Porsenna, is, that the Romans shall employ iron for no other purpose but that of agriculture ; a condition which we cannot suppose to have been imposed upon any but a conquered people, who had placed their arms and their persons at the disposal of the victor. No other historian but Tacitus, uses even an expression which can denote such a terrible humiliation, and yet no doubt can be entertained by those who sift the truth from the mass of falsehood in which it is involved, that the Romans were not only subdued and rendered tributary, but that one third part of their tribes passed back to the state whence their territory had originally been severed by the force of arms. Rome owed the restoration of its independence, neither to the magnanimity of its conqueror, nor the prowess of its own citizens, but to the defeat of the army of Porsenna, when in pursuit of new conquests.

The treaty with Carthage, is a most remarkable document. It is dated in the consulship of Horatius and Brutus, who, according to the historians, were never colleagues ; it shows us the Romans in the character of a commercial and maritime people, a light in which no historian has placed them ; it gives the Carthaginians possession of a part of Sicily, eighty years before the date assigned by Livy for their first entrance into that island ; and it defines, with great distinctness, the existing limits of the Roman sway, including cities that were for many years independent and hostile, according to both Livy and Dionysius.

The argument in respect to the annals, is thus stated by Niebuhr :—

"I am now come to the question so often raised, as to the genuineness and credibility of the original annals ; a question, the discussion of which has now been placed on a firm ground, such as our predecessors wanted, by the fortunate discoveries which have enriched philology in our days.

"According to a well known custom, manifestly derived from very ancient times, the chief pontiff wrote on a white table, the events of the year, prodigies, eclipses, a pestilence, a scarcity, campaigns, triumphs, the deaths of il-

lustrious men; in a word, what Livy brings together at the end of the tenth book, and in such as remain of the following ones, mostly when closing the history of a year, in the plainest terms, and with the utmost brevity; so dry that nothing could be more jejune: this table was then set up in the pontiff's house:\* the annals of the several years were afterwards collected in books.† This custom obtained until the pontificate of P. Mucinus, and the times of the Gracchi; when it ceased, because a literature had now been formed, and, perhaps, because the composing such chronicles, seemed too much below the dignity of the chief pontiff.

"Now, I grant, that Antonius, in Cicero, says, that this custom had subsisted from the beginning of the Roman state; but it does not follow from this, that Cicero meant that the annals in the possession of the Roman historians, who did not begin to write until so late, reached thus far back. Those of the earlier times may have perished; which Livy, and other ancient writers, without specific mention of the *Annales Maximi*, state as having happened at the destruction of the city by the Gauls: and certainly this fate may have easily befallen them at that time; as the tables perhaps were not yet transferred into books, and it is still less likely that transcripts of such books should be in existence; besides, they may not have been preserved in the Capitol, where the chief pontiff did not reside, and where he had no occasion to keep his archives, like the *duumvirs* of the Sibylline books.

"I think we may now consider it as certain, that those annals really met with such a fate at that time, and that they were replaced by new ones. Cicero says, that the earliest eclipse of the sun mentioned in the *Annales Maximi*, as having been observed, fell on the nones of June, about the year 350 U. C.: the earlier eclipses were calculated backward from it, unto that during which Romulus was carried up to heaven.‡ A fragment of Cato informs us, that eclipses of the Sun and Moon belonged essentially to the contents of the pontifical annals; and the fact of their having been computed backwards, agrees with this statement, and shows an attempt to replace the loss of the actual observations: the same has been done in the Chinese chronicles, for the times of which the annals are said to have existed but to have been destroyed."

Enough has, we think, been said, to show that the histories of Rome, usually received as genuine, are at least liable to suspicion, and that Niebuhr is justified in his attempt to derive a more accurate knowledge, in relation to the more early periods, from the collation of other authorities, and the application of the rules of criticism, to the works of these historians themselves.

We cannot but think he has been very successful in showing that the foundation of the earlier portions of the history, is not to be sought in documents, but in traditionary poems, which have been deprived of their beauty of imagery, and force of expression, without being for that reason, rendered more consistent with the truth. That much may have had a foundation in real events, or have been adopted to explain mythically, existing circumstances, cannot be doubted; but while the slight and insufficient web is true, it is concealed and embellished by a tissue of brilliant poetical fiction.

On this head, our author thus argues:—

"These lays are much older than Ennius, who moulded them into hexameters, and found matter in them for three books of his poem; Ennius, who seri-

\* Cicero de leg. 1. 2.

† Cicero de Orat. 11, 12.

‡ Cicero de Rep. 1. 16.

ously believed himself to be the first poet of Rome, because he shut his eyes against the old native poetry, and tried successfully to suppress it. Of that poetry and of its destruction, I shall speak elsewhere : here, only one further remark is needful. Ancient as the original materials of the written lays were, the form in which they were handed down, and a great part of their contents, seem to have been comparatively recent. If the pontifical annals adulterated history in favour of the patricians, the whole of this poetry is pervaded by a plebeian spirit, by hatred towards the oppressors, and by visible traces, that at the time it was sung, there were already great and powerful plebeian houses. The assignments of land by Numa, Tullus, Ancus, and Servius, are in this spirit; all the favourite kings befriend freedom; the patricians appear in a horrible and detestable light, as accomplices in the murder of Servius; next to the holy Numa, Servius is the most excellent king; Caia Cecilia, the Roman wife of the elder Tarquin, is a plebeian, a kinswoman of the Metelli; the founder of the republic and Mucius Scaevola are plebeians; among the other party, the only noble characters are the Valerii and Horatii, houses friendly to the commons. Hence I should be inclined not to date these poems, in the form in which we know their contents, before the restoration of the city after the Gallic disaster, at the earliest. This is also indicated by the consulting of the Pythian oracle. The story of the instructions sent by the last king to his son, to get rid of the principal men of Gabii, is a Greek tale in Herodotus; so likewise we find the stratagem of Zopyrus repeated; we must therefore suppose some knowledge of Greek legends, though not necessarily of Herodotus himself."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Between the completely poetical age, which stands in a relation to history altogether irrational, and the purely historical age, there intervenes in all nations a mixed age, which may be called the mythico-historical. It has no precise limits: but it reaches to the point where cotemporary history begins; and its character is the more strongly marked, the richer the nation has been in heroic lays; and the less later writers, neglecting those songs, and without calling up in their minds any distinct image of the past, have filled up the void in its history from monuments and authentic documents. Hence, in the history of the middle ages, we find such a character in the North and in Spain; whereas during the same period, the history of countries, which, like Italy, possess no historical lays, scarcely contain a trace of it. Among the Greeks, the Persian war still displays the character of a free epical narrative; in earlier times, almost every thing that is stirring and attractive in their story is poetry. In Roman history, the range of pure fiction does not reach much lower; although from time to time, it appears again, even down to the fifth century: the disease which preys on this history, until the war of Pyrrhus, is studied alteration. This is sheer corruption: the poetical story is something other, but it is also something better than pure history, on the field of which we only find again what wearies and troubles us in life. The relation of such poetical history to mythology, is that the former must have a historical foundation; that it borrows its materials mainly from history as transmitted in free narrative; while the latter takes them from religion and poems on a larger scale, and does not give itself out to be a possible history of the common order of things in the world; although, so long as it confines itself to the earth, it can have no other theatre. To the latter kind, for instance, belong Hercules, Romulus, and Siegfried, to the former, Aristomenes, Brutus, and the Cid."

Our author thus speaks of the sources whence he supposes the histories of Livy and Dionysius were derived.

"The poems, out of which what we call the history of the Roman kings was resolved into a prose narrative, were different from the *nenia* in form, and of great extent; consisting partly of lays united into a uniform whole, partly of such as are detached, and without any necessary connexion. The history of Romulus is an epos by itself: on Numa there can have been only short lays. Tullus, the story of the Horatii, and of the destruction of Alba, form an epic whole, like the poem on Romulus: indeed, here Livy has preserved a fragment of the poem entire, in the old Roman verse. On the other hand, what is related of

Ancus, has not a touch of poetic colouring. But afterwards, with Tarquinius Priscus, begins a great poem, which ends with the battle of Regillus; and this lay of the Tarquins, even in its prose shape, is still inexpressibly poetical. The arrival of Tarquinius, the Lucumo, at Rome; his deeds and victories; his death; then the marvellous story of Servius; Tullia's impious nuptials; the murder of the just king; the whole story of the last Tarquin; the warning presages of his fall; Lucretia; the feint of Brutus; his death; the war of Porseuna; in fine, the truly Homeric battle of the Regillus; all this forms an epopee, which in depth and brilliance of imagination, leaves every thing produced by the Romans in later times, far behind it. Knowing nothing of the unity which characterizes the most perfect of Greek poems, it divides itself into sections, answering to the *adventures* in the lay of the Niebelungen; and should any one ever have the boldness to restore it in a poetical form, he would commit a great mistake in selecting any other than that of this noble work.

"On the confines of mythology, poetry is predominant; at the opposite end, history. Of the men named, during the period we are entering upon, but few are imaginary; many chronological statements from the yearly registers, have all the definiteness that can be expected in so dim an age: but then the historical part of our information is confined to this. For when historians arose, attention was exclusively directed to what bore the name of annals: no use was made of monuments and original documents; perhaps through carelessness; perhaps because they could not be made to agree with the poetical legends, and none then knew how to appreciate the value of a fragmentary history drawn from authentic documents."

In our inquiries into the real origin of the Roman people, we may be guided independently of tradition: by the nature of its language; by the state of the population of Italy at the time of its first rising into notice; and by a comparison of the Roman customs and institutions with those of surrounding nations. Language, indeed, furnishes a sure criterion by which to judge of the mixture of races that form one common people. In that of Rome, we can still trace distinctly a double origin, and thus infer that at least two distinct races concurred in the production of the people-king. The most important and easily recognised of these co-ordinate tongues, is unquestionably Greek, and in its form approaching to the more ancient dialect, the *Æolic*. In this, we find the names of nearly all the objects relating to tillage and the gentler arts of life;\* while all military terms are obviously foreign to the Grecian language. The impression is irresistible, that a gentle and agricultural race had been conquered by one warlike and ferocious, who did not practise the arts of peace, and consequently had no name for its implements or products.

The nation by whose intervention we are to trace the common origin of a part of the Latin tongue, and that of the Greeks, is that of the *Pelasgi*. We find sufficient evidence in ancient writers to prove, that before the dawn of authentic history, this primitive people had spread its tribes over a vast extent of country. Our author conceives that he is warranted in affirming that they were settled, not in wandering hordes, but as powerful and respectable nations, from the *Po* and the *Arno* in Italy, to the

\* *Domus, Ager, Aratrum, Vinum, Oleum, Bos, Sus, Ovis, &c.* are all Greek: while of *Ens, Gladius, Hasta, &c.* we see no trace in that language.

Rhyndacus, a river of Mysia, in Asia Minor. But when history began to be written, all that remained of this race were solitary and scattered relics;—much as we still find the Celtic tribes isolated and detached in Scotland, in Wales, in Connaught, in Brittany, and in the mountains of Spain. Those who could not appreciate the extent of their influence upon the manners and language they were themselves using, attempted to account for this diffusion by an hypothesis of colonies and migrations, and these at so late a period as to have been impossible in the then state of the intervening countries.

The Arcadians, the most ancient Argives, and the Ionians, were all Pelasgic races. So were the people of Attica, even before the Ionic emigration.\* Thessaly was occupied by them, and there is every probability that the Epirots, Illyrians, and Liburni, were of the same origin, and so in the opinion of our author, were the first settlers of Macedon. In Italy, the Tyrrheni are identified as Pelasgi, in consequence of the flight of a portion of the nation into Greece. The serfs of the cities of Magna Græcia, who were Ænotrians, are styled Pelasgi, and were no doubt identified by their language.

Our author ventures a conjecture which is highly plausible, that the Trojans were also Pelasgi, an hypothesis, which, if admitted, will explain a great number of traditions, the Italian origin of Dardanus, and the voyage of Æneas. In what manner this nation passed into Hellenes, is foreign to the present inquiry; it is sufficient to state, that there is convincing proof that the oldest settlers to whom our inquiries can reach, whether in Greece or in Italy, were of the same race, and this race Pelasgic. Among other evidences, may be adduced the identity of architecture. This, which has been styled Cyclopean, is found to prevail in the more ancient buildings of both countries, and to precede in the one, the dawn of what is more properly styled Grecian art, in the other, the rise of the Etruscan architecture. It would be tedious to enumerate the different specimens of this architecture, which, worthy of beings as gigantic as the fabled race to which they are attributed, still astonish the present age.

“We are certainly forced to pronounce these works foreign to the tribes known to our history in Latium, as greatly surpassing their power; but we must content ourselves with confessing, that our history does not reach up so far. For, the difficulty lies only in the inadequate power of those tribes. The Etruscan walls, and the works of the Roman kings, are not inferior, or even surpass them in magnitude; the raising and removing the obelisks hewn out of rocks, is a still more gigantic undertaking, one that still mocks our mechanical powers. The Peruvian walls and roads, are also no less enormous, than the buildings called Cyclopean; but, in these cases, there is nothing incredible; because we know that thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, laboured at task work, and that no regard was paid to the sacrifice of lives. Those forgotten tribes, in the

\* Vol. i. p. 25.

country of the Cæsans and Latins, compared with whose architecture, that of Rome, under the Cæsars, is diminutive, belong to, or precede a period, in which the Greek historian of the Augustan age, in accord with the philosophical historians of the last century, saw nothing in this very country of the aborigines, but savages, scarcely possessing the faculty of speech, the offspring of the rude earth. In like manner, the vaulted drains of Lake Copais, which are carried thirty stadia through the solid rock, and to clear which was beyond the power of Bœotia, in the time of Alexander, are certainly the work of a people prior to the Greeks."

Of the same race were the Siculi, who probably escaped from the arms that reduced their compatriots to bondage, and sought independence in Sicily, where, however, they finally suffered the same fate with their brothers of Peloponnesus, and became the serfs of the Doric Race.

While we agree with Niebuhr in his views of the once extended dominion of the Pelasgic tribes, we must enter our strong protest against the idea he has thrown out in respect to their *autochthonic* origin: an idea inconsistent with revelation, and if admitted, destructive of all our received views of the economy of the Deity in his government of the world. This idea, which is but faintly sketched in his first edition, assumes a more decided character in the one before us. We conceive that it is sufficient to quote it, in order to show its absurdity:—

"Pherecydes had not the same grounds which justified Hellanicus in the case of the insulated Pelasgians, at Spina and Cortona, for assuming an emigration from Hellas, in the case of the Enotrians and Peucetians, to whom he should have added the Siculi of the island. The latter conclusion, was dictated by the fallacy which is still so general, that tribes of a common stock must have sprung genealogically, by ever-widening ramifications, from a common root. This fallacy escaped detection among the ancients, perhaps because they admitted many races of men originally different. They who do not recognise such a plurality, but ascend to a single pair of ancestors, betray that they have no idea of languages and their modifications, unless they cling to the miracle of the confusion of tongues; a miracle which may suffice, with respect to such races as present no striking physical difference. But, if we acknowledge that the origin of things lies in all cases beyond the sphere of our notions, which comprehend only development and progress, if we confine ourselves to going back, step by step, in the range of history, we shall frequently find tribes of one race, that is identified by peculiarities of character and language, on opposite coasts: as, for instance, the Pelasgians in Greece, Epirus, and the south of Italy: without any necessity for assuming one of these separate regions to have been the original home, whence a part emigrated to the other. In like manner, we find Iberians on the islands of the Mediterranean; Celts in Gaul and Britain. This is analogous to the geography of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; the great classes of which are separated by mountains, and inclose narrow seas.

Besides nations which are distinguished in their language and species, only by stronger and fainter shades, there are others, which differ so widely from each other, that to explain the affinity, which notwithstanding they indisputably exhibit, it would be necessary, according to the ordinary view, to suppose that they have been intermixed; or, if their languages bear the stamp of a natural development, that they have diverged from the common character, in opposite directions, carelessly and capriciously, a supposition that is contrary to all experience. Thus, the affinity of the Persian language with the Slavonic, in structure and etymology, and, in some points, with the German, is striking: the same relation exists between the Slavonic and Lithuanian; perhaps, also, between the Gaelic and Welsh: and so likewise, there is an evident fundamental af-

finity between the Latin and Greek language ; not a mere intermixture, which only gives and alters certain words : but, at the same time, we may perceive a difference no less decided, even in the element of the former, in which, before the languages of totally different races were mixed with it, the affinity subsisted pure. This, however, is not more surprising, than the conformities and diversities perceivable throughout nature, which characterize species, and among them many that pass for accidental varieties, so that they maintain unalterably a distinct existence, and are collected into one genus only by abstraction. Such kindred, but essentially distinct races, were the Greeks and Pelasgians."

Now, if the above extract mean any thing, it seems to express an opinion, that the different varieties of the human race, have sprung up in different soils and climates, identical in their generic, but differing in their specific character, according to local circumstances ; and that races differing, thousands of miles in their habitation, should, notwithstanding, acquire languages so similar in structure, and even in words, that, "according to the ordinary view," these tongues may, without any violation of probability, be considered as mere dialects. Infidelity has led its votaries into many absurd opinions, but we do not recollect to have met with any so absurd as this. The received chronology of the Old Testament, and still more, that which may be derived from the Samaritan Pentateuch, affords ample time for a nation to have spread itself as widely as the Pelasgi, before the dawn of profane history. The emigrations of Cadmus, of Cecrops, of Danaus, and the migrations of the Hellenic tribes, suffice to explain that change, in the constitution, the language, and the manners of Greece, which transported it from a Pelasgic to a Hellenic nation. The sources of the changes that occurred in Italy, must be sought in another direction.

The Pelasgi never extended far to the north. We find them bounded by the Strymon and the Algos in Macedon, and closely skirting the coasts of the Adriatic. Is it unreasonable, then, to suppose, that they found their way into Europe, directly from Asia, by the way of the Hellespont, while the races that successively invaded them, were pursuing the more lengthened circuit of the Euxine? Even profane history, shows us the ancestors of people who have since spread themselves over western Europe, engaged in wars in the narrow countries that lie between the Black and Caspian seas. The Massagetæ, or Goths, are found to force the Scythians upon the Cimmerians, who are unquestionably the first germ of the vast nation of Celts. The last named people, then, for the first time, entered Europe, and settled around the Cimmerian Bosphorus, whence, in process of time, they were urged forwards by the irresistible stream of Gothic and Scythian population, until we find them, in the time of Cæsar, driven beyond the Seine in Gaul, flying to the mountains of Noricum, and occupying the remote island of Britain ; while, in the previous ages, they had penetrated to Italy, Greece, and



even back into Asia. If the prevalence of Roman power, checked, for a time, the progress of the Gothic nations, and destroyed or subdued the advanced guard of the mighty host, the delay was but temporary; and the people whom we find in its earliest state, warring in the defiles of the Caucasus, finished its victorious career on the confines of the Lybian desert, after subduing Spain, and passing the pillars of Hercules.

Such instances of emigration, founded on well-established historical facts, form most striking illustrations of the truth of the belief, which holds that all nations arose in Asia, from one common stock. The diversities of physical conformation, are but specific differences, or, rather, cases of accidental variety, growing indeed out of causes now inscrutable to us, and that have, perhaps, ceased to act. Our globe shows upon its surface, the action of physical causes, far more intense than any we now know to exist; and the same activity, in the causes that we still see affecting, in less degrees, the colour, the forms, and the stature of men, would account sufficiently well for all their varieties. That a great catastrophe, sweeping all animated beings from the face of the earth, by the power of mighty currents of water, did take place, not partially, but generally, at a period not more remote than that assigned for the deluge, we have now conclusive evidence, distinct from that of sacred history. To dry up the humid surface, to clothe it with new vegetation, and fit it for the abode of our race, must have demanded an agency, similar, indeed, but far more effective, than that which now produces similar results. We dare not venture to ascribe this to direct miracle; the usual course of Providence works by natural means; and we would be loath to apply supernatural agency, except in those very cases, where the record of direct interposition to vary and alter the course of physical things, is preserved for our instruction. If, then, the action of natural agents must thus have been, and for a very limited time, more intense than it has since been, may they not have affected our species, as powerfully as they must have done the surface of the earth, and the vegetable world?

The earliest authentic accounts, show no part of the Pelasgic race, retaining its independence in Italy, except the *Ænотrians*. The *Tyrrheni*, extending at that time from the Tiber, through the present Tuscany, and across the valley of the Po to the Alps, had become the vassals of a race with which they have been hitherto confounded. This race was the Etrurian, or Tuscan.

Between *Ænотria* and *Tyrrhenia*, were interposed the *Opi-cans*, *Oscans*, or *Ausonians*. The *Oscan* language, is the root of that part of the Latin, which is not of Pelasgic origin and cognate to the Greek. It appears to have been the source of the tongues of the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, and the language of the Sam-

nites, is expressly called Oscan ; hence, it was used by the whole race of the Sabelli, including the Sabines, the Marsians, the Marrucinians, the Pelignians, and the Vestinians. Our author also classes the Hernici with the Oscan race. This language also spread into Bruttium and Messapia, and it is probable that it was the dialect of the Apulians. Unlike the Etruscan, it is not an inexplicable mystery. The remains of it that have reached us in the form of inscriptions, may, from their identity with the Latin, be in some cases explained word for word, and are, in all, perfectly intelligible. Its words are still extant in the Latin, but in shapes that have lost syllables and terminations ; and we find grammatical forms in it, which we still recognise in the Roman tongue, but rarely, and as exceptions to the inflexions derived from the Pelasgic. If, then, we can, by the aid of the Latin, still decypher the Oscan, it need not surprise us that it was understood by the people of Rome, and that they listened with pleasure to plays performed in that tongue. Nothing was required but a little use, as we at the present day read with ease the Pastorals of Burns and Ramsay, although written in language antiquated in England since the days of Henry IV.

To the Oscan race also belong the Casci, who, according to our author, uniting with the conquered Pelasgi, formed the Latins. The ruling powers among the Umbrians, were also cognate to the Oscans. Whether, in their occupation of Italy, they had preceded the Pelasgi, and after being driven by them to strong holds in the Appenines, had again descended and subdued them, or whether they had followed them, is unimportant, and beyond the reach of modern researches. That to the ancestors of the Roman people, they had once stood in the relation of military rulers, is evident from what we have already stated of the respective origin of the military and agricultural terms of the Latin language ; the former being Oscan, the latter Pelasgic.

Another people exercised a prominent agency upon the fortunes and history of Italy. This was the Etruscan nation, long confounded with their subject Tyrrheni, but at last distinguished from them, in a masterly manner, by Niebuhr.

“About the time of the Persian wars, the Etruscans excited the attention and fears of the Greeks as masters of the Tyrrhenean Sea ; although Dionysius is mistaken in supposing that the Greeks named the whole west of Italy after them : that name belongs to the period of the genuine Tyrrhenians. When they were confined to Tuscany, and even there had become dependant on the sovereignty of Rome, their renown passed away, and the cotemporaries of Polybius held their former greatness to be fabulous. In Roman History, they are of importance, only from the period of the kings, to the Gallic conquest. Afterwards, in comparison with the Sabellian tribes, they are quite inglorious. By the Greeks they are mentioned, mostly to their discredit ; sometimes as pirates, sometimes as gluttons ; by the Romans, only, as aruspices and artists : it is not a traditional opinion which has taught the moderns, that, without regard to the extent their empire once had, they were one of the most remarkable nations of antiquity. The ruins of their cities, the numerous works of art that have been discovered,

the national spirit of the Tuscans, who saw in them, ancestors they were proud of; even the tempting enigma of a language utterly unknown: all this has drawn the attention of the moderns toward them above every other Italian tribe; and the Etruscans are at present incomparably more celebrated and honoured than they were in the time of Livy. Unhappily, the interest thus felt, has not been combined with an equal degree of judgment and impartiality: men have not been willing to content themselves with knowing only what research could discover: and no part of literature relating to ancient history, contains so much that is irrational, hasty, and unprofitable, nay uncandid, as may be found in what has been written on the Etruscan language and history, since the days of Annii of Viterbo."

Because Tyrrhenia retained its name after it had been conquered by the Etruscans, the Greeks called two different races by the same epithet; as we, by the terms Mexicans and Peruvians, understand at the present day, the descendants of the Spaniards, who conquered those countries, and yet know no other names for the original inhabitants. Now, as the one race was Pelasgic, which the Greeks supposed to be confined to their own country, the story of the Thessalian migration was invented, and for similar reasons the tale of the Lydian descent of the ancient Tyrrheni.

Dionysius combats both these opinions. That the account of a Lydian colony was not founded on a tradition of that country, he shows by quoting the authority of Xanthus; and his assertion that the Etruscans spoke a peculiar language, cannot be overcome, because when he lived, it was both spoken and written. The names of Tusci and Etruria, appear to have been foreign to them in their own tongue; they called themselves Rasena. In the time of their greatness, they not only ruled over Etruria proper, but over a great part of the valley of the Po, from which it appears they had expelled the Umbrians. Their territories extended to the North into Rhætia, whose name, indeed, appears to be derived from the same source as Rasena. But they at no time occupied the whole of Cisalpine Gaul. The Ticinus formed their western boundary on the northern bank of the Po, where they met the Ligures, and the latter nation appear to have possessed the southern bank, as far as the site of Parma. To the north of the Apennine, they possessed twelve sovereign cities, united by ties of confederacy, and the same number in Etruria proper.

The form and manner of their government is very important, inasmuch as it sheds great light upon the early history of Rome. Each of the sovereign capitals, possessed a territory containing a number of subject towns, inhabited by colonies, or by the descendants of the old population that had been subdued. Founded upon conquest, the Etruscan state consisted of a nobility, upon whom were dependant vast numbers of clients; hewers of stone, tasked by severe masters, to whose labours we owe the works attributed to the ruling people; the taste and design, however, are alone Etruscan; the workmanship is Pelasgic.

The general affairs of the Etruscan nation, were not decided

by popular assemblies, or even by a numerous senate, but by meetings of the chiefs of the land. These chiefs were the persons from whom the Romans received instruction in divination; they constituted a warlike sacerdotal caste, and were, in truth, a feudal nobility, exalted by the aid of popular superstition. Even so late as the campaigns of Hannibal in Italy, the government of the Etruscan cities was vested in the nobility, while in the south of Italy, the people had, as at Rome, obtained a share of the supreme power. A free and respectable commonalty, was never formed among the Etruscans, and to this, we are to ascribe the weakness of its rich and populous cities, in the Roman wars, so soon as that state had, by its institutions, obtained a numerous infantry composed of free citizens.

The Etruscans had at one period stretched their power across Latium, and formed establishments in Campania. These were short-lived; the territory of Latium was soon forced from their sway, but a settlement in Campania existed for a longer period. We cannot but think, that we see in this irruption of the Etruscans, an event, that had a powerful influence on the destinies of Rome. The intimate connexion between the Roman Patricians and the nobility of Etruria, is consistent only with an identity of caste, and of course a connexion in blood. The relations of patron and client, are the same feudal institution, perhaps in a nobler form, as that which united the princes of Etruria to their vassals. The original government of Rome, is shown by our author to have been strictly aristocratic. The *Curie* in which the sovereign power was lodged, and by whom the original senate was chiefly chosen, were the assemblies of the Patricians, and not of the whole people. The *gentes* of which the *Curie* were composed, were clans, whose bond of union was patriarchal; and, although not solely growing out of ties of blood, yet dependent upon it in a great degree. Such are the clans of the Highlands of Scotland, even up to the present time, every member of which bears the gentile name, as in Rome, and many of which count kindred with the chief, while others are the descendants of mere bondsmen, or members of broken clans, that have sought and received protection.

Niebuhr, in his first edition, inclines to the opinion, that Rome was a colony of the Etruscan city of *Cære*, once known as the Greek *Agylla*, but reduced by the former nation. With this city, the connexion of Rome is mysterious, and cannot be explained by any of the received histories. This hypothesis we do not find repeated in the present edition, but it is well worthy of examination:—

“If Rome was an Etruscan city, it must be regarded as a colony from one of the twelve cities; and by this means, the origin of the subordinate class, the *Clients*, is easily explicable. They would be the old inhabitants of the district,

the Siculi, a people connected with the Greek, (Pelagic,) stock : and the name of their city, may have more than the sound of a Greek word. Thus, Cære was Sicilian, and her Etruscan name did not supplant the old Sicilian one in the mouth of a Greek."

But Rome had not a single origin, nor could it have been as recent as the date, *ab urbe condita*. Many circumstances must have compelled an occupation of the seven hills, as early as a population began to exist on the banks of the Tiber. The aborigines are mentioned as dwelling in thickly settled villages, upon the hills; one unquestionably existed upon the Palatine mount, another on the Janiculum, a third near the Vatican, and a fourth, and more important, on the Agonian or Quirinal hill, to which the capitol served as a citadel. Motives of security, would have led the Pelagic race to occupy these strong posts, so soon as they began to apprehend danger from their invaders; and modern researches have shown traces of Cyclopean walls, within the circuit of Rome. The nature of the climate, would also have led to the occupation of these hills, as soon as the country was peopled. The malaria, if more terrific in modern times, was not unknown to the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Tiber and the plains of Latium. They performed their agricultural labours in the healthy season, but retired to the hills during the period of disease. The advantages of the site of Rome, in this respect, are well depicted by Cicero.

"Locumque delegit, et fontibus abundantem, et in regione pestilenti salubrem: colles enim sunt, qui cum perfliantur ipsi, tum adserunt umbram vallibus." *De Repub.* lib. ii. cap. vi.

Long after the history of Rome becomes authentic, the barns and permanent dwellings of the landed proprietors, and their labourers, lay within the walls of the city.

An inquiry into the state of things, which probably existed about the time assigned for the foundation of Rome, may, perhaps, assist us to understand the legends, that, although false in themselves, were beyond doubt a poetic version of the true occurrences. The Etruscans had spread their conquests over the plains of the Campagna di Roma, and extended their sway to the ancient Campania. They had, no doubt, established in the villages and fortified places which occupied the hills of Rome, a government similar to that we find in Tuscany itself, of patrons ruling over clients. In such a state, the Palatine hill continued, while the Sabines, an Oscan race, issuing from the Appenines, occupied the Capitol and Quirinal hill. Between these contiguous establishments, hostilities were inevitable, probably bloody, but, from the strength of their positions, and the imperfection of the art of attack, indecisive. That either of them should have anxiously sought the aid of mercenaries, or wandering warriors, is evident; and the Etruscans of the Palatine hill, found this in

a Latin band, probably expelled from their homes by a Sabellian invasion, and equally enemies with them of the Sabine name. That a bold and successful *condottiero* should have been enabled to assume the kingly authority, is not improbable. while the haughty spirit of the Etruscan nobles, as well as the religious prejudices of caste, would have forbidden the admission of him or his followers, to the right of intermarriage. That such a right, denied at home, and spurned by the neighbouring villages, should have been sought by fraud, supported by the force of arms, is no improbable story, and that these surreptitious marriages should have finished by cementing the followers of Romulus into one people with the subjects of Tatius, is in the course of nature; while the descendants of the ravished Sabines, in right of the blood of their mothers, might safely claim the sacred privileges of the Oscans, and challenge equality of honours with the Etruscans of the Palatine. Hence, the three tribes, with their retainers and clients, of which the state of Romulus finally consisted. These three tribes were named Rhamnes, Titics, and Luceres. The second was of Sabine, the third, of Tuscan origin; the first unquestionably Latin, as we can in no other way account for the affinity of the early Romans with the Latin nation.

We shall have occasion to notice the elevation of another leader of mercenaries to the regal title, which renders our hypothesis less improbable; nor is it to be wondered at, when we consider, that the power ascribed to the kings was extremely limited, in all but military matters.

That the unknown leader of a warlike band, should have aspired to the honours of divine origin, and that he should have sought to derive his descent on the human side, from a royal race, in the country of his nativity, is consistent with the practice of the age. But the latter part of the tale is as improbable as the former; for Romulus, although, by the legend, the heir of the Alban throne, takes no steps to claim his rights; and the subsequent legend of the fall of Alba, makes no mention of the sway of the descendants of Æneas.

Niebuhr, in his hypothesis of a tribe, (the Rhamnes,) inhabiting the Palatine hill, united to a Sabine tribe on the Capitoline, confesses the difficulty which arises from the cotemporaneous appearance of a third tribe. To solve the difficulty, he infers that this last had inferior civil rights. Of this, however, there is no proof; the presumption derived from the legend is, rather, that they all stood upon an equal footing. In fact, in another place, our author seems to be inclined to place the Luceres first, in consequence of their influence in religious matters. Cicero derives the name of this tribe from Lucumo, an ally of Romulus in the Sabine war. This name is, however, not that of an

individual, but a title of office, held by the chief magistrate of all the Etruscan cities.

That the Sabines, under Tatius, were not distant from the site of Rome, but actually inhabited the Quirinal hill, and occupied the capitol, is conclusively established by our author; the existence of a town on the Palatine mount, is admitted by all historians; their alliance would have formed but two tribes, and yet the very name, is a proof more cogent than can be furnished in any other way, that the distinction could not have taken place, before there were three tribes in existence.

This federal union, must have formed a power far greater than that of any of the surrounding towns; hence, they either sought the alliance, or were subdued by the arms of their ambitious neighbour. One general system of policy, seems to have been adopted towards those who submitted; the inhabitants were removed to Rome, and compelled to reside within its walls. It does not, however, appear, that they were deprived of their property. One third alone of their lands, became the property of the *Populus Romanus*; the remaining two-thirds were left to the former proprietors. As a return for protection, in some cases, and escape from total ruin in others, they became liable to military service. Free in person, although possessing no share in the government, they furnished the formidable infantry that finally subdued the world, and were the progenitors of those sturdy plebeians, who, at the close of the republic, constituted nearly the whole nation.

The greater part of the people thus united to the Roman state, were Latins; and the union with Alba, an event which cannot be questioned, however false may be the circumstances narrated as having attended it, finally gave a Latin character to the united people. The ancient language became entirely unintelligible, and any traditions in it must have been wholly lost. All the traditions now extant, in reference to times antecedent to the æra of the foundation of the city, are therefore Latin; the Etruscan and Sabine legends are for ever lost. The very name of the ancient city became foreign to its inhabitants, and restricted to the patrician families, was held by them too sacred to be pronounced by the common people.

Among the more remarkable of the Latin legends, is that in relation to the settlement of *Æneas*. Our author is inclined to reject it in toto. It was, in truth, unimportant in its consequences, and may therefore be admitted to be either true or false, without changing the character of the history. We must, for ourselves, say, that it is too much endeared to us by early impressions, to be rejected, and that we would as willingly join the critics, who deny that Troy ever existed, and thus destroy the illusion of the *Iliad* Poem, as unite in committing a similar out-

rage upon the *Æneid*: be the story true or false, it was believed by the Romans at a very early date; and the first negotiation on record, with the states of Greece, expressly refers to the Trojan origin of the Roman nation. The Greeks, too, were aware, and admitted, that the whole Trojan race was not extinguished, although the place of its preservation was hid from them in the obscurity of the Latin nation, until it again burst forth into splendour, as the people-king of Rome.

Let us, however, hear what our author says upon this subject.

“By this combination of evidence, I think I have established the correctness of the view, that the Trojan legend did not come out of the Greek literature into Latium, but must be considered as native: and when I have added that it has not on that account the least historical truth,—any more than the descent of the Goths from the Getes, or that of the Franks and Saxons from the Macedonians, all which are related with full faith by native writers,—nor even the slightest historical importance, I should wish I might quit the subject. But he who brings forward inquiries of this kind, is seldom permitted to decline expressing his suspicion, if he has one, where no human sagacity can arrive at a decisive solution; as is here the case with the question, how, after all, this tradition may have arisen. The following hypothesis, is, with me, not a desperate attempt to find some escape or other from a difficulty: it is my conviction; yet, but for that necessity of speaking, I should be silent on the subject.

“Every thing we have to rely upon in the mythological stories, which can help us in discovering the affinities of nations, indicates that which existed between the Trojans and the Pelasgic tribes, the Arcadians, Epirots, *Ænotrians*; but, above all, the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians. Dardanus comes from the city of Corythus to Samothrace, and thence to the Simois: Corythus is, in Virgil, a Tyrrhenian; according to Hellanicus and Cephalon, a Trojan: this expedition of Dardanus, that of the Trojans to Latium and Campania, and the migrations of the Tyrrhenians to Lemnos, Imbrus, and the Hellespont, may safely be explained as only indicating national affinity. That the Penates of Lavinium were the gods of Samothrace, is an opinion almost universally received: so much so, that Atticus, though he did not controvert the story about the migration of *Æneas*, concluded that the Penates had been brought from that island: so much so, that the Samothracians, like the Ilians, are said to have been recognised as kinsmen of the Roman people: which must be understood to mean not merely the belief of individuals, but one declared by the government. From this community of religion, as of lineage, it might ensue, that more than one branch of the nation should call themselves Trojans, and boast of being a colony in possession of the Trojan sacred treasures, said not to have been lost, but rescued. For many generations after they had bowed under barbarian rule, Tyrrhenians will still have visited the holy land of Samothrace; and there Herodotus may have heard citizens of Cortona and Pluria converse; there Lavinians and Gergithians may have mutually awakened and strengthened the conviction of their kindred, through the common ancestor, *Æneas*. The superiority maintained when the Tyrrhenians and Cascans united, by one of the two nations in religion, by the other in arms, is implied in the line:

‘*Sacra Deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto:*’

only that Latinus himself must be considered as a Tyrrhenian.

“The legend was altered in various ways: even imperfect traces of its earliest form, before, like others, it experienced the fate of being adulterated into a tale of something historically possible, demand a place in the history of Rome.”

Our author then proceeds to quote authorities, and give the various versions of the legend, as related by them, with their



account of the wars, until the descendants of Æneas became lords of Latium. After which he goes on thus:—

“ These wars Virgil describes, effacing discrepancies, and altering and accelerating the succession in the latter half of the *Æneid*. Its contents were certainly national; yet it is scarcely credible, that even Romans, if impartial, should have received sincere delight from these tales. We feel, but too unpleasantly, how little the poet succeeded in raising these shadowy names, for which he was obliged to invent a character, into living beings, like the heroes of Homer. Perhaps it is a problem that remains to be solved, to form an epic poem, out of an argument which has not lived for centuries in popular songs, and tales as common national property, so that the cycle of stories which comprises it, and all the persons who act a part in it, are familiar to every one. Assuredly the problem was not to be solved by Virgil, whose genius was barren for creating, great as was his talent for embellishing. That he felt this himself, and did not disdain to be great in the way adapted to his endowments, is proved by his very practice of imitating and borrowing, by the touches which he introduces of his exquisite and extensive erudition, so much admired by the Romans, now so little appreciated. He who puts together elaborately, and by piecemeal, is aware of the chinks and crevices, which varnishing and polishing conceal only from the unpractised eye, and from which the work of the master, issuing at once from the mould, is free. Accordingly, Virgil, we may be sure, felt a misgiving, that all the foreign ornament, with which he was decking his poem, was not his own wealth, and that this would at last be perceived by posterity. That notwithstanding this fretting consciousness, he strove, in the way which lay open to him, to give a poem, which he did not write of his own free choice, the highest degree of beauty that it could receive from his hands; that he did not, like Lucan, vainly and blindly affect an inspiration which nature had denied to him; that he did not allow himself to be intoxicated, when he was idolized by all around him, and when Propertius sung:

‘ Yield Roman Poets, Bards of Greece, give way,  
The *Iliad* soon shall own a greater lay:’

that when death was releasing him from the fetters of civil observances, he wished to destroy what in those solemn moments he could not but view with melancholy, as the ground-work of a false reputation; this is what renders him estimable, and makes us indulgent to all the weaknesses of his poem. The merit of a first attempt is not always decisive: yet Virgil’s first youthful poem shows that he cultivated his powers with incredible industry, and that no faculty expired in him through neglect. But how amiable and generous he was, is evident when he speaks from the heart, not only in the *Georgics*, and in all his pictures of pure still life; in the epigram on Syron’s Villa: it is no less visible in his way of introducing those great spirits that beam in Roman history.”

Those who now read the history of the contests between the Patricians and Plebeians, might at the first glance be tempted to believe, that the latter were a body inferior in the mass, in birth and in fortune; that it was a dispute, in truth, between a nobility and their vassals. A more attentive consideration will show us how erroneous is this opinion. The origin of the Plebs we have stated to be in the inhabitants of neighbouring towns, who either voluntarily, or in consequence of being conquered, removed and settled in Rome. Here they received a species of franchise, like the citizenship, without a vote of after times. The power of government still remained vested in the *Curia*, but the plebeians were notwithstanding free. Still, however, they were far from possessing equality of civil rights; they had no right of inter-

marriage, and, in their relations to the patricians, they had uniformly the disadvantage. But their body included those possessed both of wealth and pride of birth, the landholders, and the nobility of the conquered cities, as well as the labourers. Thus, then, while they were excluded from any share in the government by the patricians, they must have felt a proud superiority over the clients of that body. As successive regions were added to the territory, tribes were formed, which were added to the original three, until the number amounted to thirty; each of which appears to have occupied, for the purpose of cultivation, a separate district. These new tribes originally contained only Plebeians; the Patricians and their clients were not enrolled among them, until a late period. The towns they had formerly occupied being destroyed, none but *Agricolæ* could have remained among the country tribes, and, in the succession of years, the pre-eminence which this species of labour held before all others, gave these tribes a higher rank than those of the city. At first, although patricians held lands in the territory of the tribes, it was by a tenure different from that by which it was held by the plebeians. It appears that in every case of conquest, one-third of the territory became the property of the Roman populus, and was granted in possession, free of impost, to patricians, as integral parts of the government; the residue was left in the hands of the conquered people, who paid a tribute. As the clients of the patricians enclosed in the city, became less hardy and warlike, the right of serving in the legions became restricted to the plebeians, in whose hands we find it at the earliest dawn of authentic history. The importance of the services of the plebeians to the government, as its troops, gradually raised them in importance, until they were enabled to claim a participation in the sovereignty.

Before, however, they were thus enabled to assert a right to civic honours, and the choice of magistrates, their peculiar situation must have subjected them to great oppression. We find evidence of this in the disputes between them and the patricians, but the weight of oppression appears to have reached its height, under some of the kings. In general, however, the kings must, from policy, have sought to conciliate the plebeians, and to make use of them to counterbalance the power of the privileged orders. But this does not appear to have been the case under the Tarquins, by whom great works were undertaken and completed, which are only consistent with an abject condition of the lower orders.

“What has made the name of Tarquinius ever memorable, is, that with him begins the greatness and splendour of the city. Often the legend fluctuates in ascribing a work or an exploit to him or to his son: but the vaulted sewers, by which the Velabrum, the Forums, the country down to the lower Subura, and the valley of the circus, till then swamps and lakes, or bays in the bed of the river, were drained, are by most of them called the work of the elder king: and coupled with this undertaking, must have been that of embanking the Tiber. In the valley thus gained, between the ancient town of Rome, and the Tarpeian

hill, he allotted a space for a market, and for the meetings of the people, built porticoes around it, and gave ground to such as wished to set up booths and shops there. Between the Palatine and the Aventine, the meadow redeemed from the water, was levelled and converted into a race course; every curia had a place here assigned to it, where the senators and knights erected scaffolds to view the games from, and where they will also have made room for their clients. He surrounded the city with a wall of hewn stone, after the Etruscan manner, or, at least made preparations for it. The building of the Capitoline temple from the very foundation, is ascribed by the earlier narratives, to the last king; to the father they only attribute the vow."

"Works that rival the greatest of the Etruscan, cannot have been accomplished, without oppressive task-work, any more than those of the Pharaohs, or of Solomon. The king cheered his people during their hard service, by games: which from this time forward, were celebrated annually in September, under the name of the Roman or great games."

"The chariot race was not the only enjoyment of the Circensia; there were, also, the processions, the images of the gods, borne along, robed in kingly garments, the armed boys, the war dances, and the ludicrous imitations of them. The worship of the gods, too, until then plain and simple, was clothed with pomp by Tarquinius; in his reign, bloody sacrifices are said to have been introduced, and adoration to have been first paid to representations of the gods under human forms.

"The memory of this king was cherished by the descendants of those who had sighed under his heavy yoke; nay, these sufferings were imputed to his detested son; although neither the forum nor the circus could have been laid out, until the great sewers had been built."

The history of the elder Tarquin, is one that merits serious investigation. He is admitted, on all hands, to have been an Etruscan by birth, and our author disproves, by reference to Grecian history, the tale of his Corinthian descent. The name of Lucumo ascribed to him, is not a proper name of Etruria, but a title of rank, and we find him acknowledged as sovereign by the Tuscan cities, without any of the evidence of his having conquered Etruria. Can it be that Tullus Hostilius, and Ancus Martius, are as wholly fabulous as Romulus and Numa? Can Rome have been, down to this time, a member of the Etruscan confederacy, which becoming more powerful by the superior wisdom of its policy, was now admitted to the supremacy of the confederated state?

The rights of the people, have their rise in the constitution of Servius Tullius. We cannot but reject the legend of his birth and education as fabulous. A more probable history of his origin, has lately come to light, in a speech of the emperor Claudius, discovered at Lyons, in France. By this, he appears to have been the general of a mercenary force, brought by him to the aid of the elder Tarquin, but originally raised by Cæles Vibenna. That his constitution should have been founded solely upon military distinctions, strengthens this evidence, particularly as we do not find him to have manifested, as a king, any very warlike propensities, and might, therefore, have been at a loss to imagine the reason, why he should have wished to bring forward milita-

ry service, as a claim to a share in the government. Admit him to have risen, originally, as a soldier, and, perhaps, to have been elevated to the supreme authority, in opposition to the patricians, by his army, and the difficulty is solved.

The constitution of Servius, seems at first sight, to have looked to property, as the source of distinction ; but this is owing to the importance of a certain degree of wealth, in providing military equipments, and not to any leaning towards an aristocracy of wealth. In an age, when missile weapons were imperfect, and wars were decided by contests, hand to hand, with naked weapons, those who possessed the means of clothing themselves in complete armour, were far more valuable, as soldiers, than those who wielded none but offensive weapons. The phalanx was the original order of battle of the Roman army. Its first ranks were composed of those, who wore an entire suit of armour ; these were followed by those less fully armed ; while the rear was composed of men, hardly furnished with any protection, who merely added by their weight, to the force of the shock. When arms were of a costly material, and when workmanship was dear, in consequence of the low state of the mechanic arts, the equipment of a heavy armed foot soldier, must have required a very considerable sum. At this period, too, each person furnished his own arms, and supported himself during the short campaigns to which Roman warfare was then limited. That those who thus equipped themselves, should be entitled to a corresponding influence, would be so evidently just, that the distinctions of the *Comitia centuriata* of Servius, appear to have arisen almost from the very nature of the case. In subsequent ages, when the state was enabled to supply every soldier with arms, the obvious reason of the distinction ceased, and the maintenance of the power of the centuries became impossible. When wealth alone became the criterion of classification into centuries, not greater services rendered to the state, the superior power that grew out of it became obnoxious, and the *Comitia tributa*, where all stood upon a level, acquired more and more influence in the government.

However fortuitous may have been the arrangement into centuries, it notwithstanding furnished a most admirable method by which the contending interests of the patricians and plebeians, might be compromised. The former, who, in their *Curiae*, were naturally equal among themselves, who, at first, formed no part of the majority of the tribes, fell with their clients into their proper places in the pedestrian centuries, or filled the equestrian *suffragia*, in which their nobility of birth, became more than a balance for fortune. The plebeian knights, being chosen for their wealth, we cannot conceive that to them the grant of a horse at the public cost could have been made.

"But at first, no doubt, it was one of the patrician privileges : indeed the incontestable meaning of the account in Cicero, is, that its origin was prior to that of the third estate : and if restricted to those among the ruling burghers, who, though equal to their fellows in rank, were inferior in fortune, it was neither unfair nor arrogant."

By this institution of Servius, the disastrous effects which have followed in all other instances, from the entire preponderance of either an oligarchy or a democracy, were avoided, and a proper balance maintained in the state, until the patrician caste sunk into comparative insignificance, from the diminution of its numbers, consequent on its peculiar constitution.

A nobility can only maintain its members, by the most extended rules for its descent, or by a provision for the admission of new families. The aristocracy of England is supported by the wise policy of admitting into its body, wealth and talent, wherever they arise ; but the patrician houses of Rome had no such resource, and were deprived of the privileges of conveying their rights by either marriage or adoption ; hence, in the age of Augustus, but fifty families were left, who bore the pure patrician stamp.

The largeness of the sums at which the property of the higher classes of centuries is estimated in the constitution of Servius, has frequently been a matter of surprise. It appears at first sight to indicate, at a time when the *as* weighed a full pound of brass, a degree of wealth almost incredible. Our author has, however, given a most satisfactory explanation of this apparently difficult question :—

"It is a remarkable and very distinguishing peculiarity of the nations in the middle of Italy, to employ copper in heavy masses as a currency, not silver : whereas the southern provinces, and the coast as far as Campania, although here the mode of computing by ounces was not unknown, made use of silver money. That the Etruscans, Umbrians, and some of the Sabellian tribes coined copper, is proved by the inscriptions on specimens that remain ; as to Latium and Samnium, no such pieces of their money with inscriptions have been found, any more than silver coin of theirs belonging to an early age. But the great variety in the form of *ases*, without inscription, shows that they must have been minted in many towns : the large sums of brass money that the Roman armies obtained amid their booty in Samnium, while but an inconsiderable weight of silver was carried home in triumph, evince that the former was the currency there : so it was undoubtedly in Latium : and a part of those nameless coins probably belonged to these two nations. Rome had the same system of currency ; and, according to a tradition, which very clearly proves how far and wide Servius Tullius was celebrated as the author of all institutions of importance, he was named by Timæus as the person who first stamped money at Rome ; the people before this time having employed brass in the lump, *as rude*."

Brass was an article of prime necessity. It was in the early ages used for all the purposes for which we now employ iron. Copper has the advantage of being much more easily reduced from its ore than iron is, and certain of its alloys, (which we call by the general name of brass,) are applicable to the manu-

facture of arms, and of every species of domestic utensil. In Italy, the metal was in early ages extremely abundant. The Greeks of the Homeric age traded to Italy for copper, and exchanged iron for it.\* So long as the produce of the mines continued abundant, and the imperfection of navigation rendered its transport difficult, so long its price in barter would have been limited to the simple cost of production. But copper mines, although easily worked, are also easily exhausted, and a diminution of product, accompanied by increasing foreign demand, could not fail to enhance the value. Silver would flow in to pay for the exported copper, and a currency in that metal would replace the other. The relative value of the two metals would of course change; and the Romans appear to have followed this variation of proportion, in the successive reduction of the weight of their copper coin. Of their having followed in this reduction the ratio of its value to articles of prime necessity, we have evidence in the nominal price of grain. In the year 314, U. C. wheat fell to what was considered the low price of an as, the modulus; in the year 505, when the as was cut down to a sixth part of its original weight, an equally low nominal price is recorded: and a hundred years later, in spite of the vast influx of wealth, wheat often sold for no more than two light ases, twelve to the pound.

The vast abundance of brass at one time, is shown by the price of many articles, and various other circumstances. Ten thousand pounds of it were allowed for the purchase of a knight's horse, and two thousand pounds for its annual keep; the heavy copper money was piled up in rooms, and we are told, that during the Veientine war, individuals sent their tribute to the treasury in wagon loads.

The reign of Servius Tullius, was a revolution by which the plebeians were raised to a share in the government; that of Tarquin the proud, may, on the other hand, be regarded as a counter-revolution, by which the privileged class again deprived them of any voice. In effecting this, however, so much power was thrown into the hands of the king, as to swallow up their own privileges. Hence we find them represented as most active in the expulsion of the Tarquins, and in abolishing for ever the regal power at Rome. The plebeians, however, were far from regaining the franchises conveyed to them by the constitution of Servius Tullius, and years of oppression elapsed, before the establishment of the tribunate interposed protectors between the people and their proud rulers.

The plebeians were prevented from taking advantage of the expulsion of the kings, by the moderation of the patricians, who,

\* *Odys.* i. 184.

so long as the Tarquins were an object of alarm, and, until the war with Etruria was brought to a close, ruled with justice and moderation. No sooner had these pressing dangers ceased, than the patricians commenced to deal with the plebs as slaves, and thrust them out of all share in the government. A peculiar state of things, growing out of the fact, that the patricians enjoyed without rent, the use of the public domain, while the plebeians were forced at once to pay tribute, and to serve in uninterrupted wars, loaded the latter with debt, and was the foundation of new and more severe oppressions. With the secession of the people, to which this state of things gave rise, and the establishment of the tribunate, our author closes the first volume of his work. The translation of the second edition has not proceeded farther, and we shall close our review with an extract, exhibiting the state and condition of the plebs at the time of the secession.

“Money transactions among the Romans, were in the form of loans, to be repaid after a stated term; and this, in those times, as the arguments to be brought forward in another part of this history will prove, must certainly have been the year of ten months. The rate of interest was unrestricted, and therefore exorbitant: the first legal limitation of it to ten per cent., was a great relief to the plebs: no wonder then, that the cases in which the accumulation of interest raised the principal to many times its original amount, are spoken of as ordinary. It was the custom, to convert the principal when due, together with the interest, into a new debt: and the discharge of this must soon have become utterly impossible. To understand the condition of the plebeian debtors, let the reader, if he is a man of business, imagine that the whole debts of a country were turned into bills at a year, bearing interest at twenty per cent. or more; and that the non-payment of them was followed on summary process, by imprisonment and by the transfer of the debtor's whole property, even though it exceeded what he owed to the creditor. As to these farther circumstances, which are incompatible with our manners, the personal slavery of the debtor and his children, we have enough without them to form an estimate of the fearful condition of the unfortunate plebeians.

“Their wretchedness was consummated by a system of base injustice. The whole infantry of the line was formed of plebeians; and yet, not only was all share of the conquered lands refused to them; but even the plunder, which the Roman soldier, unless it was given up to him, was bound to deliver in upon oath, was often kept back from them; not that it was employed for national purposes; it went into the common chest of the Patricians.

“This picture of distress deluded Dionysius; so that when the whole commonalty was driven into insurrection, he looked upon them as nothing else than a low, starving, multitude, to which, idlers, libertines, vagabonds, such as har-boured ill will against their neighbours, and such as were malcontents from temper or interest, attached themselves. The positiveness of this statement has an imposing effect; and it has been entirely overlooked, that Livy, though no way partial to the plebs, and though he was certainly far from having a clear insight into the nature of the several orders in early times, still does not contain a word, which, if rightly understood, can give even the shadow of support to such an opinion.

“For a Greek, it would have been difficult, in this case, to avoid being deceived: in the first place, because his language, poorer and less exact in political terms, than the Roman, had only the one word *demus*, to render both *populus* and *plebs*. Even in the time of Aristotle, this word had assumed a variety of senses, and denotes in democracies, the nation and assembly of the people, as opposed to the magistrates; in oligarchies, the commonalty; while popular usage

employs it for the common and needy folk. In the days of Augustus, many as were the Greek cities, and many as were those that pretended to be so, there was, perhaps, not a single oligarchy that had kept its ground; and democracies were rare; the Romans had every where introduced timocracies; and under these, though the general assembly of the citizens, still bore the name of *demus*, yet, at the same time, it was applied to those inhabitants, who, from not possessing the requisites for civic honours, were expressly excluded by law, or, at all events in fact, from offices, as common people. The civic plebs, too, as Dionysius found it at Rome in the eighth century, was undeniably a *demus* of this sort; formed by the body of those who partook of the largesses destined for the capital: this, too, consisted mainly of freedmen and half citizens. The respectable country people, and municipals, were completely separated from them: still higher stood the knights, many thousands in number: at top of all, the nobles who had coalesced with such patricians as were yet remaining.

"That all these, nevertheless, were plebeians in a constitutional point of view; that the whole Roman nation was so, with the exception of the fifty patrician houses that were yet preserved, and of the patrician families newly incorporated by Julius Cæsar and Augustus; this was certainly known to Dionysius."

"When an error has been firmly rooted for centuries, it can hardly be superfluous to bring forward a variety of definite instances in illustration of the truth. The Roman Plebs, formed as it was by the incorporation of whole bodies of citizens and country people, might be compared to the Vaudese dependent on the city of Bern, among whom the old Burgundian nobles stood on the same footing with the townsmen and peasantry, as contrasted with the sovereign canton. Or, if the reader be familiar with the history of Florence, let him imagine that the republic had united the whole inhabitants of the *distretto* into a commonalty: in this the Counts Guidi, and the Castellans of Mugello, as opposed to the ruling estate, did not, by the principles of the laws, stand above the houses of Pistoja or Prato, nay, above the common citizen, or yeoman of the Val d'Arno: at the same time, the former might, notwithstanding, be equal, perhaps more than equal, to the Uberti, and the other proudest houses of the ruling city, even according to their own notions of nobility. As in a later age, the Mamili, who traced their pedigree from Ulysses and Circe, were admitted among the plebeian citizens; so then there can be no question, that the families of plebeian knights in the earlier times, were the nobility of the *distretto*; that the first leaders of the plebs, the Licinii, and Icili, were no way inferior in birth to the Quinctii and Postumii."

ART. VI.—*The Eleventh Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, with an Appendix.* Washington: 1828.

THE time is past, when it was necessary to prove the political or the moral evil of the slave trade. We might suppose, that no great strength of argument, could ever have been requisite to establish its impropriety; yet, not half a century has elapsed, since it was advocated by men of talents and learning, on the floor of the British Parliament, not on the plea of expediency only, but on the ground of its "humanity and holiness!" and the friends of abolition were "delighted, at the thought that



they would soon be able to prove, that Providence, in ordaining laws relative to the agency of man, had never made that to be wise which was immoral; and that the slave trade would be found as impolitic, as it was inhuman and unjust;" a truth which has, happily, been since demonstrated too clearly to admit a rational doubt. But it was long before this triumph could be obtained over the interests and the prejudices of mankind. The policy and the humanity of the slave trade, were maintained by men of the first standing in England; and it was not until after an arduous struggle of twenty years, during which the friends of humanity suffered repeated disappointments and defeats, that the united talents of Pitt and Fox, and Burke and Wilberforce, could induce the parliament of England to obey the dictates of humanity and justice, and abolish the trade for ever. Such was the slow and laborious progress of the cause in Great Britain.

In this country, the evils of slavery were soon felt and acknowledged. The first cargo of slaves was brought to Virginia, in the year 1621; and the legislature of the colony, at an early period, enacted laws to counteract the evil, by imposing restrictions upon their introduction. But these measures were always discountenanced, and the laws rejected by the queen in council, as injurious to the commerce and navigation of England; and slavery, with all its unhappy consequences, was entailed upon the colonies, to promote the supposed interests of the mother country. The commencement of our national independence, found this dreadful malady deeply rooted in our political system; and circumstances rendered it necessary for the framers of the present Constitution, to tolerate the continuance of the slave trade for a limited period; but, to the honour of our country, the power of prohibition was exercised, the moment the restriction imposed by the Constitution was removed; and now, after several prohibitory enactments, every one, in any way engaged in the slave trade, is declared a pirate, subject, upon conviction thereof, to the penalty of death.

It is not our purpose, at present, to enter into any detail of the evils of a coloured population, as it exists in this country; they are known and acknowledged by all; and whether we regard the southern states, oppressed by the system of slavery in actual operation, or those overrun by a free coloured population, we must admit, that any plan, which proposes to remove the evil, or even to diminish it, deserves a careful attention, and must be interesting to every division of the country, in proportion to the probability of its success. With these sentiments, we propose to notice the plan of the American Colonization Society—the history of its operation—the feasibility of its projects—and its probable effects upon this country, and upon Africa.

The idea of colonizing our coloured population, is not new. So early as the year 1777, a committee, (of which Mr. Jefferson was the head,) appointed by the legislature of Virginia, to revise the whole code of the laws of the commonwealth, reported, among other important regulations, a bill "to emancipate all slaves born after the passing of the Act; and further directing that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at the public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place, as the circumstances of the times should render most proper; sending them out with arms, implements of household, and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c., to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they have acquired strength," &c. It is to be regretted, that this scheme, suggested by benevolence and patriotism, was never carried into effect. The situation of the country, exhausted by a protracted contest, and drained of her finances; as of her strength, probably prevented its accomplishment. But the plan, though postponed, was never abandoned. The legislature of Virginia passed several resolutions favourable to this project; and, on the 23d of December 1816, the General Assembly adopted a formal resolution, requesting "the executive to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or upon the shore of the north Pacific, or at some other place, not within any of the states, or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same; and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth." By the same resolution, the senators and representatives of the state, in Congress, were requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above objects. Similar resolutions were adopted by the legislatures of Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, and the plan of colonization seemed to meet with general favour.

It is doubtful, whether Dr. Findlay, of New-Jersey, or Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, of Washington, be entitled to the honour of having first suggested the formation of a Colonization Society. Both these gentlemen had given their attention to this matter; and, in the month of December 1816, they united their efforts to carry their plan into effect. On the 21st of that month, a meeting of several gentlemen, called to consider the subject, was addressed by Mr. Clay, who, though his first impressions were against it, had been convinced of the advantages of the plan, and engaged warmly in the cause, of which he has ever

continued one of the steadiest and most zealous supporters. Several others joined in expressing their approbation of the scheme; a committee was appointed to prepare a Constitution; and soon afterwards, a society was formed, whose only object, as declared in the second article of the Constitution, "is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, (with their consent,) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." The original members of this Society, were principally gentlemen of the southern states; and Judge Washington, of the Supreme Court, was chosen president. The attention of the Society was first directed to the choice of a proper site for the intended colony; and, for this purpose, two agents were sent to the coast of Africa. Having first visited England, to obtain what information they could, from those interested in the English settlement of Sierra Leone, they sailed from London for that settlement, on the 2d of February 1818. After explaining the object of their coming, every facility was afforded them; and two intelligent men of that colony, well acquainted with the country, accompanied them down the coast, to introduce them to the native chiefs, and act as interpreters in their negotiations for the purchase of lands. From the information they received, they determined upon the island of Sherbro, about one hundred miles south of Sierra Leone, as the most eligible situation for the proposed settlement; and, after visiting several of the "head men," or kings, on their way, they arrived at this island, and opened a negotiation with King Sherbro, for the purchase of a part of his territory. The conference was held at Yonie, the royal residence, and accompanied by all the ceremonies usual on such occasions. The agents waited on the king, whom they found seated in state, under a *cola* tree, surrounded by his council, and attended by his prime minister Kong Couber; the presents were displayed, and the object of the visit announced, to obtain lands, for the descendants of Africans, who wished to come from a far country, and settle peaceably in the dominions of king Sherbro. Kong Couber, in the name of his master, made a reply, which, upon the whole, was rather favourable; but, like his brethren of other cabinets, threw out some hints, and suggested some difficulties, which rendered it impossible to conclude matters at once, and protracted the negotiation a week; after which, a grand "palaver" was held, and it was agreed that the people should have such lands as they wanted, upon their arrival with goods to pay for them. The agents then returned to Sierra Leone, and thence sailed for the United States, where one of them, Mr. Burgess, arrived, on the 22d of October 1818; the other, Mr. Mills, whose energy and intelligence had greatly contributed to the success of the mission, died on the passage.

Encouraged by the representations of their surviving agent, the Society determined to lay the foundations of their colony as soon as possible; and, for this purpose, made great exertions to fit out an expedition immediately. In this they were assisted by the President of the United States, who, in carrying into effect the Act of Congress of the 3d March 1819, determined to unite with the Colonization Society, in the promotion of their object. By the second section of this Act, the President of the United States is authorized "to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient, for the safe keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, as may be delivered and brought within their jurisdiction; and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents, for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of colour, delivered from on board vessels, seized in the prosecution of the slave trade, by commanders of the United States' armed vessels."

In the execution of this authority, Mr. Monroe, then President of the United States, appointed Mr. Samuel Bacon and Mr. John P. Bankson, to reside on the coast of Africa, as agents of the United States, with instructions to co-operate with the agents of the Colonization Society; and, in the month of February 1820, these gentlemen sailed from New-York in the *Elizabeth*, a vessel chartered by the Society, and having on board Mr. Crozer, the Society's agent, and eighty-eight colonists. This first expedition was, in every way, unfortunate. It reached the African coast about the commencement of the rainy season, when the climate is peculiarly unhealthy; the natives refused to fulfil their contract for the sale of lands; the three agents, and twenty of the colonists, soon fell victims to the climate; and the survivors, under the direction of one of their number, Daniel Coker, who proved himself intelligent and very capable of the charge, were obliged to remain on the low grounds of the island of Sherbro, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and altogether in the most forlorn condition. Thus situated, Coker, by the advice of Captain Wadsworth of the United States' ship *John Adams*, who rendered him every assistance in his power, led back his people to Sierra Leone, there to await further instructions from the United States. In the month of March 1821, they were joined by a re-enforcement of twenty-eight new colonists, under the direction of Messrs. Andrus and Wiltberger, agents of the Society, accompanied by Messrs. Winn and E. Bacon, as agents of the United States. After providing a temporary residence for the colonists, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, Mr. Andrus and Mr. Bacon went to explore the coast, and fix upon a station for the projected settlement. In the coun-

try called Grand Bassa, a part of the Grain Coast of Guinea, about three hundred miles south of Sierra Leone, they found a tract of land, elevated, fertile, healthy, and in every way suited to their purpose. This was Cape Mesurado, or Montserado. The natives seemed very well disposed to receive them, and a negotiation was commenced for the purchase of land; but it was soon broken off, in consequence of the agents insisting upon the abolition of the slave trade, as a part of the treaty. To this the natives would not agree, the slave trade being their principal medium of communication with European and American traders, and their only means of procuring foreign luxuries. Failing in this, the agents refused to make any contract, and returned to Sierra Leone, where Mr. Andrus and Mr. Winn soon after died; and Mr. Bacon returned to the United States, leaving the colonists under the charge of Mr. Wiltberger. Thus far, the affairs of the colony wore but a gloomy aspect, and some of its friends might be tempted to despair of ultimate success: but there were still found zealous and able supporters of the noble cause, and Providence seemed at length to smile on their exertions.

In the fall of that year, (1821,) the Society appointed a new agent, Dr. Ayres, who immediately repaired to Sierra Leone; and being there joined by Lieutenant Stockton, in the United States' schooner *Alligator*, he proceeded with that active officer, who has always manifested a sincere interest in the cause of colonization, to endeavour to effect the purchase of Cape Mesurado.

Upon their arrival there, a negotiation was opened with King Peter, the sable monarch of that part of the coast, which, after considerable difficulty and delay on the part of his majesty and his allies, finally terminated by the agents obtaining the royal promise to "make a book," which would give him the land. The "book" was accordingly made, which was a regular deed signed by Dr. Ayres and Lieutenant Stockton, on the one part, and King Peter, together with five other native chiefs, on the other; by which they agreed, in consideration of about three hundred dollars, to give the strangers a tract of country, which was sufficient to answer all the immediate wants of the colony.

But all difficulty was not yet ended. When Dr. Ayres returned with the colonists from Sierra Leone, he found that some of the neighbouring chiefs, who had not been consulted, were dissatisfied with the bargain, which had been made without their concurrence, and threatened King Peter with death, if he did not annul the contract. Accordingly, his majesty, in great trepidation, begged Dr. Ayres to take back the goods, and relinquish his purchase; which he positively refused to do, insisting upon his right to retain the land which he had fairly bought. After some further negotiation, in which Dr. Ayres displayed

great coolness and decision, the natives yielded the point, and agreed to ratify the treaty. In the mean time, the settlers had been busily engaged in erecting houses, and providing for their immediate necessities. They had been thus occupied but a few weeks, when another danger threatened their destruction.

A British vessel, containing some recaptured Africans, stopping to water at the Cape, parted her cable, and was driven ashore. A French slaver was, at the time, hovering on the coast, waiting for a cargo; and this, joined to the almost universal principle of "wrecker's law," induced the natives to attempt to secure the prize. Several of the colonists engaged in her defence, and, in the contest that ensued, which they in vain endeavoured to prevent, two of the natives were killed; and, on the following day, a British soldier, and one of the colonists, shared the same fate. These events produced a great excitement among the natives; a grand palaver was held, at which a large number of chiefs were assembled; and the impending danger was only averted by the efforts of Dr. Ayres, who again succeeded in calming the natives, and preventing their committing any violence upon the colony. Notwithstanding his success in this crisis, the situation of the settlers at this time, owing "to the commencement of the rains, the unexpected difficulty in building, and the impossibility of obtaining native labour, on account of the recent disturbances," was so distressing, that Dr. Ayres determined to visit the United States, to acquaint the Society with the necessities of the colony, and obtain supplies for its relief. Before his departure, he offered to remove the colonists to Sierra Leone until his return, but they preferred remaining on their hard-earned territory, under the direction of one of the most respectable of their own number, whom Dr. Ayres appointed to the trust. Dr. Ayres sailed for this country the 4th of June 1822, leaving the emigrants in quiet possession of their settlement, but in great want of stores of all kinds.

On the 19th of June, the brig *Strong* sailed from Baltimore, having on board Mr. and Mrs. Ashmun, and thirty-five colonists, and arrived at Montserado the 8th of August. Mr. Ashmun was charged with the management of certain recaptured Africans, and also received authority to act as temporary agent of the board. On his arrival, finding that both the agents were absent, he assumed, according to his instructions, the office of principal agent, and immediately entered upon the active performance of its duties. After discharging the brig, he visited the most considerable kings in the neighbourhood, with whom he established a friendly intercourse; assuring them of the amicable disposition of the colonists, and receiving from them, apparently sincere professions of good will, in return; many of them

sending their sons to the colony, to be instructed in the English language, and the arts of civilized life.

But notwithstanding these favourable appearances, Mr. Ashmun thought he discovered symptoms of secret hostility, and therefore used every exertion to prepare the settlers for any attack that might be made upon them ; a precaution, which, the sequel proved to have been highly necessary ; for scarcely was the town, by constant labour, put in a tolerable state of defence, when the enmity of the natives broke out into open violence. Many of the chiefs had been dissatisfied with the permission given to the strangers to settle in their country, and their dissatisfaction had been increased, by the evidence already given by the colonists, of their opposition to the slave trade. These feelings had nearly impelled them to open hostility, after their repulse from the English vessel, in the spring. Matters, however, had then been arranged, and the presence of some vessels in the harbour, had prevented them from coming to an open rupture. But a favourable opportunity seemed at length to have arrived ; both the former agents had left the settlement, from fear, as they supposed ; the new agent was sick, the few settlers that remained, were in a destitute situation, and every thing seemed to invite an attack.

The first assault was made, by about eight hundred men, who were repulsed after a short conflict ; with the loss of four killed, and as many wounded on the part of the colonists. Two weeks afterwards, the natives made another attack, with about double their former numbers, and were again repulsed, with great loss, after a very severe engagement. By this second defeat, the spirit of the assailants was so completely broken, that they did not make another attempt upon the settlement ; and this exertion of the strength of the infant colony, though distressing in its immediate effects, had the beneficial result of inspiring the settlers with a confidence in their ability to maintain their position ; and impressing upon the natives a sense of inferiority, which has effectually prevented further molestation.

Since this period, the colony has been constantly improving, without any interruption, or impediment, other than those, necessarily incident to the progress of a new settlement, in such a situation. Soon after the restoration of tranquillity, Dr. Ayres arrived, with a re-enforcement of sixty-one new emigrants, and a supply of stores ; but after devoting himself with great assiduity to the promotion of the interest of the colony, he was obliged, by the state of his health, to leave it in the month of December, 1823, and resign the charge of its superintendence to Mr. Ashmun, who continued, until the time of his death, the principal colonial agent of the society.

Our limits do not permit us to give a detailed history of the

colony ; nor is it necessary. Since the attack of the natives above mentioned, the settlers have enjoyed uninterrupted peace ; and the incidents attending their gradual progress, though highly important to those immediately concerned, are not of a nature to interest persons at a distance. We shall, therefore, only notice a few of the most striking occurrences.

Although it may not, strictly speaking, be a part of the history of the settlement, we may mention here, that at the seventh annual meeting of the Society, held the 20th February, 1824, the territory and settlement of the Society, near Cape Montserado, was named *Liberia* ; and the town laid out, and established at the Cape, *Monrovia* ; “ as an acknowledgment of the important benefits conferred on the settlement by the illustrious chief magistrate of the United States.”

What most attracts our notice, in the history of the colony, is the policy pursued toward the native tribes in its vicinity. In all his intercourse with them, the Agent (we speak of Mr. Ashmun, who had the principal management in these affairs,) endeavoured to cultivate their good will and affection, by maintaining the strictest justice in all his dealings, and showing them the advantages they may derive from the establishment of the colony. Like the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania, he purchased from its natural owners, the territory he occupied, and not an acre of ground was taken without a fair equivalent. In the spring of 1825, it was found necessary to enlarge the limits of the settlement. Several emigrants arrived about that time, who had been accustomed to agricultural life. Some of these requested permission to settle upon plantations at once, instead of being confined in the town ; and as there was little danger to be apprehended from their removal to a short distance, the agent determined to grant their request ; and immediately entered into a negotiation with the neighbouring tribes, for the purchase of the necessary land.

The tract selected for this purpose, is situated on the St. Paul's river, comprehending a breadth of from one to three leagues ; and lying along the whole navigable part of the stream, estimated at about twenty miles. The whole was under the jurisdiction of old king Peter, from whom it was purchased ; and formal possession was taken for the American Colonization Society.

The advantages of this acquisition of territory, are stated by the agent, to consist in enabling the settlers to live on their plantations, instead of being in town, at a distance from them, as before ;—in giving them a much more fertile soil, and so enabling them to support themselves and families in a short time after their arrival in the country ; in rendering the agricultural part of the settlement more compact, in securing the trade of the St. Paul's river,—and gaining a more salubrious situation ; in all



which particulars, the agent's anticipations have been realized. Several important additions have been since made to the territory of the colony; and the Board, in their last report, mention, with approbation, the exertions of the agent in relation to this matter. The possessions of the Society, now extend nearly *one hundred and fifty miles* along the coast; and to a considerable distance into the interior. "No less than *eight stations* from Cape Mount to Trade Town, 140 miles, are now under the government of the colony, and four of these have been acquired during the last year." p. 43.

These "stations" are small settlements, established upon the newly purchased land, at the request of the neighbouring chiefs; who are very desirous of having the advantage of their trade; and generally agree to construct factories, and other necessary buildings for their accommodation. This extension of the settlement, and the intercourse with the natives, to which it gives rise, increase the influence of the colony; which, resulting as it does, from the integrity and kindness manifested toward them, may be expected to be permanent. They see the advantages of civilized life, and are desirous to partake of them. "No man of the least consideration in the country," says Mr. Ashmun, "will desist from his importunities, until one, at least, of his sons, is fixed in some settler's family. We have their confidence and friendship, and these, built on the fullest conviction that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other."

The influence thus acquired, is sacredly devoted to the security of the colony, and the benefit of the natives. The agent has always avoided having any thing to do with the disputes of his neighbours, further than to afford his friendly offices as mediator; and, on a late occasion, when two of the most considerable tribes were at war with each other, and each solicited the aid of the colony, with promises of territory and submission, Mr. Ashmun, having tried in vain to prevent hostilities, positively refused to take part with either; telling them, that "the whole force of the colony was sacred to the purpose of self-defence alone, against the injustice and violence of the unprincipled;—that while they were ready to benefit *all* their neighbours, they would injure *none*; and that if they could not prevent or settle the wars of the country, they should never take part in them."

By the Constitution, "for the government of the African colony at Liberia," all persons born in the colony, or removing there to reside, shall be free, and entitled to all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the United States. The Colonization Society shall, from time to time, make such rules as they may think fit, for the government of the settlement, until they shall withdraw their agents, and leave the settlers to govern themselves;—there shall be no slavery in the settlement; and the

common law, as in force, and modified in the United States, and applicable to the situation of the people, shall be in force in Liberia. Under this Constitution, the agents, in August 1824, adopted a "plan for the civil government of Liberia," and framed a digest of laws, (which have since been approved and ratified by the Board,) for the permanent regulation of the colony. The principal provisions of the "plan of government," are, that the agent of the Society shall possess, in the settlement, sovereign power, subject only to the decisions of the Board;—that a vice-agent shall be appointed by the agent, out of three persons chosen by the colonists, who shall aid the agent in the discharge of his duties, and take his place, in case of his absence or sickness;—that the judiciary shall consist of the agent, and two justices of the peace, created by his appointment; the choice of other officers is made by the colonists, subject to the approbation or rejection of the agent; and standing committees, of agriculture—of public works—of the colonial militia—and of health, are appointed, whose duty it is "to become familiar with all the subjects relating to their appointments, and be ready, at all times, to meet, consult, and report thereon, when required to do so by the agent."

The common law being adopted, so far as suited to the circumstances of the colony, it was only necessary to enact laws, relating to the peculiar situation of the new settlement; regulating their intercourse with the native tribes in their vicinity, designating offences, and prescribing appropriate punishments. The punishments prescribed, are, fine, imprisonment, standing in the stocks, whipping, labour on the public works, forfeiture of rations, (to those receiving them,) and expulsion from the colony; which last, is the highest degree of punishment, and is inflicted "on conviction for offences directly affecting the peace and good government of the colony; and when ordered by the Society, for any misdemeanors in their judgment deserving that penalty. The property of exiles, to pass to their next heirs resident in the colony. In all cases of banishment, when the banished person has no heir in the colony, the land held by him shall revert to the colony. The party, in any judicial trial, is entitled, if he desire it, to trial by jury."

This system went into immediate operation, and is mentioned with approbation by the Board, in their ninth annual report. Two years afterwards, at the last annual meeting, the managers notice, in their report, the "very efficient and satisfactory manner" in which the system continues to operate, and quote from a letter of Mr. Ashmun, who says, "we commence the year with a better prospect of harmony, in the different operations of our little civil machine, than ever before. The principles of social order, and of a good, equable, and energetic government, are deep-

ly and plentifully implanted in the minds of the influential part, if not of a majority of the colonists, and promise the certain arrival, (I do not think it will be early, however,) of that state of improvement, when the Board can safely withdraw their agents, and leave the people to the government of themselves." p. 39.

The moral and religious character of the colony, is such as to be highly gratifying to its friends; and exerts a powerful and salutary influence on its social and civil condition. Owing to the circumstances under which the first expeditions were fitted out, the characters of the individuals composing them, were not sufficiently attended to; and many were found among them, who, by their bad conduct, did serious injury to the new settlement. But, for several years past, the Board, always having more applicants for emigration, than their means would enable them to transport, have been particular, in selecting such only as would form a desirable addition to the settlers; and the good effects of this system, are visible in the improved character of the colony. Most of the late emigrants, had established their reputation for industry, sobriety, and morality, in this country, and were distinguished for their respectability among those of their own station in society. They were induced to emigrate, by a laudable desire to improve their condition, by the acquisition of privileges they might in vain hope for here: and they went to Africa with a full knowledge of the difficulties they were to encounter. Their trial was a severe one; and, it is not strange, that some should have sunk under it; but, most of them sustained it unshaken; and the agent very justly attributes the general prosperity of the settlement, to the salutary influence of their conduct. "It deserves record," says Mr. Ashmun, "that religion has been the principal agent employed in laying and confirming the foundations of the settlement. To this sentiment, ruling, restraining, and actuating the minds of a large proportion of the colonists, must be referred the whole strength of our civil government." Hence, the general character of the colony is in the highest degree orderly—"crimes are almost unknown; and the universal respect, manifested for the Sabbath, and the various institutions and duties of Christianity, has struck the natives with surprise, and excited the admiration of foreigners."

The agent was fully aware of the importance of education, and fostered it by every means in his power. Several schools have been established; in which the colonists, and about fifty native children, receive instruction. Their education is, of course, confined to the elementary branches of knowledge, but they show themselves very capable of learning; and, there is no doubt, that with proper advantages, they will attain all the useful, and even ornamental, departments of science. At present, they feel the want of teachers capable of instructing them in any thing beyond

the rudiments of learning. The library of the colony contains about 1200 volumes.

Since the late purchases of land, the colonists have begun to turn their attention more to agriculture; but, the trade of the colony, which is considerable, has been its chief dependence. By the treaties entered into with the natives, the greater part of the trade of that district of Africa, is secured to the inhabitants of Liberia. The articles of export are the productions of the country; consisting of rice, palm-oil, ivory, tortoise shell, dye-woods, gold, hides, wax, and a small amount of coffee: there are almost always some vessels in the harbour; and "the bustle and thronging of the streets, show something, already, of the activity of the smaller seaports of the United States." By means of this commerce, many of the settlers have acquired a considerable property; and enjoy an abundance, not only of the necessities, but of the comforts, and even the luxuries of life. The intercourse between Monrovia and the other settlements in Liberia, is so considerable, that the net annual profits of a small schooner, employed by the agent for this purpose, amounted to 4700 dollars, "a sum nearly adequate to defray the expense of the whole organization for the public service, both for the United States' agency, and the colonial government." After speaking of the prospects of the colony, the agent says, "but I can even now assure the Board, that except a very few of the emigrants, the most independent and easy in their circumstances in America, they generally live in a style of neatness and comfort, approaching to elegance in many instances, unknown before their arrival in this country. An interesting family, twelve months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing a comfortable table, is not known; and, an *individual*, of whatever sex or age, without ample provision of decent apparel, cannot, I believe, be found." And again—"every family, and nearly every single adult person in the colony, has the means of employing from one to four native labourers, at an expense of from four to six dollars a month. And several of the settlers, when called upon, in consequence of sudden emergencies of public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of 300 to 600 dollars each."

In their last report, the managers state that the population of the colony, (including emigrants by recent expeditions,) exceeds twelve hundred persons; of whom about five hundred were introduced during the last year. Of these, one hundred and forty-two recaptured Africans, liberated by a decree of the Supreme Court, and sent to the agency in Liberia, arrived in the ship Norfolk, on the 27th of August 1827. In a letter written seven days after their arrival, Mr. Ashmun says, "it may be interesting to the Board, as a proof of the extensive business and re-

were but emanations from the stars. The only thing that was not in direct subjection to the laws of the universe, was the soul of man, but even this acted in harmony with them ; and although uninfluenced by the constellations, yet they ruled his mortal part, and gave rise to his happiness or misery.

In pursuing their investigations, connected with this wild but beautiful theory, the wonderful properties of the magnet, soon attracted the attention of the learned, and all the characters of the universal fluid were thought to be concentrated in it ;—it appeared to unite every quality that had been attributed to this agent, and in fact to be a condensation of all the wonders of nature ; its principle of action was unknown, and therefore must have emanated from the stars ; and as it always turned to the north, the polar star was the great origin of its powers. Magnetism, and the all pervading fluid or soul, were now thought to be identical, and every action of nature was supposed to be the immediate result of its influence.

Wirdig\* thus expresses himself on the subject—"Universa natura magnetica est : totus mundus constat et positus est in magnetismo, omnes sublunarium vicissitudines fiunt per magnetismum, vita conservatur magnetismo, interitus omnium rerum fiunt per magnetismum ;" and he only gives the generally received opinions of the time at which he wrote.

Having this universality and all powerful influence, every event was of course referred to its powers, more particularly those which arose from the reciprocal action of one living being on another ; such as the fascination produced by certain birds over their prey, the fatal charming of these again, by serpents, and the instantaneous destruction of man himself from the glance of a basilisk.

To the effects of magnetism were also referred all those sympathies and antipathies so generally observable in nature ; and as this fluid was the bond of union and harmony between different bodies, it was also believed to exist in full force between their parts, should these be even separated. Hence arose a reliance on the curative powers of sympathetic medicaments and powders, which, being applied to the instrument that had caused a wound, or to any article imbrued with the blood, would cure the injury, certainly and expeditiously, even where the operation was performed at a great distance from the patient. The celebrated Sir Kenelm Digby was a strenuous advocate for this practice, and has given several marvellous instances of cures thus performed, some of which fell under his own notice. One of these so fully exemplifies the mode of operating, that we do not think it right to pass it over. One of his friends, in endeavour-

\* *Medicina spirituum*

cumstances, and were only established after many years of incessant labour, and a great expenditure of life and treasure.

Two fruitless attempts were made to establish a colony in this country, under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom Queen Elizabeth had granted a charter for that purpose. The first party, consisting of one hundred and eight persons, landed on the island of Roanoke in 1585, but they were soon embroiled in hostilities with the natives, and, after enduring incredible hardships, they were found, in the following year, by Sir Francis Drake, reduced to the lowest state of distress, and, by him, at their earnest request, were carried back to England. In 1587, Raleigh sent out a greater number of colonists, with a more abundant supply of provisions; but, owing to the danger apprehended in England, from the threatened Spanish invasion, the colony was neglected; and, when in 1590, three ships were sent for their relief, "not a vestige of them was to be found." After a fruitless attempt to discover some traces of them, the whole squadron left the country, and returned to England. Sir Walter Raleigh, after having expended £40,000 in the enterprise, had already abandoned it in despair. "What was the particular fate of the colonists he had before sent and seated, has never been known—whether they were murdered, or incorporated with the savages."

The zeal for colonization was so much damped by these untoward events, that no further attempts were made, until the year 1606, when an expedition was fitted out, under the auspices of an association, formed for the establishment of colonies in America. On the 13th of May 1607, one hundred and five men were settled at the new colony, called, in honour of the king, "Jamestown;" and thus, twenty-two years after the first colony had been placed at Roanoke, laid the foundations of a mighty empire. But every thing was yet to be done. The colonists were exposed to every species of disaster, without any other principle, than the desire of wealth, to support them under their trials. Subjected at once to the accumulated evils of internal dissension, and external hostility, the privations of scarcity, and the diseases of the climate, they were, several times, reduced to the brink of ruin. "Before the month of September, fifty of the company were buried." On Captain Smith's return to Jamestown, after an absence of a few weeks, during which time he had been preserved from death, by the romantic generosity of Pocahontas, "*he found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, most of whom seemed determined to abandon a country which appeared to them so unfavourable to human life.*"

The execution of this design was prevented by the judicious conduct of Captain Smith; and the spirits of the colonists were revived, by the timely arrival of a re-enforcement of one hun-

dred and twenty persons, under the command of Captain Newport. Scarcely three months, however, had elapsed, before the colony was again in the utmost confusion and disorder. "Those who had arrived last with Newport, were all sick," and the most vigorous exertions of Captain Smith but just preserved the settlement from annihilation. The discovery of some glittering earth, which was mistaken by the colonists for gold dust, seemed to promise the reward of their sufferings, by giving them the great object of their desires; and, by means of this flattering prospect, and the most strenuous exertions on the part of the association, their number was increased in October 1609, to almost five hundred inhabitants. But the disappointment of their hopes of wealth, was succeeded by scenes of riot and insubordination. They were attacked by the Indians, their provisions were lavishly wasted, and the united evils of war, famine, and disease, in a few months reduced their number to "sixty persons, of all ages and sexes, who were so feeble and dejected, that they could not have survived ten days longer." This miserable remnant was found in this condition, by Captain Newport, who had actually taken them on board his squadron, and set sail for England, where they were met by Lord Delaware, who came out as governor of the new country. By him they were prevailed upon to return, and make another effort for the establishment of the colony.

For many years after this period, their history presents a series of incessant labours, and almost incredible distresses. Torn by internal feuds, in want of every necessary, and exposed to frequent attacks by the savages, the colony was several times almost extinct, and barely maintained a feeble existence, by the foreign supplies occasionally afforded; and, in the year 1624, after more than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been expended, and more than nine thousand persons had been sent from England, its population did not exceed eighteen hundred persons.\*

Such was the origin of the "Ancient Dominion," and the discouraging circumstances attending its first settlement. The "Pilgrims" encountered equal difficulties, though somewhat different in their character. While the business was confined to the Colonizing Association, their efforts were more feeble, and less successful, than those which were made in the South; and it was only the invincible resolution to secure religious freedom, that finally accomplished the undertaking. The first emigrants to New-England,

\* Mr. Jefferson, in his "Notes on the State of Virginia," (page 163,) gives a table of the increase of the population, during the early years of the colony, commencing with 1607; by which it appears, that, after several fluctuations, sometimes rising as high as 490, and again sinking as low as 60, the whole number, in 1618, (the eleventh year of the settlement,) was only 600.

about one hundred in number, arrived in the fall of 1607, and took possession of a piece of ground near the river Sagadahoe, where they built a fort. Many of the company, and among them their principal men, died during the following winter. The sufferings of the survivors were so great, that it was determined to abandon the country; and, in the spring, they embarked on board vessels returning to England. So completely was the enterprise abandoned, that no further attempts were made at settlement, until the year 1680, when a small company of one hundred and twenty men, seeking refuge from religious persecution at home, and determined to endure every hardship, rather than forego the freedom of conscience, landed on the bleak shore of Plymouth, and laid the foundations of a new colony. They embarked on the 11th of November, and, before spring, one-half of their number had fallen victims to maladies induced by the severity of the climate, and the hardships to which they were exposed. Wasted by sickness and famine, and in constant apprehension of attack from the natives, they underwent the severest trials, with a fortitude and resolution, which nothing but the continued excitement of strong religious feeling could have inspired. This same feeling, as it produced a strict attention to moral conduct, preserved them from many of the evils which the southern emigrants suffered; but the barrenness of the soil conspired with other difficulties to retard their progress; so that, at the end of ten years, the entire population of the colony amounted to only three hundred souls. After this, they received large accessions to their number, from England; but "the difficulty of obtaining subsistence, the difference of their food, from that to which they had been accustomed, and the intense cold of the winter, against which they had not sufficient means of protection, were still severely felt by the colonists, and still continued to carry many of them to the grave." They persevered, however; and their descendants now glory in the piety, the fortitude, and the patriotism of the "pilgrims."

We have dwelt thus long on the early history of the settlements in America, because a comparison between them and the settlement at Liberia, shows that there is nothing at which the friends of African colonization should be disheartened. On the contrary, such a comparison holds out every encouragement: less expense has been incurred, fewer difficulties have been encountered, fewer lives sacrificed, and more has been effected. A colony has been established, which, *now, in its eighth year*, contains more than twelve hundred inhabitants, enjoying health, liberty, and plenty; and commanding the respect and confidence of their neighbours. The colony being established, the only question is, whether it can be maintained? And this we purpose briefly to consider.



The first and great difficulty lies in the supposed insalubrity of the climate, and the fatality which is generally attributed to it. But, the prevalent opinion on this subject, arises from prejudice, or want of reflection. We are apt to imagine, that, because the climate of Africa is different from that to which we have been accustomed, it must necessarily be unhealthy; but this is clearly erroneous; and, if generally acted upon, would prevent any change of residence. The climate of Liberia, like that of all other tropical situations, is exceedingly warm, and unfriendly to constitutions formed in more temperate regions. But it does not, therefore, follow, that it is unfitted to sustain human life, where there is a congeniality of constitution. Accordingly, we find that the natives of the country, are a robust, healthy race, subject to no epidemic disease; and, of the emigrants who have gone from this country, those from the southern states have suffered but little by the change of climate. Early last year, the brig *Doris* carried out a considerable number of emigrants from North Carolina, who arrived at Liberia in April, and, in noticing their sickness, in his communication to the Board, Mr. Ashmun observes, "all the change they have undergone, seems to be less a *disease*, than a *salutary effort of nature* to accommodate the physical system of its subjects to the new influences of the tropical climate." It is true, many have died soon after their arrival; but, it was under peculiar circumstances, and such as are not likely again to occur. The first settlement, on the low marshy ground of the Sherbro, was unfortunate, and very properly abandoned. The early settlers at Montserado, arrived at an improper time of the year, and were exposed to all the inclemencies of the rainy season, without sufficient houses to protect them. Add to this, the excessive fatigue they underwent in preparing for their defence against the natives; and it is not wonderful that many fell victims to disease. But, since the erection of suitable houses, and the release from incessant labour, the general health of the colony has been good, and the emigrants who have arrived at proper seasons of the year, have been exposed to but little danger.

Dr. Peaco, who resided some time at Liberia, as United States' agent for recaptured Africans, says, in a letter addressed to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society,—“Persons of every description, from all parts of the world, are liable to an attack of bilious fever, shortly after their arrival; which I found, in every instance, to yield to the common remedies in the first attack; and, all the deaths which occurred, were from relapses, occasioned by imprudently exposing themselves, while in a state of convalescence; but few cases terminated fatally, from among those who left Norfolk last winter; and but one of the people of co-

lour, from North Carolina, who accompanied me out, fell a victim to the prevailing diseases of the climate."

In the month of September last, the colonists addressed a circular to the coloured people of this country, giving an interesting exposition of the state of the colony, and one highly gratifying to its patrons and friends. On the subject of health, they say :—

"The true character of the African climate is not well understood in other countries. Its inhabitants are as robust, as healthy, as long lived, to say the least, as those of any other country. Nothing like an epidemic has ever appeared in this colony; nor can we learn from the natives, that the calamity of a sweeping sickness ever yet visited this part of the continent. But the change from a temperate to a tropical country is a great one—too great not to affect the health, more or less—and, in the cases of old people, and very young children, it often causes death. In the early years of the colony, want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, their irregular mode of living, and the hardships and discouragements they met with, greatly helped the other causes of sickness, which prevailed to an alarming extent, and were attended with great mortality. But we look back to those times as to a season of trial long past, and nearly forgotten. People now arriving, have comfortable houses to receive them; will enjoy the regular attendance of a physician in the slight sickness that may await them; will be surrounded and attended by healthy and happy people, who have borne the effects of the climate, who will encourage and fortify them against that despondency, which, alone, has carried off several in the first years of the colony."

Another objection to the practicability of maintaining the colony, is founded on the supposed barrenness of the soil, and the consequent necessity of depending on foreign supplies for subsistence. The very name of Africa, is associated, in our imagination, with all that is desolate and frightful;—immense deserts of burning sand, whose dreadful masses, carried along by the whirlwind, overwhelm the parched traveller, and thus hasten the fate he would otherwise have suffered from thirst; and trackless wastes, inhabited only by beasts of prey, and venomous reptiles; with no water to refresh the sultry atmosphere, and no vegetation to relieve the dreary prospect. We are confirmed in this idea, by the common maps, which present to our view an immense continent, coloured, to denote occupaney, along the coast, but the interior, one vast blank, which we consider a desert; and, by our classic recollections, which remind us of the fate of Cambyzes' army, or the difficulties of Alexander's march to the shrine of his pretended father; and represent all beyond the northern coast, as "the uninhabitable regions." But the discoveries of modern travellers have proved the fallacy of these impressions. It is true, the desert of Zahara is a vast expanse of sand, where thousands have perished of fatigue and thirst; and the journals of scientific explorers, have furnished us with abundance of frightful pictures of its horrors. But this is only a part, and comparatively a small part, of the great continent of Africa. Beyond these sands, Africa furnishes a soil as fertile, and pro-

as originating in the form of his plates. Hence, violent quarrels between them, and mutual appeals to the public, which ended in a victory on the part of Hehl.

Mesmer's ideas on animal magnetism, differ in many respects from those now entertained by the supporters of this doctrine, being far less extended and chimerical. He was at first of opinion, that the magnet possessed a specific power in diffusing and communicating the universal fluid; and therefore, it was the chief agent in his mode of operating. He insisted, that he had the power of transmitting and fixing this principle at will. "I have observed," says he, "that the magnetic matter is analogous to the electric fluid, and that it is transmitted in the same manner, by intermediate bodies. Iron is not the only substance containing it. I have rendered paper, bread, wool, silk, leather, stone, glass, water, wood, dogs, and men, all magnetic; in a word, all I touched became endowed with this fluid, and produced the same effects on patients as the magnet itself."\*

Mesmer, soon after this, submitted his discoveries to the Royal Academy at Berlin, the only learned society that would receive his paper; but they rejected them as destitute of foundation, and unworthy the slightest attention. This, however, did not discourage him; he persevered in his experiments, but now declared that the curative agent was different from the mineral magnetism, and bestowed on it the name of animal magnetism. He soon began to acquire reputation, and to be eagerly followed; and as the majority of mankind form their opinions more from imitation, or a blind confidence in others, than from reasoning, the number of his adherents rapidly increased. But not being credited by the learned and well informed, he was at last obliged to leave Germany; he travelled through some parts of Europe, performing, as is said, many wonderful cures, and finally, arrived in Paris, in 1778.

By this time, the public attention was strongly excited by the accounts which were published of the success of this mode of overcoming disease, so that he had scarcely established himself in that city, when crowds flocked to consult him, some in hopes of relief, and others from mere curiosity. His success became unrivalled, and his patients increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to take pupils to assist him in his operations. The most celebrated of these, was Deslon, who soon equalled his instructor in the successful and miraculous effects he produced. Mesmer thought this a favourable moment again to bring his alleged discoveries before the learned societies, but was unable to effect his object. The disappointment arose, not so much from a repugnance in these bodies to investigate the subject, as from

\* Lettre de Mesmer, à M. Vuzer.

wise arise from European settlements in the neighbourhood. But its progress is not to be limited to the natural increase. Every year enlarges its capacity for receiving new emigrants with advantage, and renders their first settlement in the colony more safe and easy. It has been supposed by some, that persons cannot be found willing to go : but this is not the fact. There are hundreds desirous, and ready to emigrate ; and many more would be liberated for the purpose, were the Society possessed of the means of transporting them. Last year there was as great an accession of new settlers, as could be conveniently accommodated in the present circumstances of the colony. But as the settlements increase, so that the new comers may be distributed over a wider space, thousands can be as readily accommodated, as hundreds were last year, and any number may be received without inconvenience. Although the expense of transportation is not great, averaging about twenty-five dollars for each person, the funds of the Society have not enabled them to accomplish more than they have already done. But the cause is gaining ground in this country ; and is no longer considered as a mere chimera. The Society has advocates in every part of the Union ; and the prejudices formerly entertained against it, are gradually disappearing before the influence of facts. The legislatures of nine states\* have adopted resolutions, approving of the design of the Colonization Society ; and the General Assembly of Maryland, in the month of March 1827, passed an Act, directing the sum of one thousand dollars to be paid annually, to the treasurer of the American Colonization Society, to “ be expended for the benefit of the free people of colour who have been actual residents of that state for twelve months previous to their embarkation.” The number of auxiliary societies, in different parts of the Union, amounted, at the time of the last annual meeting, to ninety-six ; sixteen of which had been formed during the preceding year. A gentleman in the state of New-York, has made a donation of one hundred dollars to the Society, and offered to increase it to a thousand, payable in ten annual instalments, provided one hundred individuals will contribute in the same manner. His example has already been followed by several others, and the Society is not without hope that the whole number will be completed. The funds of the Society, though increasing, are still inadequate to meet the demands upon them : and the Board have applied to congress for assistance. As a national object, proposing to remove, or at least to alleviate a great national evil, it certainly deserves the attention of the General Government. Whe-

\* Georgia, Virginia, New-Jersey, Connecticut, Vermont, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maryland. It is believed that the states of Delaware, Rhode Island, and Illinois, have adopted similar resolutions.

ther it would be politic in the government, or beneficial to the colony, to take the settlement under the immediate protection of the United States, may admit of some doubt ; but there can scarcely be a doubt of the propriety of employing a portion of the public treasure in the promotion of the views of the Society, if there is a fair prospect of success. Much has already been done by the establishment of the United States' agency at Liberia, and the instructions given to the commanders of the public vessels, who have rendered very essential service to the colony. Much more might be effected if the government would contribute to increase the funds of the Society.

It is the opinion of some, that the negro race can never be capable of conducting the affairs of empire. But, in forming our estimate of their mental qualifications, great allowance should be made for prejudice, and the circumstances in which we have seen them ;—without education, or any means of intellectual improvement. When raised from their present degraded condition, and properly educated, there is no reason to suppose that they will be incapable of self-government. They are men ; and it is a libel on the species, to deny them the capacity requisite to manage their own affairs. Not to mention the rude governments of Africa, equal, at least, to those of other people, at the same stage of civilization ; the existence of the Haytien republic furnishes an instance of the capacity of negroes to manage the political machine ; and that too, in circumstances of great difficulty, and under every disadvantage. Some of the leaders of that state, have evinced talents of no ordinary degree, and if Pétion, and Christophe, were guilty of cruel and ferocious acts, they also exhibited energy and skill, fully adequate to maintain and defend their government. There is therefore no good reason to doubt, that, with proper education, the citizens of Liberia will in due time be perfectly competent to take care of themselves ; and that with the cultivation of their present moral and religious principles, they will establish a happy and flourishing commonwealth.

We purposed, in the last place, to consider the probable effects of the establishment of the colony ; and first, as it regards this country.

We shall not dwell upon the commercial advantage of having friendly ports for our vessels to stop at, on their way to and from India ; nor upon the still greater advantage of having a constantly increasing market for our manufactures of every description, from which we may receive in return, gold, ivory, precious and fragrant gums, drugs, and all the various productions of the torrid zone. These and similar ones, suggest themselves as the almost certain consequence of the success of the Liberian Colony. Nor is it a trifling political object to have our language, and the princi-

ples of our government, extended over a large territory in the continent of Africa, as will in all likelihood be the case, if the colony prosper. Less flattering prospects have induced the powers of Europe to found distant colonies, at great labour and expense; but these, although probable results, are not the primary objects of the settlement of Liberia.

The great object of the Society, so far as regards this country, is the diminution of the black population;—the alleviation, and, if possible, the entire removal of the curse of slavery, and the evil of having among us a distinct race of people, who can never be thoroughly amalgamated with the white population, and who must always have separate interests from ourselves. This is not a local disease, affecting only particular members of the political system: for, not to mention the intimate connexion of the different sections of our country, and the interest of all, to promote the welfare of each part, it must be obvious, on the slightest examination, that the evil of a coloured population pervades the whole, and is felt in each separate portion. We need not speak of the immediate effects of slavery in those states where it exists; they are acknowledged by all to be grievous; but, throughout the non-slave-holding states, the negroes form a distinct race, branded by their colour, as an inferior caste; regarded with a species of loathing when thought of as companions, and for ever shut out from the privileges of the white men by whom they are surrounded. Be it prejudice, or be it founded in reason, the feeling exists; and the warmest friend of the cause of abolition, would shrink with disgust from the idea of a matrimonial connexion between his children and this unfortunate people. No matter what may be their industry and sobriety; no matter what their attainments in science, or their character for morality, they can never hope to pass the broad line of demarcation, or assume a station of equality with the other members of the community. If by habits of industry, and correct deportment, a few individuals rise above their degraded brethren, their condition is scarcely improved. Conscious of their superiority to those of their own colour, by whom they are envied, they can find no satisfaction in their society; while they are shunned and despised by the meanest of the whites, perhaps far inferior to them, in every particular, save *colour*: and if they have brought up children, to whom they have given the benefit of education, there is little chance of their finding suitable companions among their own people. To unite them to respectable whites, is impossible. Thus destitute of all the advantages, while they possess the name of freemen; deprived of every incentive to virtuous exertion, and exposed to every temptation to vice, it is no wonder that they are degraded and miserable. Nor does the future offer any prospect of amendment in their condition. To them the volume of

time, like the roll of the prophet, reveals only "lamentations, and mourning, and wo."

The natural consequence of this deplorable state of things, is seen and felt in our large cities, and, in a degree, throughout the country. We have an idle, ignorant, vicious population, crowded together in their wretched hovels, with scarcely the means of procuring a scanty subsistence. Naturally improvident, and without moral restraint, they are driven to crime to satisfy the cravings of want, and readily become the tenants of the almshouse, or the jail. In a memorial prepared by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and presented to the legislature of that state, at their last session, it is stated, that, of the whole population of Pennsylvania, which is estimated at 1,200,000, about 40,000, or one-thirtieth, are people of colour: and the following statement, taken from the records of the state penitentiary, is then given:—

"In 1826, of 296 persons convicted, and brought to the Philadelphia prison, 117 were coloured; being nearly in the ratio of 3 to 7. Had the number of coloured convicts been proportional to the coloured population of the state, there would have been but 6, instead of 117. The average of the last seven years, proves a similar disproportion."

The proportion of coloured paupers, maintained at the public expense, is also enormous. Nor is this state of things confined to Pennsylvania: it is found in all the states, though perhaps not always to the same extent; but wherever there is a black population, this evil exists in some degree, and is constantly increasing. Without entering into the calculations on this subject, for which we refer those desirous of seeing them, to the annual reports of the Society, and the statements annexed to them, we may state some of the general results. The whole coloured population of the United States, is estimated at about 2,000,000, and they are supposed to increase in nearly the same ratio as the whites, or to double in thirty years. In thirty years from this time, then, there will be 4,000,000 of negroes in the country; and, in sixty years, 8,000,000! A nation of eight millions of degraded, despised, oppressed beings! And to this accelerated progress, there is no limit. The barbarous scheme of Pharaoh, if practicable, would alone retard it. But, from this, our feelings as men, and as Christians, revolt with horror. What then is to be done? We would fain indulge the hope, that this dreadful curse will one day be removed; and that, when we speak of the millions who inhabit our land, we may add with pride, *they are all freemen*. We know not how it may be with others, but for ourselves, we see no human means by which this can be accomplished, unless it be by colonization; and, if ever the work is to be commenced, it cannot be done under more favourable auspices than at the present period. It is, at least, worth the expe-

rimment ; and now is the best time for making it. The American Colonization Society have undertaken to lead the way ; they have founded a colony on the coast of Africa ; and it only requires the encouragement of an enlightened country, to give the plan a fair trial. If it succeed, the benefit to our country will be incalculable ; if it fail, the pious and patriotic men who have made the attempt, have done their duty ; and we must submit, with resignation, to the unavoidable calamity. But there is yet hope ; and while any thing remains untried, no effort should be spared. It is true, the work is immense, and the means of the Society are small—confessedly inadequate to the accomplishment of the project. But the Society never pretended to be able to carry through this great enterprise. They have acted only as pioneers in the work. All they could expect to do, was “merely to pave the way, to point out the track,” and call upon the nation to follow.

Even with the assistance of government, there are many difficulties ; and the final attainment of the object must be remote : but the difficulties are not insuperable ; and the remoteness of the desirable event should be no objection. It is to be recollected, that this matter affects the vital interest of the republic ; and, if a century or more is required to complete it, this time, in the age of a nation, is soon passed. Individuals commence works which they can scarcely expect to see finished ; and surely, a great national undertaking is not to be left unattempted, because the present generation may not witness its completion. But the benefits of colonization are not to be referred to a remote period ; they commence immediately—they are already felt ; and every year, as it extends the operation of the plan, will increase its beneficial effects, and facilitate its final accomplishment. Each state, like Maryland, may take advantage of this measure, and remove the coloured population within its own borders ; and those states which have heretofore been obliged to forbid emancipation, will have no longer cause for apprehension, when the slave can be removed as soon as he is liberated. Many gentlemen of the South, have expressed their willingness to emancipate their slaves, if the Society would take charge of them ; and this feeling will, no doubt, increase, if adequate means for its exercise be afforded. In some of the states, the education of slaves is forbidden by law ; and, in most of them, the advantages of instruction are in a great measure withheld from the people of colour. In their present situation, this may be necessary ; but if the means of their removal from the country were provided, their education might be encouraged with safety, in the assurance, that the more enlightened they become, the more desirous they will be to embrace this opportunity of improving their condition. Many of the better class of our colour-



ed population, still regard the colony with suspicion, and distrust the benevolent intentions of its founders; but, when they know that there is a nation of their brethren on the coast of Africa, in the full enjoyment of all the blessings of freedom and rational equality, their prejudices will yield to conviction, and they will be glad to enrol themselves among the citizens of Liberia. Instead of being looked upon, as it now is, by too many, as a receptacle of slaves, and discontented free negroes, it will be regarded in its true light, as the appropriate home of the coloured man, —the only place where he may employ his faculties to their full extent, and assert the dignity of his nature, as a man, and a free-man. The number of emigrants to this country, from Great Britain and Ireland, during the year 1827, was twenty-three thousand; and the number this year, will probably be as great, or greater. If such multitudes leave their homes, and come to a foreign land to procure employment and support, the same motives, with all the additional reasons the peculiarity of their situation suggests, will induce the coloured people of this country to emigrate to Africa, when assured, that, by so doing, they will certainly improve their condition. The annual increase of our whole coloured population, is estimated at 52,000; to remove any portion of this would be an advantage: to remove the whole, would prevent the growth of the evil; and every thing beyond this, would tend to its eradication.

Such are some of the motives which may induce the patriot to further the views of the Colonization Society; the philanthropist and the Christian will find ample room for the exercise of their benevolence, in the blessings to be conferred upon the emigrants, and upon the continent of Africa. As to the emigrants, it is only necessary to compare their miserable state here, with their situation in Africa, to be sensible of the great improvement of their condition. In the circular from which we have already quoted, and to which, as published in the appendix of the eleventh annual report, we refer our readers, the colonists, after stating the object of their emigration to be the enjoyment of real liberty, say:—

“Our constitution secures to us, so far as our condition allows, all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the United States; and these rights and these privileges are ours. We are proprietors of the soil we live on, and possess the rights of freeholders. Our suffrages, and what is of more importance, our sentiments and our opinions, have their due weight in the government we live under. Our laws are altogether our own; they grew out of our circumstances; are framed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our confidence. . . . Forming a community of our own, in the land of our forefathers; having the commerce, and soil, and resources of the country at our disposal, we know nothing of that debasing inferiority, with which our very colour stamped us in America: there is nothing here to create the feeling on our part,—nothing to cherish the feeling of superiority in the minds of the foreigners who visit us. It is this moral emancipation—this liberation of the mind from worse than iron fetters, that

repays us ten thousand times over, for all that it has cost us, and makes us grateful to God, and our American patrons, for the happy change which has taken place in our situation."

And again, after enumerating the advantages they possess :—

"Truly we have a goodly heritage : and if there is any thing lacking in the character or condition of the people of this colony, it never can be charged to the account of the country : it must be the fruit of our own mismanagement, or slothfulness, or vices. But, from these evils, we confide in Him, to whom we are indebted for all our blessings, to preserve us. It is the topic of our weekly and daily thanksgiving to Almighty God, both in public and in private, and He knows with what sincerity, that we were ever conducted by his Providence to this shore."

But we hasten to make a few observations upon the benefits likely to accrue to Africa, generally, from the establishment of this colony on its shores. In doing this, we pass by many important particulars ; such as the exploration of the country—the introduction of our manufactures, &c., and confine our attention to the probable effect of the colony in abolishing the slave trade, and civilizing the native tribes.

To suppress the slave trade, has been for many years an object of national policy with several governments, both in Europe and America. It has been interdicted by solemn treaties, and proscribed by the laws of individual states. The most despotic, and the most democratic governments, have joined in denouncing it. Austria and Colombia have proclaimed "universal emancipation ;" while Great Britain and the United States have exerted their naval force in attempting the extermination of this infamous trade. But still it exists ; and not only exists, but flourishes nearly as much as ever. The reports of the African Institution, present a detailed list of the names of two hundred and eighteen vessels, believed to be engaged in this trade, in the year 1824 ; and the number of its victims in that year, was ascertained to be not less than *one hundred and twenty thousand* ; of whom, about twenty thousand perished on the middle passage, or soon after their arrival at the port of their destination. "More than twenty thousand reached in that year the single port of Rio Janeiro."\* We attempt no description of this inhuman traffic. The barbarous cruelties which attend every step of its progress, from its commencement in treacherous wiles to entrap its victims, to its consummation, by consigning them to endless and hopeless slavery, have been too often, and too faithfully delineated, to need repetition here. But, supposing every one to concur in the propriety of its suppression, we assert, without hesitation, that colonization upon the coast of Africa, affords the only pros-

\* It appears by an official document, received from Rio de Janeiro, that the following importations of slaves were made into that port, in 1826 and 1827.—

1826, landed alive, 35,966—died on passage, 1985.

1827, do. do. 41,388—ditto ditto, 1643.

pect of success in this benevolent enterprise. This trade, which has been confirmed by the practice of centuries, and is supported by its ministering to so many powerful passions of our nature, is not to be put down by force, so long as a place can be found for the supply or reception of slaves. In vain may the governments of distant nations proscribe it by their treaties, or declare it piracy by their laws. In vain may they line Africa with their ships, and establish "mixed commissions," for the trial and punishment of offenders. Rapacity and avarice will still find means to elude the vigilance, or baffle the efforts of benevolence; and the friends of humanity must mourn over the inefficacy of their exertions. This is the lesson of experience on the subject, when, after years of unavailing effort, the evil rages with unabated violence.

In this state of affairs, we look on Colonization as the only expedient by which the object may be effected. Its operation is two-fold,—*direct*,—by occupying the coast and so cutting off access to the source of the polluted stream;—and *indirect*, by convincing the natives of the criminal nature of the trade, and turning their attention to other means of gain. The plan adopted by the regular slave traders, for obtaining their cargoes, is, to have agents, residing at different parts of the country, who procure the required number of slaves, and collect them at certain stations or factories, generally in some river or secluded inlet from the sea; in the mean time, the slaver hovers about the coast, avoiding the cruisers stationed there, or showing an empty vessel when boarded; until she can find a favourable opportunity of running in, taking her living cargo on board, and escaping, perhaps in the course of a single night; so that the utmost vigilance may be evaded. The immediate effect of the occupation of the coast, in destroying this practice, must of course be confined to the space within the jurisdiction of the colony: and so far as this extends, its salutary operation is already sensible. Not many years ago, there were several of these slave stations within a few miles of Cape Montserado; at which the trade was actively prosecuted; but since the establishment of the colony, they have been completely broken up. Every exertion for this purpose is made by the colonial government; and, in 1826, they could say "the line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, is now under British protection; and from Cape Mount to Trade Town, (the Liberian coast,) a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, the slave trade cannot be prosecuted with the least hope of success. Many of the tribes are really disposed to abandon it, and all perceive the hazard with which, in future, it must be attended."

But the most effectual method of putting an end to this traffic, is by bringing it into discredit among the natives themselves:

and this can be effected only by means of a colony. For centuries, these wretched beings have been accustomed to look upon this trade as the only means of securing a supply of foreign articles. Wars have been fomented, and villages depopulated, to furnish its victims; and they have found it far easier to make their purchases from the strangers, in a way that would at the same time gratify their malignant passions, than by the products of regular industry. Now, in order to draw them off from this detestable occupation, it is necessary to inspire them with an abhorrence of it; to convince them that their real interest is opposed to it; and to turn their attention to other means of profitable intercourse with foreigners. Their country is rich in natural productions of every kind; and but moderate labour is requisite, to supply them with the staples of a gainful commerce. But this change cannot be effected without the constant inculcation of better principles; and a regular market for their produce, such as an extensive settlement among them alone can afford: the reports from the colony, encourage the hope that much has already been done in this way, and still greater results may be expected. Several of the tribes, in the neighbourhood of the settlement, have expressed their conviction that the slave trade is a "*bad business*;" and their determination not to engage in it again, if they can avoid it; and the chiefs have invited the colonists to settle among them, and teach their people the arts of agriculture. All these things have an effect; but if ever the work be finally accomplished, it must be by the introduction of civilization and true religion into this degraded country.

The obligation to extend the benefits of civilization and religion to heathen countries, is one of those called by moral philosophers, *imperfect*, inasmuch as they can be enforced by no human authority; but they are not, on that account, the less valid, or the less binding upon the conscience. They are, however, always addressed to the reason only, and every one must judge for himself how far he is subject to their force. If any country has claims of this kind upon Christendom generally, and our land in particular, it is Africa. Her fields have been laid waste, and her inhabitants brutalized, to feed the market with slaves; and almost every nation has partaken directly or indirectly in the cruel traffic. Our own country has shared largely in the spoil; and, though we now regret the part we have had in it, an atonement is still due to injured Africa; and, if her oppressed children and their descendants are made, through our means, the instruments of her civilization, it will be a late, but glorious recompense for all her sufferings. But Christian benevolence needs no such motives for exertion. It is sufficient, if there be a field of action, with the hope of usefulness, to call forth her energies, and none presents a better scene for benevolent operations, than the coast of Africa,

through the medium of the colony of Liberia. The character of the natives is represented by travellers, as naturally mild and docile, though their intercourse with foreigners, engaged in the slave trade, has given them some features of savage ferocity. The scattered remains of villages, and marks of former cultivation, bear testimony to their primitive disposition, and prove that they were not always the degraded people they now are. There is reason to believe, that, before the introduction of the slave trade, and its consequent evils, they were a mild and inoffensive race; and the researches of modern travellers have shown this to be the character of the tribes beyond the sphere of its baneful influence. The religious notions of these people, are of the grossest kind. With scarcely a glimmering idea of a Supreme Being, and but a faint sense of moral obligation, they are subject to the darkest superstition. They believe in the conflicting influences of an evil and a good principle, and have great confidence in charms, or *fetiches*, prepared by their magicians, and supposed to hold a mysterious influence over their destiny. But there are no settled religious principles, no established forms of worship, to which they have become habituated, or attached. There is, therefore, no obstacle of this kind to overcome; and the introduction of the Christian religion would probably meet with fewer difficulties, than in almost any other uncivilized nation. They readily yield to a new impulse, and, degraded as they are, they manifest a sense of the importance of education. Many of the chiefs have sent their sons to the West Indies, and to England, for instruction; and, since the establishment of colonies upon their coast, they have been very desirous to obtain for their children admission into the colonial schools. Upon such a people, a colony, founded on the principles of that of Liberia, must necessarily have a beneficial influence. They see the colonists living in comfortable habitations, secure from external violence, and enjoying the pleasures of social life; and the superiority of this condition to their own, must be obvious to the dullest comprehension. They see, too, that all this may be attained by a race of men like themselves; and they learn to attribute the difference, not to the colour of their skin, but to its real cause,—an improved moral and religious education. In the language of Mr. Clay: “Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.” One great reason why missionary exertions are so often unavailing, is, that the instructor is a stranger to those whom he is sent to teach,—unacquainted with their manners and habits;—an individual, lost in the surrounding multitude. But here is a whole people, settled among them, teaching them by example, as well as by precept; their own condition, a living testimony to the soundness of the lessons they inculcate. Nor let it be supposed that the civilization

of a barbarous people is impracticable. It has often been effected, and always by the operation of extrinsic causes. History furnishes not a single instance of a barbarous people becoming civilized by their own unaided exertions; the first seeds of civilization have always been introduced from abroad. And thus it must be with Africa: if ever that vast continent is to experience the blessings of civilization, it must be through the medium of foreign benevolence. The tendency of the colony to produce these effects, may be seen from the following extract from one of Mr. Ashmun's reports to the Board:—

“The first effects of the colony, in civilizing and improving the condition of the natives of Africa, are beginning to be realized.

“The policy which I have invariably pursued, in all the intercourse of the colony with them, is that of humanity, benevolence, and justice. They have been treated as men and brethren of a common family. We have practically taught them, in the spirit of the parent institution, that one end of our settlement in their country is to *do them good*. We have adopted sixty of their children, and brought them forward as children of the colony,—and shown a tender concern for their happiness, and a sacred regard to their rights, even when possessed of a dictatorial power over both. In this conduct, a new and surprising view of the character of civilized man has been presented to them. They have, for the first time, witnessed the effects of principles superior to the hopes of mercenary advantage, in this conduct of the settlers, and for the first time appear to be apprized of the fact, that, among civilized people, there is a good, as well as a bad class. They have learnt from this colony, what no other foreigners have cared to teach them—their immortality—their accountability to the God who made them, and the destruction which certainly awaits, at last, the unrestrained indulgence of their lusts and vices. They have for the first time learnt, and still can scarcely believe, that thousands of strangers in another hemisphere, are cordially interested in the advancement of their happiness. Our influence over them is unbounded—it is increasing—it is more extensive than I dare at this early period risk my character by asserting. We have their confidence and their friendship,—and those built on the fullest conviction, that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other.”

It is with unfeigned regret, that we record the death of the agent to whom the colony is so deeply indebted, and the last seven years of whose life, were unreservedly devoted to the promotion of its welfare. He died at New-Haven, Connecticut, on the 25th August last, soon after his arrival from Liberia; which he had left in the spring, with the intention of returning, as soon as his health would permit. His loss will be sincerely mourned by the colonists, who were all ardently attached to him: and our best wish for Liberia, is, that his mantle may fall upon his successor.

Dr. Richard Randall, of the city of Washington, appointed by the Board to succeed Mr. Ashmun, and also commissioned by the president, as United States' Agent, to take charge of recaptured Africans, sailed, last month, in the United States' schooner *Shark*, to assume the station of Resident Colonial Agent.

We have thus attempted to sketch the history of the Colonization Society, and give a general idea of its objects and effects.

These require only to be known, to be approved; and however people may differ as to the practicability of the plan, all must join in admiring the principles on which it is founded. One thing seems very certain: that the evil of a coloured population is constantly increasing, and that if ever it is to be removed, or even checked in its progress, it must be by means of colonization. As to Africa itself, there is strong ground for the hope, that, if the present colony be persevered in, the blessings of religion and civilization may be introduced there, without the extermination of the natives, as in the case of the aborigines of this country. The cases are very different. The European settlers of this country were a race wholly different from the natives, in constitution and complexion, as well as in language and manners. They could never amalgamate; and every year has witnessed the diminution of the Indians, before the progress of civilization. Not so in Africa. There the aborigines of the country are of the same race with the new settlers, who are, in fact, merely returning to the land of their fathers;—their complexion the same, and their constitution immediately assimilating. The native tribes, (not wandering savages, but already settled in villages,) naturally docile, will soon perceive the importance of the blessings offered to them, and easily adopt the habits, and the manners, with the principles of civilized life.

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#### ART. VII.—ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

- 1.—*Du Magnétisme animal, considéré dans ses rapports avec diverses branches de la Physique générale.* Par A. M. J. DE CHASTENET, *Ms. de Puységur*. Paris: 1820. pp. 472. 8vo.
- 2.—*Histoire critique du Magnétisme animal.* Par J. P. F. DELEUZE. Paris: 1819. 2 tomes. 8vo.
- 3.—*Instruction pratique sur le Magnétisme animal.* Par J. P. F. DELEUZE. Paris: 1825. pp. 472. 8vo.
- 4.—*Du Magnétisme animal en France, &c.* Par A. BERTRAND. Paris: 1826. pp. 539. 8vo.
- 5.—*Expériences publiques sur le Magnétisme animal, faites à l'hôtel Dieu de Paris, &c.* Par J. DUPOTET. Paris: 1826. pp. 136. 8vo.
- 6.—*Le Propagateur du Magnétisme animal.* Par une Société de Médecins. Paris: 1827–8. 5 Nos.

WE are induced to notice the works, the titles of which we have just given, from the mania that has lately been revived on

the continent of Europe, and particularly in France, in favour of that most philosophical of all impostures, *Animal Magnetism*. This subject, after having languished for many years, has again attracted much attention, and claims among its votaries many distinguished characters. But this affords no proof of its correctness, or practical utility; for, no theory that has ever been created by the fertile brain of man, that has not had its enthusiastic supporters; no doctrine, however absurd, that has not found advocates and defenders, who were willing to risk both life and fortune in its furtherance. History teems with instances of these extraordinary delusions, from the earliest ages, down to the present era of the "march of intellect and universal diffusion of knowledge." Man is naturally a credulous animal, with an appetite for the marvellous too strongly implanted in his nature, to be wholly eradicated; education, it is true, may weaken this propensity, but can never entirely destroy it.

From the first dawn of learning, philosophers and metaphysicians have endeavoured to investigate human nature and its attributes; and, although the inquiry has been pursued with unremitting zeal, but few satisfactory results have been obtained. If dealing in positive assertions, wholly destitute of even the shadow of a proof, and, in many cases, without the slightest knowledge of the subject on which they so dogmatically decide, would have settled this intricate question, we should not be now wandering in a labyrinth of doubt and perplexity. Unfortunately, the question remains in much the same state it was thousands of years ago; and it appears probable that it will continue so, unless some bold spirit should arrive at the truth, like the Genoese navigator, by a new and untrodden path.

One of the great difficulties which presented itself at the very outset of the investigation, was, what should be considered as man's distinctive character; and in vain have philosophers racked their brains, to discover some point on which he totally differed from the rest of animated nature. This failure is the more extraordinary, as there certainly does exist, in the whole human race, one striking and peculiar attribute bestowed on us from the first moment of our existence, which "grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength," clinging to us with increasing pertinacity, till it is destroyed by that elucidator of all mysteries, death.

This character is credulity; and it exists equally in men of the highest degree of civilization; and in the most untutored savage; in the skeptic and the believer; in the poet and the warrior; Bacon acknowledged its existence, and the stern mind of Johnson bent beneath its influence; in our own days, even Napoleon, the destroyer and overthrower of ancient monarchies, and the subverter of long-established prejudices, was a believer in desti-



ny, and mingled a reliance on the influence of his peculiar star, with his mighty projects of reform and universal sway.

In no department of human knowledge, has this propensity for the marvellous been more fully developed, than in medicine. From the moment man turned his attention to the relief and cure of diseases, not content with the means so amply bestowed on him by nature, he boldly sought to obtain a knowledge of the hidden principles of life, and hoped to accomplish the desired end, by chemical transmutations, or vainly attempting to read his fate in the aspect of the heavens. This latter folly arose to such a height, that, at the birth of every individual, a certain star was supposed to preside, and, according as this was propitious or malignant, so would be his degree of happiness or misery.

The most prolific epoch in new and extravagant speculations of this nature, was during that mental twilight which pervaded all Europe in the middle ages, when superstition and credulity exercised an almost unlimited sway. Then arose those extraordinary delusions of fancy, and were developed those fearful dreams of witchcraft and sympathies, of the philosopher's stone, and universal medicine, which so long misled the minds of the learned. These are far from being forgotten, and are daily re-appearing, under forms better adapted to the spirit of the times. For, although we loudly boast of our discoveries in science, and our rapid progress in knowledge, we are obliged to confess,—so far are we from being freed from the influence of these impostures,—that they still pervade every division of learning, and every rank of life.

Astrology, it is true, has long been consigned to that oblivion and contempt it so richly merited; and the noble science of witchcraft is nearly at an end. Our houses are rarely disturbed by unaccountable noises as in days of yore; children do not vomit crooked pins and rusty ten-penny nails; and old women may now keep black cats and ride broomsticks to the midnight levees of his satanic majesty, without danger of being subjected to those approved and delicate tests of their compact with evil spirits, so liberally resorted to in the olden time, when it was fully proven, that a real witch was either incombustible, or possessed a less specific gravity than water.

A belief in these arts, is now justly considered as superstitious and childish; but notwithstanding the increase of knowledge which has dispelled these errors, we are still inundated with other quackeries full as mischievous and degrading. Scarcely has one delusion been destroyed, when others spring forth like the heads of the fabled hydra. How many persons are there, and those among the educated and well informed, who still give implicit credence to the most absurd superstitions; whom the breaking of a looking-glass, or seeing the new moon over their left



shoulder, would render unhappy, and who would on no account begin a journey, or undertake new business, on a Friday. These, and a thousand other omens and signs are believed by a majority of mankind, and though each may laugh at their neighbour's credulity, they still treasure up a pet superstition of their own. Although the idea of the philosopher's stone is now scoffed at, a firm reliance is placed on the virtues of some universal medicine; and panacea after panacea is produced and indiscriminately used with the same result as formerly—that of filling the pockets of the projector. But it would be an endless task to enumerate the schemes of fraud and imposture which hourly make their appearance, and enlist crowds of votaries in their favour.

A belief in *animal magnetism*, may be traced back to a very early period. The ancients admitted the existence of a fluid or agent, which pervaded the whole universe, and was the cause of life and motion. According to this doctrine, the soul of man was a portion of this universal spirit, which, on his death, became freed, and entered into other combinations. Fenelon, in his *Telemachus*, has alluded to this theory in a happy and beautiful manner. “L'ame universelle est un vaste ocean de lumière ; nos ames sont autant de petits ruisseaux qui y prennent leur source et retournent s'y perdre.”

The same idea is found among the nations of the east, but in a still more extended form; according to Sir Wm. Jones, the Brahmins believe, that not only the souls of men, but also all that exists in the world, are an immediate emanation from Brahma, not merely created by his power, but an absolute diffusion of himself, so that to use the quaint explanation of Bernier, “he created the world as a spider produces a web, which it draws from its own bowels, and can again resume at will.”

When the nations of Europe began to turn their attention from the scenes of confusion and bloodshed in which they had been involved, after the division and destruction of the Roman empire, to the pursuits of science and learning, they necessarily adopted many of the speculations of the ancients; and although the spirit of Christianity did not permit them to carry their ideas of this universal soul to such an extravagant height, and to consider it as a part of the Deity, still some were firm believers in it. The only writer of consequence who supported the doctrine to its full extent, was Spinoza, in the seventeenth century.

The system of the world, generally followed by the philosophers of the dark ages, was highly imaginative and poetic. They supposed that the empyrean embraced the whole of the stars and constellations, and was the primary source of vitality and animation: that every object possessed life, but in different degrees, and that all were parts of one great whole, connected by this universal vitality. All properties of the earth and its parts

were but emanations from the stars. The only thing that was not in direct subjection to the laws of the universe, was the soul of man, but even this acted in harmony with them ; and although uninfluenced by the constellations, yet they ruled his mortal part, and gave rise to his happiness or misery.

In pursuing their investigations, connected with this wild but beautiful theory, the wonderful properties of the magnet, soon attracted the attention of the learned, and all the characters of the universal fluid were thought to be concentrated in it ;—it appeared to unite every quality that had been attributed to this agent, and in fact to be a condensation of all the wonders of nature ; its principle of action was unknown, and therefore must have emanated from the stars ; and as it always turned to the north, the polar star was the great origin of its powers. Magnetism, and the all pervading fluid or soul, were now thought to be identical, and every action of nature was supposed to be the immediate result of its influence.

Wirdig\* thus expresses himself on the subject—"Universa natura magnetica est : totus mundus constat et positus est in magnetismo, omnes sublunarium vicissitudines fiunt per magnetismum, vita conservatur magnetismo, interitus omnium rerum fiunt per magnetismum ;" and he only gives the generally received opinions of the time at which he wrote.

Having this universality and all powerful influence, every event was of course referred to its powers, more particularly those which arose from the reciprocal action of one living being on another ; such as the fascination produced by certain birds over their prey, the fatal charming of these again, by serpents, and the instantaneous destruction of man himself from the glance of a basilisk.

To the effects of magnetism were also referred all those sympathies and antipathies so generally observable in nature ; and as this fluid was the bond of union and harmony between different bodies, it was also believed to exist in full force between their parts, should these be even separated. Hence arose a reliance on the curative powers of sympathetic medicaments and powders, which, being applied to the instrument that had caused a wound, or to any article imbrued with the blood, would cure the injury, certainly and expeditiously, even where the operation was performed at a great distance from the patient. The celebrated Sir Kenelm Digby was a strenuous advocate for this practice, and has given several marvellous instances of cures thus performed, some of which fell under his own notice. One of these so fully exemplifies the mode of operating, that we do not think it right to pass it over. One of his friends, in endeavour-

\* *Medicina spirituum.*

touching any clothing that has been worn by an individual, suffering under disease."

This accounts for the marvellous stories which have been lately current, of these somnambulists being able to tell the disease with which an individual, living in another country, may be affected, merely from an inspection of a lock of his hair.

In the *Propagateur du Magnétisme animal*, several of these incidents are related, one of which we will condense, as affording a fair example of the extent to which this delusion has been carried. "We arrived," says the relater, "at the house of MM. Chapelain and Dupotet, were introduced, and found a female in a state of somnambulism; her eyes were completely closed, and the lids appeared to be so firmly applied to each other, that tears could not escape. Mr. Dupotet was consulting her about a patient in the country, who had sent a lock of his hair, and which she held in her hand. She ordered the proper remedies for the case. A letter from the sick person was shown to us, in which he says, that the symptoms she had described him as suffering from, really existed." A similar narrative has been given in one of the last numbers of the London Literary Gazette.

The mode of producing somnambulism, and all other magnetic effects, are given at great length, in *L' instruction pratique sur le magnétisme animal, par Deleuze*, as well as in his *Histoire critique*. As some of our readers may wish to try the experiment themselves, we have endeavoured to reduce these rules to as small a compass as possible.

"When any person is desirous of being magnetised, you must make him promise to obey your directions in every particular, and, above all, not to mention his intention of submitting to the operation, to any individual. When he has agreed to this, the process may be undertaken, but nobody is to be present, except the necessary witnesses, and if possible but one of these; whoever does attend, must not be allowed to interfere in the operation or its results."

"Having fixed the person in a commodious posture, you are to place yourself on a seat a little more elevated than his, and directly opposite to him, so that your knees and feet may touch. Then take his thumbs between your fingers, in such a manner, that his and your thumbs may be applied to each other; you are to remain in this position, till you feel that they have acquired an equal temperature."

We would remark, that all the authors on animal magnetism, are of opinion, that the action of this fluid is better communicated by the thumbs, than in any other manner.

"The hands are then to be placed on the shoulders, and suffered to remain there two or three minutes, and afterwards gently brought down the arms to the thumbs; this manœuvre is to be repeated three or four times. Then the two hands are to be placed over the pit of the stomach, so that the thumbs are over the solar plexus, and the fingers on the ribs. When you feel an equalization of temperature, the hands are to be gradually lowered to the knees, then carried to the head, and again brought down to the knees, or even to the feet; this process is to be continued for some time, always taking care to turn the palms of

In act V. sc. 4, Miranda enters with Hippolito's sword.

*Hip.* O my wound pains me. (*She unwraps the sword.*)

*Mir.* I am come to ease you.

*Hip.* Alas I feel the cold air come to me,

My wound shoots worse than ever.

*Mir.* Does it still grieve you? (*She wipes and anoints the sword.*)

*Hip.* Now, methinks, there's something laid just upon it.

*Mir.* Do you find no ease?

*Hip.* Yes, yes, upon the sudden all the pain is leaving me,  
Sweet heaven, how I am eased.

It is really astonishing, that men of observation and talents, should have been adherents of such glaring absurdities; but that many of the alleged cures really occurred, there can be no doubt; and a simple explanation may be given, why these preparations so long enjoyed the confidence of the public. One of the directions for their use, was, that the wounds should be constantly cleansed with tepid water, and kept from the influence of the air; by thus being in a great measure left to the curative powers of nature, and the instruments that inflicted them salved, they were much more likely to heal, than under the barbarous treatment with hot irons and irritating balsams, then in vogue.

But the power of magnetic sympathy extended even further than the mere curing of wounds. It is a notorious fact, that if an image be made of wax, in the exact resemblance of a person, any injury done to this, would be felt by the individual. "Niderus speaketh of one Cœniponte, a most notorious witch, who, by making a picture of wax, and pricking it with needles in various parts, and then burying it under the threshold of her neighbour's house, whom she much hated, she was tormented with such grievous and insufferable prickings in her flesh, as if so many needles had been then sticking in her body. But the image being found and burned, she was instantly restored to her former health and strength."\*

By means of this subtle and omnipresent fluid, persons could converse at any distance. This mode of communication, which is certainly by far superior to any modern telegraph, was very simple, and only consisted in slicing off a morsel of flesh from the arms of those who wished to possess this power, and applying that taken from one, to the arm of the other; on these pieces, which soon became incorporated with the individual, the alphabet was to be traced, and when one of the persons, thus prepared, touched any letter with a sharp-pointed iron, the other was apprized of it, by a sensation of pain, at the spot corresponding to the designated letter.

Grafts of flesh thus united to another body, also experienced the effect of the magnetic fluid in another manner. For when the individual died, from whose body they were taken, they al-

\* Heyward's Angelicall Hierarchie.

ers; and it is obtained so frequently, that a fifth part of all those who submit to be magnetised, are thrown into different degrees of it. The production of this state; and the *clairvoyance*, or second sight of individuals, during its continuance, may be considered as the great characteristic distinction, between the magnetism of the present day, and that of Mesmer.

But it has been induced in a much more rapid manner, than by the procedure we have given above. An abbé Faria acquired such a magnetic power, that he could produce the somnambulist state in his patients by merely speaking to them. Bertrand gives the following account of his method:—

“He seated the person to be magnetised in a chair, ordered him to shut his eyes, and abstract his mind from passing events, then suddenly pronounced, in an emphatic and imperative tone, the word *sleep*! this usually produced such an effect on the patient, as to occasion trembling and other symptoms, speedily followed, in many cases, by somnambulism. If his first attempt did not succeed, he repeated it three times; and if still unsuccessful, declared that the person was incapable of entering into this condition!”

He boasted that he had caused somnambulism in upwards of 5000 persons; there may be some exaggeration in this, but it is incontestable that he generally succeeded. Faria was, however, a complete charlatan, and made use of the power he acquired over the imagination of individuals, as a means of enriching himself; having public exhibitions of somnambulists.

The theories of magnetism now professed, may be reduced to three general heads.—That of Mesmer, and his disciples; that of the Spiritualists; and that of Puysegur.

The first, as we have already observed, admits the existence of a universal fluid, which fills all space, and is the medium of communication between all bodies. The Spiritualists believe, that all the phenomena are produced by the soul, and that physical action is almost useless; this doctrine, which has many partisans in Germany and Prussia, is by far the most mystical. The exegetic and philanthropic society of Stockholm, thus explain this theory:—

“There are two modes of magnetising; one physical, the other supernatural. The principle which gives activity to the first, is the desire of the magnetiser to act on the patient, and the confidence he has in himself; the foundation of the other, is the same desire, but under the will of God, whose benediction the magnetiser implores, if the cure is conformable to the designs of Providence, in which he places all his reliance. The desire of the one, has only a mortal good in view; the other a spiritual one. Magnetising is an act, in which the desire of the magnetiser for the welfare of another is the moving cause, and the effect is to dissipate the evil spirits of disease. There is some analogy between magnetism and the imposition of hands, which was accorded by the Saviour to the members of his church.”

Such are the wild and impious doctrines of this sect of magnetisers,—opinions which it appears almost inconceivable could have been adopted by sensible and well informed men.

We have also had somnambulists of this class in the United

States; the most celebrated of whom, was Miss Rachael Baker, at New-York, or its vicinity; who not only answered questions whilst in that condition, but also composed prayers and hymns, and preached most admirable sermons; all of which she was incapable of doing when awake. Dr. Mitchell, who appears to have been one of her disciples, or at least, believers, has favoured the world with a detailed account of her case, accompanied with some choice specimens of her compositions.

The school of Puységur, attribute all the effects produced by magnetism, to a subtle and peculiar vital fluid, which is secreted, or at least accumulated in the brain, to which the nerves serve as conductors. This fluid, which presides over all actions of the body, is wholly under the power of the will, and can be transfused into any other body. M. de Puységur does not admit the theory of poles, or of planetary influence, but considers the will to be the great source of power, at the same time this will must be directed by physical means, in order to act on patients.

He has also introduced a great change in the method of operating; instead of the *baquet* and public exhibitions used by Mesmer and Deslon, all the treatment is now conducted in private; this has had a good effect; as the patients, instead of being thrown into convulsions, and other violent symptoms, now are reduced to a state of somnambulism.

In consequence of the renewed excitement occasioned by the doctrine of Puységur and his disciples, as well as from the extraordinary instances of cures performed by somnambulists;—for it is evident from what we have said in elucidation of the theory, that the magnetiser only induces the somnambulant state, when the patients, having their internal senses and preservative instinct astonishingly developed, prescribe for themselves;—the subject of animal magnetism was again brought before the Academy of Medicine, where an animated discussion took place, whether a committee should be appointed to examine the merits and consequences of the doctrine. This was at first negatived; but on a subsequent trial, a committee of eleven members was named, consisting of some of the most celebrated physicians of Paris. We have not seen their report, nor are we aware of what their decision has been. During the debate, the celebrated Laennec observed that he had studied the subject for twenty years, and was satisfied that it was a tissue of deception and imposture, although, when he commenced the study, he was prejudiced in its favour; that the phenomena effected by magnetism, and the oracles uttered by the somnambulists, vary with every magnetiser; thus Mesmer excited convulsions, Deslon caused crises, as are seen in diseases. The somnambulists of Deleuze, who is a learned man, were much better taught than those of Puységur,

the conditions Mesmer wished to be observed. His object appears to have been, that these societies should merely decide, whether patients treated by means of animal magnetism, experienced a decided relief; they, on the contrary, refused to give their sanction to his plan, without a full inquiry into the means employed, and the nature of the agent. The Faculty of Medicine went even further, and published a decree, forbidding any of their members from becoming partisans of the new doctrine, under the penalty of being expelled.

After some time, the French government finding the general excitement rather increasing than diminishing, determined to appoint a committee from the Faculty of Medicine and the Academy of Sciences, to make a thorough examination of Mesmer's pretensions; which was accordingly done. Four members were selected from the former of these bodies, and five from the latter, at the head of whom was Dr. Franklin; these gentlemen, after a rigorous and impartial investigation, presented a report, which gave a blow to animal magnetism, from which it is but now beginning to recover.

Mesmer himself refused to have any communication with the committee, but they were met by his most able disciple, Deslon, who explained the principles and practice of the art, in the following manner:—

“Animal Magnetism is a fluid universally diffused; it is the means of a mutual influence between celestial bodies, and between the earth and animated beings. It constitutes an absolute plenum in nature. It is the most subtle fluid known, and is capable of receiving, propagating, and communicating, all kinds of motion, being also susceptible of a flux and reflux. The animal body is subjected to the influence of this fluid by means of the nerves, which are immediately affected by it. The human body has poles and other properties analogous to the magnet. The action and virtue of animal magnetism may be communicated from one body to another, whether animate or inanimate. It operates at a great distance, without the intervention of any other body. It is increased and reflected by mirrors, communicated, concentrated, and transfused. Notwithstanding the universality of this fluid, all animal bodies are not equally affected by it, and there are a few whose presence destroys all its effects. By means of this fluid, nervous disorders are cured immediately, and all others mediately; its virtues, in fact, extend to the universal cure and preservation of mankind.”

Such were the propositions that Deslon pledged himself to verify, as well as to explain the mode of treatment. The machinery he used, was a circular box or platform made of oak, and raised about a foot and a half from the ground; this platform was called the *baquet*. At the top of it, were a number of holes, in which were iron rods with moveable joints, for the purpose of applying them to any part of the body. The patients were placed in a circle around this apparatus, each touching one of the rods, and were connected to each other by a cord passing round their bodies, to increase the effect by communication. In a corner of the room, was a piano, on which airs were occasionally played.



All the patients were furnished with a rod of iron, of about ten to twelve inches in length. The explanation Deslon gave, was, that the rod was a conductor of the magnetic fluid, and concentrated the magnetism. Sound, being another conductor, it was only necessary to magnetise the piano, by bringing an iron rod near it, when the fluid would be conveyed to the patients through any air that was played. The platform was to concentrate the magnetism, and transmit it to the patients. But persons might also be magnetised directly, by means of the finger, or an iron rod, waved before the face, behind the head, and over the diseased part; always observing the distinction of poles. But the chief method, was by pressure of the fingers on different parts of the body. The effects observed by the committee, as produced by these plans of operating, were various; some were calm, and experienced no sensation; others coughed, and felt a slight pain, or a local or general heat of body; whilst some were attacked with convulsions; in the latter case, the majority were females.

After attending several public exhibitions of this kind, the committee determined to try the effects on themselves privately; they were accordingly several times magnetised by Deslon, or one of his pupils, but experienced no magnetic influence.

It would lead us far beyond any due limits, to attempt to analyse the report of the committee as given by Bertrand. After a most laborious and careful examination, they were unanimously of opinion, that the whole of the effects produced, and the cures that had been performed, resulted from the effects of imitation and imagination, aided by the touching process.

This report was considered as entirely satisfactory, and a belief in animal magnetism was abandoned by all men of science and observation; but the delusion on the minds of the multitude existed for a long time. Finally, little was heard of this subject until within a few years past, when it was revived with additional vigour, and attended with still more extraordinary phenomena. These we shall notice, as laid before the world by the authors, whose names we have cited at the commencement of this article; but we wish, before entering on a review of their opinions, to say a few words on the effects produced by magnetism in other countries.

This science, as practised by Mesmer and his disciples, appears to have been principally confined to the continent of Europe; from the war existing between the continental powers and England, but little communication took place at that period, and the subject of magnetism had scarcely excited attention in England, before it was explained and overturned by the report of Franklin and his colleagues.

As, however, there are impostors and quacks in all countries, ready to seize on every theory that promises to fulfil the double

assertations, which call forth the following remarks from her physician. "As a physician, can I, after such language from the mouth of a young female, wholly ignorant of anatomy, without any knowledge of medicine, can I deny the astonishing lucidness of somnambulists?" This patient soon afterwards left Paris, to return to Lorraine, her native country, as it was revealed to her that this would restore her health.

The above are merely given as examples of the conversations that ensue between magnetisers and their patients; but, we are afraid that our readers will still "be so absurd as to refuse to credit this, and similar facts, although attested by so great a number of physicians and philosophers, and will preserve their prudent scepticism, until their eyes have seen, and their fingers touched."

It must be evident to the most cursory observer, that all the effects produced by these different modes of operating, depend on a single cause,—the influence of the imagination. That this is capable of producing phenomena as striking and extraordinary as those effected by animal magnetism, is a fact too notorious to be denied, by the most prejudiced adherent of the doctrine. How an operation of the mind can modify the actions of vessels, nerves, and muscles, is at once mysterious and inscrutable; but that such is the case, every day's observation most amply demonstrates. Not to dilate on the familiar examples of blushing and paleness, induced by emotions of the mind, it is to the same cause, that may be referred all the cures performed by persons supposed to be gifted with extraordinary powers, either from heaven direct, or by descent; thus kings, old women, and seventh sons, all have had medical diplomas assigned them for ages, for the treatment of certain diseases. One of the most extraordinary instances of this kind, both from the number of cures really performed, and the learning and character of the persons who attested them, is that of Valentine Greatraks, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century. We give the account, as extracted by Deleuze, from Pechlin. He was the son of an Irish gentleman of good education and property. Disgusted with the religious and political dissensions of his country, in the time of Cromwell, he retired from the world, apparently in a state of disease that would soon terminate his existence. On his recovery, he became a puritan, and soon after had an "impulse of strange persuasion on his mind, that God had given him the blessing of curing the king's evil." He accordingly commenced the practice of touching for this disease, but soon extended his powers to almost all the maladies to which man is subject, and was successful in a vast proportion of cases; many of these are certified by the most learned men of the day, as Boyle, Cud-

ficient to draw the point of the instrument lightly over the diseased part, following the direction of the principal nerves, for about twenty or thirty minutes, two or three times a day. These instruments evidently acted on the same principles as animal magnetism, and although Perkins has taken great pains, in a pamphlet he published on the subject, to show that the operation of the tractors was not dependent on this cause, we cannot but class him with Mesmer and his followers. Added to which, he is claimed as such by Deleuze, who observes, that not only the good effects produced by the tractors were attributable to magnetism, but that the mode of curing toothach by crushing a lady-bug between the fingers, and then touching the tooth with them, arose from the same cause; "for I am far from believing," says he, "that an insect can communicate a curative virtue to the fingers; but he who is persuaded of it, uses them with confidence and will, (*volonté*) and hence often succeeds." Whilst on the subject of the cure of toothach by lady-bugs, it may be interesting to our readers to know that Signor Gerbi, the discoverer of the plan, cured 401 persons in 629, by this mode. The best plan, according to him, is to bruise the insects (for the benefit of naturalists we give its long name—*Curculio antiodontalgicus*, but the *Coccinella septempunctata* is equally useful,) between the finger and thumb; about a dozen should be used: the curative power of the fingers will last for a year, but is somewhat enfeebled by every tooth that is operated on.\* Signor Gerbi does not inform us whether the hands are to be washed during this period.

But to return to Perkinism; the inventor or his son, (we are not certain which,) finding that the United States did not afford a sufficient field for his operations, went to England, where he obtained a patent for his instruments, which were soon generally used; pamphlet after pamphlet was published, announcing the wonderful cures performed by this simple remedy, and the newspapers teemed with evidences of their utility. The mania rose to such a height, that a public establishment was formed, called the Perkinian Institution, for the purpose of diffusing the benefits of *tractoration* among the poor. The delusion continued for a length of time, till the imposition was discovered, and the effects produced lucidly explained by Dr. Haygarth, as depending wholly on the imagination; for he found that pieces of wood were equally efficacious in their operation of removing pain, as the patent metallic tractors at five guineas a pair, although Perkins most solemnly warned the public against counterfeits. Every genuine set being stamped with the words Perkins' Patent Tractors, accompanied with a receipt for five guineas, signed in the

\* Opusculi scelti di Milano, t. xviii. p. 94.

of Persia; the books of Fraser and Morier; the narrative of Heber; and, we may add, *the Journal of the Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China*, upon which we are about to dwell. Mr. Crawford, the envoy, is not a new candidate for literary honours;—he had acquired much reputation by his excellent History of the Indian Archipelago, one of those compositions which the reader often recommends to his friends, with a sense of gratitude for the enjoyment they have yielded to his leisure hours. The present volume will surely be comprised in the same list; and we shall be equally warranted, no doubt, in referring to that list also, another from the same pen, which is promised under the title of *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava, in 1827*.

The British have written more and better on foreign countries, as travellers, than any other people; but their prejudices, pride, and spleen, have caused them to be guilty of gross mistakes and misrepresentations, in treating of the Christian nations of Europe and America, with whom they differ in language, religious faith, or political institutions. We should distrust them less as painters of oriental character and manners, which they examine with a clearer vision, and more impartial spirit. The envoy to Siam and Cochin-China, inspires us with comparative confidence, though, as to the population of the latter kingdom, he exhibits them altogether in a more favourable light, than our countryman, Lieutenant White, in his *History of a Voyage to the China Sea*. We rely implicitly on Mr. White's statements; but it is probable that the Cochin-Chinese conducted themselves in a less offensive manner towards the British embassy, who were an imposing body, and more under the protection of the Cochin-Chinese government, which, as we shall have occasion to notice particularly, reaches every subject, with a power and rigour well adapted to control even the worst and most inveterate propensities. It is not unlikely, moreover, that Mr. Crawford's representations are kinder, from obvious considerations of policy; though, in saying this, we would not be understood to dispute his general frankness. That he is not perfectly generous as an author and an Englishman, is evident, from his total silence concerning Lieutenant White's History, which was printed in Massachusetts, in 1823, and obtained some time ago special notice and commendation in the London reviews. The American voyager preceded Mr. Crawford by nearly two years; and his vessels, the Franklin and Marmion, were the two first American, that "ever ascended the Don-nai river, and displayed the stars and stripes before the city of Saigon."

It was in September, 1821, that Mr. Crawford was nominated by the governor-general of British India, to proceed on the mission to the two courts; and, in the month of November follow-

as well as the dangerous tendency of the doctrine, than any observations we can offer. The art has now become so extended in its field of operations, and embraces such a variety of topics, that it will be impossible to present more than a mere sketch of the subject; we must therefore refer such of our readers as are anxious to obtain more particular information of this extraordinary science, to the works themselves, and can assure them, that if they remain unconvinced of the truth of the theory, they will at least find an ample fund of amusement, in the miraculous tales with which they are replete.

As we have already observed, magnetism received a severe shock, from the report of the committee appointed at Paris to examine into its pretensions, and it remained for some time in a dormant state, when a new phenomenon presented itself, which has excited the present enthusiasm in its favour, and placed the art on a new basis. We allude to the discovery, that *Somnambulism* was capable of being excited by it.

Somnambulism, it is well known, is a kind of morbid sleep, that occurs naturally in some persons, during an attack of which, an individual may walk about, or perform his usual routine of occupations, and even converse with those around him, yet, on being awakened, retains no remembrance of what had passed. This condition, or one analogous to it, is produced by a magnetiser, at will; the patient's eyes are closed, and, in fact, all the external senses are in the same state as in sleep, whilst the internal perceptions are invigorated in an astonishing degree, and a kind of instinct is developed, that acts in a most miraculous manner. During this magnetic somnambulism, the patient is wholly under the influence of his magnetiser, who can oblige him to answer questions on almost every topic, although in the natural condition of his faculties, he may be totally unacquainted with the subjects.

It appears that the Marquis de Puységur, was the first who perceived this result from the powers of animal magnetism. Having accidentally spoken to a person whom he had reduced to a state of somnambulism, to his extreme astonishment he was answered, and informed of the proper mode of treatment to be adopted in the case, and moreover, that all patients should be thus interrogated as to their diseases.

But this is not all,—

"It is to somnambulists," says Deleuze, "that we owe all the information that we have acquired as to the nature of the magnetic fluid. The majority of somnambulists see a luminous and brilliant emanation environ their magnetiser, particularly around his head and hands. They are sensible that man can accumulate, direct, and even saturate, different substances with this fluid, at will. It has an agreeable smell to them, and communicates a peculiar taste to water and food. They also perceive various qualities in this fluid, in different individuals; they pretend that it is not as luminous, is of less tenuity, and issues more slowly from persons in ill health. On this account, they evince much repugnance in

joint effect of European intelligence and Chinese industry. The population is nearly sixty thousand, and the chief proprietors of the soil are Europeans and Chinese. Malacca is also described before the embassy reaches Singapore. The Hindus of Malacca are the only ultramarine colonists of that people known to Europeans; and the Portuguese descendants of the haughty conquerors who fought by the side of Albuquerque, are "a timid, peaceable, and submissive race," in number about four thousand. At Singapore, much attention was paid to the Chinese junks, and in terminating his description of them, Mr. Crawford proceeds thus:—

"While on the subject of the trade and navigation of the Chinese, I may take the opportunity of mentioning the very singular species of adventure carried on by them, in the Straits of Malacca, in large row boats, commonly known by the native name of *prahu pukat*. One of these which I measured, was about sixty-five feet long, nine feet in the beam, and about four feet in depth, and carried a cargo, of from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and ninety piculs, or near twenty tons. She was rowed by twelve oars and fourteen paddles, and had the occasional assistance of a sail, with fair winds. She had a crew, consisting of the commander and twenty-six rowers. Such a boat is usually the property of the commander, and the cargo belongs to the crew, each according to the capital he has contributed to the joint adventure. There is not one idle person on board, for the commander steers, and each of the adventurers has his oar or his paddle. Their adventures are confined between the islands at the eastern extremity of the straits of Malacca, and the town of that name, out of the influence of the monsoons, and under the protection of the variable winds which characterize these latitudes. From the rapidity of their course, they are quite secure from the attack of pirates. The voyage backwards and forwards may, of course, be performed at every season. In fair weather, one of them will sail between the island of Linga and Singapore in two days; and in the least favourable weather, in six; performing the voyage, therefore, on an average, in four days. The distance is about one hundred and eighty miles; so that these boats go, under the most favourable circumstances, at the rate of ninety miles a day, or close upon four knots an hour, and, at an average, forty-five miles a day. Three voyages may be performed in a month, if the state of the markets do not occasion extraordinary delays. When pepper is the cargo, as very frequently happens, the adventurers are contented, I am told, with a profit of three fourths of a dollar per picul, when the selling price of this commodity is ten dollars. This supposes a profit of eight and a half per cent., on each adventure."

On the 24th March, the envoy cast anchor in the roads of Siam, and transmitted information of his arrival to the court. In the evening of the same day, his party were permitted to land at Pak-ham, the first station in ascending the river, where the curiosity of the natives seemed to be most strongly excited by their Hindu servants, and the abundant hospitality of the Governor was rendered the more novel, by the presence, near the table, of the corpse of his predecessor and brother, which had been lying in state for five months, embalmed, according to the custom of the country. The good fare was pressed upon them with the Siamese form of compliment—"eat heartily and be not abashed;" an inscription for every refectory. Nothing that the envoy saw at Pak-ham raised his opinion of the progress of the Siamese in

the hands outwards, whenever they are brought up; this, as well as never to magnetise from the feet to the head, is very essential."

This mode of magnetising, is called by the professors of the art, "*magnétiser à grandes courans*," and should always be used at the commencement of the treatment; for, all the authorities we have consulted, agree that it is dangerous to concentrate the magnetism on any one part, particularly in nervous persons; but, after they are thus universally magnetised, you may apply an additional quantity of this fluid to the diseased part. MM. Deleuze and Puysegur also give some very important directions as to the conduct of the operator:—

"He is not," say they, "to employ any muscular force to direct the magnetic action. All the movements are to be easy and graceful. The hand is not to be extended, but the fingers are to have a gentle curve. A magnetic sitting should be about three quarters of an hour; for, as it is indispensable that the attention should not flag, a longer time would be fatiguing. The operator is never to be undecided, but is to act with confidence; to entertain a sentiment of pity, and a desire to afford relief. When the sitting is about to finish, great care must be taken to extend the fluid over the whole surface of the body, and it is proper to make some passes\* on the legs, from the knees to the feet, to free the head."

Such is the latest and most improved plan of magnetising in a general way; to detail all the particular processes to be employed in different diseases, would require a volume. There are, however, some important requisites, for both magnetiser and magnetised, which are essential to the success of the undertaking. They are, in fact, the foundation of the whole science; as, without them, magnetism is but a dead letter. These are, according to Deleuze, "an active feeling of good will; a firm belief in the power of magnetism; and entire confidence in its employer."

After somnambulism is produced, the patient should be asked if he sleeps; if this should wake him, this state must not be attempted to be re-excited during that sitting; if, however, he answers without waking, the desired effect has been induced, and other questions may be proposed, on the nature of his disease, and the remedies to be employed in its cure; but caution must be used, in so asking the questions that no mistake can ensue.

When it is wished to unmagnetise the patient,—

"You must draw off the fluid by the extremity of the hands and feet, in making the passes beyond these parts, and shaking your fingers after each pass. Afterwards you are to make some passes across the face and breast, keeping the hands about three or four inches from them. These are made, by presenting the hands joined, and separating them quickly from each other, as if to carry off the superabundant fluid with which the patient may be charged."

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\* We are obliged to use the French word, for the want of a term in English that would convey the exact idea: it means any movement of the hands in magnetising.

ers; and it is obtained so frequently, that a fifth part of all those who submit to be magnetised, are thrown into different degrees of it. The production of this state, and the *clairvoyance*, or second sight of individuals, during its continuance, may be considered as the great characteristic distinction, between the magnetism of the present day, and that of Mesmer.

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He boasted that he had caused somnambulism in upwards of 5000 persons; there may be some exaggeration in this, but it is incontestable that he generally succeeded. Faria was, however, a complete charlatan, and made use of the power he acquired over the imagination of individuals, as a means of enriching himself; having public exhibitions of somnambulists.

The theories of magnetism now professed, may be reduced to three general heads.—That of Mesmer, and his disciples; that of the Spiritualists; and that of Puységur.

The first, as we have already observed, admits the existence of a universal fluid, which fills all space, and is the medium of communication between all bodies. The Spiritualists believe, that all the phenomena are produced by the soul, and that physical action is almost useless; this doctrine, which has many partisans in Germany and Prussia, is by far the most mystical. The exegetic and philanthropic society of Stockholm, thus explain this theory:—

"There are two modes of magnetising; one physical, the other supernatural. The principle which gives activity to the first, is the desire of the magnetiser to act on the patient, and the confidence he has in himself; the foundation of the other, is the same desire, but under the will of God, whose benediction the magnetiser implores, if the cure is conformable to the designs of Providence, in which he places all his reliance. The desire of the one, has only a mortal good in view; the other a spiritual one. Magnetising is an act, in which the desire of the magnetiser for the welfare of another is the moving cause, and the effect is to dissipate the evil spirits of disease. There is some analogy between magnetism and the imposition of hands, which was accorded by the Saviour to the members of his church."

Such are the wild and impious doctrines of this sect of magnetisers,—opinions which it appears almost inconceivable could have been adopted by sensible and well informed men.

We have also had somnambulists of this class in the United



States; the most celebrated of whom, was Miss Rachael Baker, at New-York, or its vicinity; who not only answered questions whilst in that condition, but also composed prayers and hymns, and preached most admirable sermons; all of which she was incapable of doing when awake. Dr. Mitchell, who appears to have been one of her disciples, or at least, believers, has favoured the world with a detailed account of her case, accompanied with some choice specimens of her compositions.

The school of Puysegur, attribute all the effects produced by magnetism, to a subtle and peculiar vital fluid, which is secreted, or at least accumulated in the brain, to which the nerves serve as conductors. This fluid, which presides over all actions of the body, is wholly under the power of the will, and can be transfused into any other body. M. de Puysegur does not admit the theory of poles, or of planetary influence, but considers the will to be the great source of power, at the same time this will must be directed by physical means, in order to act on patients.

He has also introduced a great change in the method of operating; instead of the *baquet* and public exhibitions used by Mesmer and Deslon, all the treatment is now conducted in private; this has had a good effect; as the patients, instead of being thrown into convulsions, and other violent symptoms, now are reduced to a state of somnambulism.

In consequence of the renewed excitement occasioned by the doctrine of Puysegur and his disciples, as well as from the extraordinary instances of cures performed by somnambulists;—for it is evident from what we have said in elucidation of the theory, that the magnetiser only induces the somnambulant state, when the patients, having their internal senses and preservative instinct astonishingly developed, prescribe for themselves;—the subject of animal magnetism was again brought before the Academy of Medicine, where an animated discussion took place, whether a committee should be appointed to examine the merits and consequences of the doctrine. This was at first negatived; but on a subsequent trial, a committee of eleven members was named, consisting of some of the most celebrated physicians of Paris. We have not seen their report, nor are we aware of what their decision has been. During the debate, the celebrated Laennec observed that he had studied the subject for twenty years, and was satisfied that it was a tissue of deception and imposture, although, when he commenced the study, he was prejudiced in its favour; that the phenomena effected by magnetism, and the oracles uttered by the somnambulists, vary with every magnetiser; thus Mesmer excited convulsions, Deslon caused crises, as are seen in diseases. The somnambulists of Deleuze, who is a learned man, were much better taught than those of Puysegur,

who is ignorant of the sciences. Mr. Laennec also stated, that he had seen a somnambulist under the direction of an apothecary, who was quite distinguished by the art with which she compounded the medicines she recommended. Rostan, who also took part in the discussion, and was a supporter of the doctrine, related the following extraordinary instance of second sight in a somnambulist under his magnetising:—

"Here," says he, "is an experiment that I have often repeated, but which I was finally obliged to interrupt, because it fatigued my somnambulist to such a degree, that she assured me if it was continued, it would make her deranged. This experiment was made in the presence of my colleague and friend M. Ferrus. I took my watch, which I placed three or four inches from her occiput. 'I asked my somnambulist, if she saw any thing,' 'certainly, I see something that shines; it pains me.' Her countenance was expressive of pain, and ours expressed astonishment. We looked at each other, and M. Ferrus breaking silence, said, 'if she sees something shine, she can doubtless tell what it is.' 'What do you see that shines?'—'Oh! I do not know, I cannot tell.' 'Look at it well'—'Stop, it fatigues me, wait, (and after a moment of great attention) it is a watch.' 'But if she sees the watch, observed M. Ferrus, she can doubtless see what the hour is.' 'Can you inform me what o'clock it is?'—'Oh no! that is too difficult.' 'Look attentively, try.' 'Well then I will, perhaps I may be able to designate the hour, but I shall never be able to tell the minutes.' After the greatest attention, she said; 'It wants ten minutes of eight,' which was the exact hour. M. Ferrus now desired to make the experiment himself, and repeated it with the same success. He requested me to change the hands of his watch several times; on presenting it to her, and without her being able to see it, she invariably designated their direction."

This is certainly a marvellous *clairvoyance*, for a person in a profound slumber, but at the same time it does not equal that of Miss M'Evoy, who could tell the hour through the crystal of a watch, or see people walking in the street through a pane of glass, with the tips of her fingers, and without being in a state of somnambulism.

To give our readers some idea of the mummery that has been practised and believed by the adherents of magnetism, we extract the following account from the Marquis de Puységur's work, quoted at the head of this article.

"In the month of September last, during the time that public opinion was influenced by the report of the joint committee from the Royal Academy and the Royal Society, a young lady of distinguished rank, and who appeared to enjoy the best health, was at the chateau of a relation, the Marquis of B., and like the rest of the party, scoffed at animal magnetism. The Baron B., her uncle, proposed that they should magnetise each other. He directed on his niece, his pretended influence; at first she laughed heartily, but this was soon perceived to lose its natural character, and to the extreme surprise of the company, she gradually lost the use of her senses, and at last, as a feeble magnet is attracted by a stronger, was obliged to follow her magnetiser wherever he went. It was attempted to separate them, but this produced frightful convulsions. On the Baron retiring from the room, these increased to such a degree, that they were obliged to search for him, and intreat him to return; the moment he began to do this, the patient, notwithstanding the distance they were separated, and the thickness of the intervening walls, was conscious of it. 'Ah, he is returning,' she exclaimed, 'I feel it, I see him, he is now entering the anti-chamber.' This was true. As soon as he entered the room, the convulsions ceased. At the end of some

hours, this crisis disappeared, and left the patient in a languid though tranquil state. Next day her uncle came to see her, and found she had no recollection of what had passed. On telling her, she laughed, pointed her finger as if magnetising her uncle, and in a short time again fell into a state of somnambulism. It was now thought expedient to have recourse to a magnetising physician at Nantes. Baron B. went for him, the convulsions were renewed, she saw him, she followed him in idea on the route, arrived with him at Nantes, and indicated his most trifling actions. 'He is thinking of me, he has taken off his boots, he has changed his coat,' &c. &c. At the very moment he entered the physician's house, she said, 'Ah! he is speaking of me, he will return with a physician I do not know.' Thus passed the day and the succeeding night; on the next day she exclaimed, 'Ah! they have set out on their return, they are speaking of me,' and she repeated what they said; during the journey, her uncle had a dispute with some one; she immediately called for help to defend him from the attacks of a person in grey, who was about to beat him. Finally they arrived; the physician alone appearing, she asked, 'where is my uncle.' 'He has remained at Nantes,' replied he. 'That is not true, I have seen him, I still see him, he is now in the room,'" &c.

To give the sequel of this marvellous story, she was perfectly cured.

But the sagacity of this young lady falls far short of that of Madame M., whose case is detailed at great length in the *Propagateur du Magnétisme animal*. We pass over the first part of the treatment, merely premising, that, being of a delicate constitution, and enfeebled by a long continuance of disease, her magnetiser considered her as "tout à fait propre, à recevoir l'influence magnétique;" he was not mistaken in his expectations; for, almost immediately after he commenced his operations, she became somnambule; few interrogatories were propounded to her at this time, but, on the succeeding day, having again been thrown into a state of somnambulism, the following, among other questions, were asked:—

"Do you think that magnetism will be of service to you?—Certainly, it will relieve all my sufferings. When should you be again magnetised?—To-morrow, the day after, every day.—But, I beg you to tell me, when you will endeavour to discover your disease, and indicate the means of cure.—On the day after to-morrow, if I possibly can; at least I will attempt it."

Next day, however, after having been more strongly magnetised, she was persuaded to give some explanations and directions as to her disease:—

"Do you believe that you will be cured by magnetism? Yes, fully.—Tell me, I beseech you, if you cannot find some means to calm the pain you feel every morning? (With an air of satisfaction,) wait!—wait! (after some moments of reflection,) I believe I must take figs and milk, for eight days.—Cooked figs?—Yes, five or six figs must be boiled in a cup of milk, and taken every morning; they must be perfectly done.—Why? Because I must eat them.—What regimen must you pursue during your treatment?—After having taken my milk and figs, early in the morning, I must breakfast at eleven o'clock, on *soupe maigre*, in which there is little salt. At dinner, no meat or vegetables, but, above all, no vinegar. During these eight days, is nothing else to be done?—No: ah! I shall suffer from a violent headach; on Tuesday, I shall have it badly."

The magnetising treatment was continued for some time, during which the patient made some extraordinary anatomical dis-

assertations, which call forth the following remarks from her physician. "As a physician, can I, after such language from the mouth of a young female, wholly ignorant of anatomy, without any knowledge of medicine, can I deny the astonishing lucidness of somnambulists?" This patient soon afterwards left Paris, to return to Lorraine, her native country, as it was revealed to her that this would restore her health.

The above are merely given as examples of the conversations that ensue between magnetisers and their patients; but, we are afraid that our readers will still "be so absurd as to refuse to credit this, and similar facts, although attested by so great a number of physicians and philosophers, and will preserve their prudent scepticism, until their eyes have seen, and their fingers touched."

It must be evident to the most cursory observer, that all the effects produced by these different modes of operating, depend on a single cause,—the influence of the imagination. That this is capable of producing phenomena as striking and extraordinary as those effected by animal magnetism, is a fact too notorious to be denied, by the most prejudiced adherent of the doctrine. How an operation of the mind can modify the actions of vessels, nerves, and muscles, is at once mysterious and inscrutable; but that such is the case, every day's observation most amply demonstrates. Not to dilate on the familiar examples of blushing and paleness, induced by emotions of the mind, it is to the same cause, that may be referred all the cures performed by persons supposed to be gifted with extraordinary powers, either from heaven direct, or by descent; thus kings, old women, and seventh sons, all have had medical diplomas assigned them for ages, for the treatment of certain diseases. One of the most extraordinary instances of this kind, both from the number of cures really performed, and the learning and character of the persons who attested them, is that of Valentine Greatraks, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century. We give the account, as extracted by Deleuze, from Pechlin. He was the son of an Irish gentleman of good education and property. Disgusted with the religious and political dissensions of his country, in the time of Cromwell, he retired from the world, apparently in a state of disease that would soon terminate his existence. On his recovery, he became a puritan, and soon after had an "impulse of strange persuasion on his mind, that God had given him the blessing of curing the king's evil." He accordingly commenced the practice of touching for this disease, but soon extended his powers to almost all the maladies to which man is subject, and was successful in a vast proportion of cases; many of these are certified by the most learned men of the day, as Boyle, Cud-

worth, Astelius, &c. His method consisted in applying his hand on the affected part, and making slight frictions.

We should extend this article beyond all bounds, were we to quote half the well authenticated cases of cures, performed through the medium of the imagination. We have no doubt, that many of the histories of recovery from disease, occasioned by placing the sick on the tombs of saints, as well as from their relics, have really occurred. The effects of incantations, amulets, magic, witchcraft, tractors, and magnetism, all arise from one common source; and, on the same principle, may we also account for the marvellous recoveries ascribed to empirical remedies, which, whether they are inert or powerful, have an equally remedial effect on those who have faith in them. In vain is the spirit of quackery exorcised in one form; it rises again immediately, "with twenty mortal murders on its crown, to push us from our stools." Public credulity is an ample fund for all those who wish to levy contributions on it. Whoever has contemplated the progress of real knowledge, during a long course of years, will have seen bubble after bubble arise, glitter for a moment, and then disappear for ever, to be succeeded by another as gorgeous and illusory.

ART. VIII.—*Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India, to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China; exhibiting a View of the Actual State of those Kingdoms: by JOHN CRAWFURD, Esq., late Envoy, &c.* 4to. pp. 598. London: 1828.

MANY lustres have not been counted, since the nations of the continents of Asia and Africa were objects of interest and knowledge for the people of Europe and our hemisphere, only through tales invented for amusement, or legends and reports which had scarcely a more instructive and authentic character; or narratives and opinions appertaining to religious creeds and traditions. Within the present century, new enterprises of commerce, scientific research, liberal travel, military conquest, or the apostolical spirit, have awakened attention to the East, in a wider and more earnest degree, and furnished much ampler details of genuine information. It is not wonderful, that common curiosity and philosophical inquiry, should be palled with the European countries so often and fully described; so near, and comparatively so familiar and uniform; and the study of the more distant and strange varieties of the human constitution and state, be deemed more profitable and poignant. This appetite would naturally be increased, by such works as Sir John Malcolm's Sketches


of Persia; the books of Fraser and Morier; the narrative of Heber; and, we may add, *the Journal of the Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China*, upon which we are about to dwell. Mr. Crawford, the envoy, is not a new candidate for literary honours;—he had acquired much reputation by his excellent History of the Indian Archipelago, one of those compositions which the reader often recommends to his friends, with a sense of gratitude for the enjoyment they have yielded to his leisure hours. The present volume will surely be comprised in the same list; and we shall be equally warranted, no doubt, in referring to that list also, another from the same pen, which is promised under the title of *Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava*, in 1827.

The British have written more and better on foreign countries, as travellers, than any other people; but their prejudices, pride, and spleen, have caused them to be guilty of gross mistakes and misrepresentations, in treating of the Christian nations of Europe and America, with whom they differ in language, religious faith, or political institutions. We should distrust them less as painters of oriental character and manners, which they examine with a clearer vision, and more impartial spirit. The envoy to Siam and Cochin-China, inspires us with comparative confidence, though, as to the population of the latter kingdom, he exhibits them altogether in a more favourable light, than our countryman, Lieutenant White, in his *History of a Voyage to the China Sea*. We rely implicitly on Mr. White's statements; but it is probable that the Cochin-Chinese conducted themselves in a less offensive manner towards the British embassy, who were an imposing body, and more under the protection of the Cochin-Chinese government, which, as we shall have occasion to notice particularly, reaches every subject, with a power and rigour well adapted to control even the worst and most inveterate propensities. It is not unlikely, moreover, that Mr. Crawford's representations are kinder, from obvious considerations of policy; though, in saying this, we would not be understood to dispute his general frankness. That he is not perfectly generous as an author and an Englishman, is evident, from his total silence concerning Lieutenant White's History, which was printed in Massachusetts, in 1823, and obtained some time ago special notice and commendation in the London reviews. The American voyager preceded Mr. Crawford by nearly two years; and his vessels, the Franklin and Marmion, were the two first American, that "ever ascended the Don-nai river, and displayed the stars and stripes before the city of Saigon."

It was in September, 1821, that Mr. Crawford was nominated by the governor-general of British India, to proceed on the mission to the two courts; and, in the month of November follow-

ing, that he embarked with scientific and medical assistants, and an escort of thirty sepoys. In the earlier period of the Indian commerce of the European nations, the trade of Siam and Cochin-China formed no immaterial part of it; but, owing to several causes, this dwindled by degrees to insignificance, and was regarded as extinct, for the seventy years preceding 1820; when the local rulers of India were taught to believe, that "the industry and civilization, together with the geographical position and natural fertility of soil which characterized the kingdoms of Siam and Cochin-China, were such as to render it extremely desirable to negotiate with the sovereigns of those countries, the renewal of a commercial intercourse with Great Britain and her Indian dominions." For this purpose chiefly was Mr. Crawford deputed, as a thorough man of business in Indian concerns; an experienced and acute observer; and an able relater of events and appearances. He had it in charge, to endeavour first to disarm the apprehensions, and to remove the antipathies of the governments and subjects of the two countries—obstacles which might well be styled very considerable, when heed was given to the lessons conveyed to the independent nations of the East, in the history and fate of the British "Indian dominions." The envoy was instructed, carefully to refrain from "demanding or hinting at any of those adventitious aids or privileges, upon which the earlier traders of Europe were accustomed to found their expectations of commercial benefit; such as the establishment of forts and factories; exemption from municipal jurisdiction and customary imposts," &c. It was also suggested to him, to keep in mind the advantage which might result from his remaining such a time at the court of Siam, as would afford him an opportunity of attaining a competent knowledge of the character of the court, the manners of the people, and the resources of the country.

In embarking, our author makes one remark with regard to the *Ganges*, which must not be lost,—that with all its difficulties and dangers, the English, "if their Indian conquests be of any advantage to them," owe almost as much gratitude to the river as the Hindus themselves; for it is the great military road which conducted them into the richest provinces of Hindustan, the acquisition of which, enabled them eventually to conquer and maintain the rest of their possessions. On leaving Penang, or Prince of Wales's island, he takes occasion to give an account of a place possessing some importance in the commerce of the East. In the culture of articles where skill can compensate for natural defects, the agriculture of the island is much superior to that of any other country of Asia. So neat and perfect a specimen of husbandry,—observes Mr. Crawford,—no where exists in the East, as the pepper culture of Penang, the



joint effect of European intelligence and Chinese industry. The population is nearly sixty thousand, and the chief proprietors of the soil are Europeans and Chinese. Malacca is also described before the embassy reaches Singapore. The Hindus of Malacca are the only ultramarine colonists of that people known to Europeans; and the Portuguese descendants of the haughty conquerors who fought by the side of Albuquerque, are "a timid, peaceable, and submissive race," in number about four thousand. At Singapore, much attention was paid to the Chinese junks, and in terminating his description of them, Mr. Crawford proceeds thus:—

"While on the subject of the trade and navigation of the Chinese, I may take the opportunity of mentioning the very singular species of adventure carried on by them, in the Straits of Malacca, in large row boats, commonly known by the native name of *prahu pukut*. One of these which I measured, was about sixty-five feet long, nine feet in the beam, and about four feet in depth, and carried a cargo, of from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and ninety piculs, or near twenty tons. She was rowed by twelve oars and fourteen paddles, and had the occasional assistance of a sail, with fair winds. She had a crew, consisting of the commander and twenty-six rowers. Such a boat is usually the property of the commander, and the cargo belongs to the crew, each according to the capital he has contributed to the joint adventure. There is not one idle person on board, for the commander steers, and each of the adventurers has his oar or his paddle. Their adventures are confined between the islands at the eastern extremity of the straits of Malacca, and the town of that name, out of the influence of the monsoons, and under the protection of the variable winds which characterize these latitudes. From the rapidity of their course, they are quite secure from the attack of pirates. The voyage backwards and forwards may, of course, be performed at every season. In fair weather, one of them will sail between the island of Linga and Singapore in two days; and in the least favourable weather, in six; performing the voyage, therefore, on an average, in four days. The distance is about one hundred and eighty miles; so that these boats go, under the most favourable circumstances, at the rate of ninety miles a day, or close upon four knots an hour, and, at an average, forty-five miles a day. Three voyages may be performed in a month, if the state of the markets do not occasion extraordinary delays. When pepper is the cargo, as very frequently happens, the adventurers are contented, I am told, with a profit of three fourths of a dollar per picul, when the selling price of this commodity is ten dollars. This supposes a profit of eight and a half per cent., on each adventure."

On the 24th March, the envoy cast anchor in the roads of Siam, and transmitted information of his arrival to the court. In the evening of the same day, his party were permitted to land at Pak-ham, the first station in ascending the river, where the curiosity of the natives seemed to be most strongly excited by their Hindu servants, and the abundant hospitality of the Governor was rendered the more novel, by the presence, near the table, of the corpse of his predecessor and brother, which had been lying in state for five months, embalmed, according to the custom of the country. The good fare was pressed upon them with the Siamese form of compliment—"eat heartily and be not abashed;" an inscription for every refectory. Nothing that the envoy saw at Pak-ham raised his opinion of the progress of the Siamese in



the useful arts of life. "The cottage of an English peasant, not on the brink of a workhouse, possesses more real comfort, than the mansion of the Siamese Governor, who exercises an arbitrary authority over fifty thousand people." On the 28th of March, the ship ascended the river towards the capital, the appearance of which is portrayed as follows :—

"March 29—The morning presented to us a very novel spectacle—the capital of Siam, situated on both sides of the Menam. Numerous temples of Buddha, with tall spires attached to them, frequently glittering with gilding, were conspicuous among the mean huts and hovels of the natives, throughout which were interspersed a profusion of palms, ordinary fruit trees, and the sacred fig (*ficus religiosa*). On each side of the river, there was a row of floating habitations, resting on rafts of bamboos, moored to the shore. These appeared the neatest and best description of dwellings ; they were occupied by good Chinese shops. Close to these aquatic habitations, were anchored the largest description of native vessels, among which were many junks of great size, just arrived from China. The face of the river presented a busy scene, from the number of boats and canoes of every size and description which were passing to and fro. The number of these struck us as very great at the time, for we were not aware that there are few or no roads at Bang-kok, and that the river and canals form the common highways, not only for goods, but for passengers of every description. Many of the boats were shops containing earthenware, blachang, dried fish, and fresh pork. Vendors of these several commodities were hawking and crying them as in an European town. Among those who plied on the river, there was a large proportion of women, and of the priests of Buddha ; the latter readily distinguished by their shaved and bare heads, and their yellow vestments. This was the hour in which they are accustomed to go in quest of alms, which accounted for the great number of them we saw."

Sons and deputies of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, were sent on board to welcome—not the ambassador, but the letter which he bore from the Governor-General of India ; and to ascertain all the points of the *horse*, which was one of the presents for His Siamese Majesty. The British party were soon invited to a first audience with the minister, whose attendants and family lay all the time prostrate on their knees and elbows, at the distance of several yards, and who proved to be quite an adept in diplomacy. The next public interview was with the heir apparent, the eldest son of the king, a corpulent figure, meanly dressed, in a splendid hall strewn with prostrate courtiers. During the two hours that it lasted, the strangers saw no article of food, but on their return to the mansion which had been assigned to them, they found eight large tubs of sweetmeats from the Prince's store. At length, (April 5), they were informed that their introduction to the monarch himself, might take place, but difficulties arose about the mode of conveyance to the royal palace. Elephants had ceased to be used in the capital, except by privileged officers of the government ; to ride on horseback was not considered *respectable* ; palanquins or litters were therefore selected, and here a great obstacle presented itself. The Siamese, it seems, admire themselves as the first nation in the world—"half naked and enslaved barbarians as they are:"—viewing, consequently,

the performance of any servile office for a stranger as an act of extreme degradation, it was with the utmost reluctance that the chiefs consented to allow a few carriers to support the litters. The Siamese have another prejudice of vanity, more rare than national contempt for all others of the human race. They cherish a horror of permitting any thing to pass over the head, or having the head touched, or bringing their persons into a situation of physical inferiority, such as going under a bridge, or entering the lower apartment of a house when the upper one is inhabited. For this reason, their dwellings are all of one story. But the domicile of the mission had been intended for a warehouse, and consisted of two stories, to the second of which there was no access, save by a trap-door. This occasioned a serious dilemma to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, when he wished to visit and feast the envoy at home. He must suffer in public estimation, if a stranger could, by any possibility, walk over his head; so that though an unwieldy personage, he adopted the alternative of getting into the attic by means of a ladder which was erected against the side of the house.

An immense concourse of people occupied the neighbourhood of the sovereign's palace, to witness the entrance of the embassy on the day of their presentation. The four British officers were alone suffered to go into the hall of audience; and these not until they had taken off their shoes. We shall employ Mr. Crawford's narrative of the transaction, and of the equally interesting visit to the white elephants, which immediately followed.

"Opposite to the door of the hall of audience, there was an immense Chinese mirror of many parts, which formed a screen, concealing the interior of the court from our view.

"We had no sooner arrived at this spot, than a loud flourish of wind instruments was heard, accompanied by a wild shout, or yell, which announced, as we afterwards found, the arrival of his Majesty. We passed the screen to the right side, and, as had been agreed upon, taking off our hats, made a respectful bow in the European manner. Every foot of the great hall which we had now entered, was literally so crowded with prostrate courtiers, that it was difficult to move without the risk of treading upon some officer of state. Precedence is decided, upon such occasions, by relative vicinity to the throne, the princes being near the foot of it, the principal officers of government next to them, and thus in succession down to the lowest officer who is admitted into the presence. We seated ourselves a little in front of the screen, and made three obeisances to the throne, in unison with the courtiers. This obeisance consisted in raising the joined hands to the head three times, and at each, touching the forehead. To have completed the Siamese obeisance, it would have been necessary to have bent the body to the ground, and touched the earth with the forehead, at each prostration. I thought the place assigned to us, although not a very distinguished one, the highest it was intended to concede; but we had no sooner made our obeisances, than we were requested to advance, and were finally settled about half way towards the throne. The assigning to us the first place, and our advance afterwards to a more honourable one, was evidently an artifice of our conductors, to exact a greater number of obeisances, than we had pledged ourselves to make; for, when we were seated the second time, the whole court made their additional obeisances, in which we were compelled to join, to avoid the imputation of rudeness.

"The hall of audience appeared a well-proportioned and spacious saloon, of about eighty feet in length, perhaps half this in breadth, and thirty feet in height. Two rows, each of ten handsome wooden pillars, formed an avenue from the door to the throne, which was situated at the upper end of the hall. The walls and ceiling were painted of a bright vermillion; the cornices of the former being gilded, and the latter thickly spangled throughout with stars in rich gilding. Between the pillars, we observed several good lustres of English cut glass. The apartment would have been altogether in good taste, but for the appearance, against the pillars, of some miserable lamps of tin-plate, which had been imported from Batavia, and which were in all likelihood prized only because they were foreign.

"The throne and its appendages, occupied the whole of the upper end of the hall. The first was gilded all over, and about fifteen feet high. It had much the shape and look of a handsome pulpit. A pair of curtains, a gold tissue upon a yellow ground, concealed the whole of the upper part of the room, except the throne; and they were intended to be drawn over this also, except when used. In front of the throne, and rising from the floor, were to be seen a number of gilded umbrellas of various sizes. These consisted of a series of canopies, decreasing in size upwards, and sometimes amounting to as many as seventeen tiers. The king, as he appeared seated on his throne, had more the appearance of a statue in a niche, than of a living being. He wore a loose gown of gold tissue, with very wide sleeves. His head was bare, for he wore neither crown nor any other ornament on it. Close to him was a golden baton, or sceptre.

"The general appearance of the hall of audience, the prostrate attitude of the courtiers, the situation of the king, and the silence which prevailed, presented a very imposing spectacle, and reminded us much more of a temple crowded with votaries, engaged in the performance of some solemn rite of religion, than the audience-chamber of a temporal monarch.

"The king seemed a man between fifty and sixty years of age, rather short in person, and disposed to corpulency. His features were very ordinary, and appeared to bespeak the known indolence and imbecility of his character; but, upon this subject, it was not easy to form any correct opinion, owing to the distance we were from the throne, and the sort of *chiaro scuro* cast upon it, evidently for effect.

"To the left of the throne, we saw exhibited the portable part of the presents from the governor-general: a secretary proceeded to read a list of them; and I make no doubt they were represented as tribute, or offering, although of this it was impossible to obtain proof. The letter of the governor-general was neither read nor exhibited, notwithstanding the distinct pledge which had been given to that effect.

"The words which His Siamese Majesty condescended to address to us, were delivered in a grave and oracular manner. One of the first officers of state delivered them to a person of inferior rank, and this person to Ko-chai-sahak, who was behind us, and explained them in the Malay language. The questions put, as they were rendered to us, were as follows: 'The Governor-General of India, (literally, in Siamese, The Lord, or Governor, of Bengal) has sent you to Siam—what is your business?' A short explanation of the objects of the mission was given in reply. 'Have you been sent with the knowledge of the King of England?' It was here explained, that, from the great distance of England, the political intercourse with the distant nations of the East, was commonly intrusted to the management of the Governor-General of India, 'Is the Governor-General of India brother to the King of England?' To this question it was replied, that the Governor-General of India had been the personal friend of his sovereign from early life, but that he was not his brother. The following questions were successively put: 'What difference is there in the ages of the King and Governor-General?'—'Was the Governor-General of India in good health, when you left Bengal?'—'Where do you intend to go, after leaving Siam?'—'Is peace your object in all the countries you mean to visit?'—'Do you intend to visit Hué, the capital of Cochin-China?' After receiving replies to these different questions, His Majesty concluded with the following sentence: 'I am glad to see an

envoy here, from the Governor-General of India. Whatever you have to say, communicate to the minister, Surirvangkosa. What we chiefly want from you are fire-arms.'

"His Majesty had no sooner pronounced these last words, than we heard a loud stroke, as if given by a wand against a wainscoting; upon which the curtains on each side of the throne, moved by some concealed agency, closed upon it. This was followed by the same flourish of wind instruments, and the same wild shouts which accompanied our entrance; and the courtiers, falling upon their faces to the ground, made six successive prostrations. We made three obeisances, sitting upright, as had been agreed upon.

"As soon as the curtain was drawn upon His Majesty, the courtiers, for the first time, sat upright, and we were requested to be at our ease,—freely to look round us, and *admire the splendour and magnificence* of the court,—such being nearly the words made use of by the interpreter, in making this communication to us.

"During the audience, a heavy shower had fallen, and it was still raining. His Majesty took this opportunity of presenting us each with a small umbrella, and sent a message to desire that we would view the curiosities of the palace at our leisure. When we arrived at the threshold of the hall of audience, we perceived the court-yard and the roads extremely wet and dirty, from the fall of rain. We naturally demanded our shoes, which we had left at the last gate. This was a favour which could not be yielded, and we were informed that the first princes of the blood could not wear shoes within the sacred enclosure in which we now were. It would have been impolitic to have evinced ill-humour, or attempted remonstrance; and therefore we feigned a cheerful compliance with this inconvenient usage, and proceeded to gratify our curiosity.

"The greatest of the curiosities to which our attention was directed, were the white elephants, well known in Europe to be objects of veneration, if not of worship, in all the countries where the religion of Buddha prevails. The present king has no less than six of these, a larger number than ever was possessed by any Siamese monarch; and this circumstance is considered peculiarly auspicious to his reign. Four of them were shown to us. They approached much nearer to a true white colour than I had expected; they had, indeed, all of them, more or less of a flesh coloured tinge; but this arose from the exposure of the skin, owing to the small quantity of hair with which the elephant is naturally covered. They showed no signs of disease, debility, or imperfection; not less than six feet six inches high. Upon inquiring into their history, we found that they were all either from the kingdom of Lao, or Kamboja, and none from Siam itself, nor from the Malay countries, tributary to it, which last, indeed, had never been known to afford a white elephant.

"The rareness of the white elephant is, no doubt, the origin of the consideration in which it is held. The countries in which it is found, and in which, indeed, the elephant in general exists in greatest perfection, and is most regarded, are those in which the worship of Buddha and the doctrine of the metempsychosis prevail. It was natural, therefore, to imagine that the body of so rare an object as a white elephant, must be the temporary habitation of the soul of some mighty personage, in its progress to perfection. This is the current belief, and accordingly every white elephant has the rank and title of a king, with an appropriate name expressing this dignity—such as the "pure king," the "wonderful king," and so forth. One of the Jesuits, writing upon this subject, informs us with some *naïveté*, that His Majesty of Siam does not ride the white elephant, because he, the white elephant, is as great a king as himself!

"Each of those which we saw, had a separate stable, and no less than ten keepers to wait upon it. The tusks of the males, for there were some of both sexes, were ornamented with gold rings. On the head they had all a gold chain net, and on the back a small embroidered velvet cushion.

"Notwithstanding the veneration with which the white elephants are considered in some respects, it does not seem to be carried so far in Siam, as to emancipate them from occasional correction. Two of them were described as so vicious, that it was considered unsafe to exhibit them. A keeper pricked the foot

of one, in our presence, with a sharp iron, until blood came, although his majesty's only offence was stealing a bunch of bananas; or rather, snatching it before he had received permission!

"In the stables of the white elephants, we were shown two monkeys, whose presence, the keepers insisted, preserved their royal charges from sickness. These were of a perfectly pure white colour, of considerable size, and of the tribe of monkeys with long tails. They were in perfect health, and had been long caught."

The members of the mission were permitted to wander about the metropolis and its environs as they pleased, and whenever they appeared in a crowd, their presence was announced by shouts. The deportment of the people towards them, in the questions with which they were teased, and the examination of the texture of their dress and the trinkets which they wore, resembled altogether the treatment of the deputations of Osages or Winnebagoes in the streets of our cities. The most consequential of our *optimates* cannot be more persuaded of his superiority over the blanketed and painted red-man, than were even the lowest of the Siamese in relation to the British officers and their Hindu retinue. Among the objects of attraction for the embassy, none engaged them more than the religious temples, the construction and furniture of which are particularly mentioned. Every church is not only a place of worship, but a monastery of the *Talapoins* or monks. In one of the temples which Mr. Crawford surveyed, the number of regular Talapoins was five hundred, and of noviciates and pupils seven hundred and fifty;—he was informed, moreover, that it contained no less than fifteen hundred images, great and small, four hundred of which were of gigantic proportions. Although very costly and ostentatious, these structures are not durable. More credit for piety is gained by building and adorning them, than by keeping them in repair. Hence, they multiply inordinately, only to fall into speedy decay and neglect. The British envoy entered them at a period of religious festival, when they were crowded with votaries of all ages and sexes. Instead of the gravity and decorum becoming the scene and occasion, he was scandalized by a wild clamour and indecent levity. The visitors were at one moment stretched before the idols, and at another involved in some frolic, or singing idle catches. One man, for example, lighted his segar at an incense rod; another played a merry air on a flageolet, before an image; the women, without veils, mixed in the crowd, and practised a familiarity with the other sex, which gave colour to the hint of Mr. Crawford's conductor—that the temples were frequently places of assignation. His thirteenth chapter consists in part of a curious and instructive exposition of the Siamese creed, and of *Buddhism* generally—one of the forms of worship which have exerted the most extensive and permanent influence upon the destinies and opinions of mankind. The

moral precepts of the Siamese are comprised in ten commandments, remarkable enough to be repeated:—

“1. Do not slay animals. 2. Do not steal. 3. Do not commit adultery. 4. Do not tell lies nor backbite. 5. Do not drink wine. 6. Do not eat after twelve o'clock. 7. Do not frequent plays or public spectacles, nor listen to music. 8. Do not use perfumes, nor wear flowers or other personal ornaments. 9. Do not sleep or recline upon a couch that is above one cubit high. 10. Do not borrow nor be in debt.”

Some four or five of these prohibitions are abundantly sensible; but, according to our author, they are not more efficacious with the Buddhists, than are those of Mahomet with the Turks, according to Dr. Walsh; or those of Brahma with the Hindus, according to Bishop Heber; or a more sacred and unquestionable decalogue, with a very large proportion of a great division of mankind called Christians, according to the experience of every country of Christendom. The impotence of the first and chief of the Siamese commandments, may convey a just idea of the force of all. Mr. Crawford remarks, that the abhorrence of shedding blood, inculcated in theory by the worship of Buddha, has had no influence whatever in humanizing the character of its votaries; for, the history of the Singalese, the Burmans, the Peguans, and Siamese, teems with acts of the utmost cruelty and ferocity:—in a word, there are no countries in Asia, in which human life is held so cheap, as in those in which the shedding of blood is considered sacrilege. In Siam, a strict observance of religious precepts is expected only from the priests. The laity imagine that all duties are performed, if they honour and provide for the clergy, go to church, and keep the usual holydays. Every male in the kingdom, must, at one period or other, enter the priesthood, for however short a time. This step seems to be a sort of necessary spiritual confirmation. The details of the institution are very singular. There are no monastic establishments for females. Almost all the education received by the male children, is in the convents of the Talapoints. Our author encountered among them, a Javanese who had been ordained, and inquired into the reasons of his change of religion. The convert “proceeded at once with considerable vivacity, to a detail of the temporal immunities and advantages of the Siamese priesthood,—such as respect from the people, fine clothes, abundance of food, and, above all, a total exemption from labour.” Mr. Crawford went by invitation into the house of a prior of a monastery. Every thing indicated comfort and plenty. The walls were decorated with Chinese copies, in gilt frames, of English pictures, including portraits of celebrated English beauties. A number of priests were seated on the ground, each with a book before him, placed on a neat reading-desk.

The British party, in one of their excursions on the river, remarked the fort which was occupied by the French at the close

of the seventeenth century, "in the extraordinary attempt made by Louis XIV. for the civil and religious conquest of Siam." Mr. Crawfurd recurs, in his 13th chapter, to this scheme of proselytism, and we are tempted to quote from him on the subject:—

"The history of this transaction deserves to be briefly adverted to, as well on account of its own singularity, as for the light it throws on the character of the Siamese. The French monarch, in his instructions to the Chevalier Chaumont, his ambassador, told him, that the conversion of the King of Siam was the main object of his mission; and even in his letter to the Siamese monarch himself, urged his adoption of Christianity. The ambassador, true to his instructions, impertuned the minister Phaulcon upon the subject. The wily Greek, in reply, communicated the following, real or pretended, but, in either case, curious message, from his Siamese Majesty.

"But, to reply to the ambassador of France," continued the king, 'you will tell him from me, that I feel greatly obliged to his royal master, convinced as I am, from his memorial, of the friendship of His Most Christian Majesty. The honour which this great prince has conferred upon me, is already published throughout the East, and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge such civility. But I am truly grieved that my good friend, the King of France, should propose to me a thing so difficult, and of which I have no knowledge. I refer to the wisdom of His Most Christian Majesty, to judge of the importance and difficulty of an affair so delicate, as that of changing a religion received and followed throughout my kingdom two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine years.

"At the same time, I am surprised that my good friend the King of France, should so strongly interest himself in a matter which regards God alone; in which God himself takes no interest, and which he leaves entirely to our discretion. For, this true God, who has created the heavens and the earth, and all the creatures which we see, and who has given to them natures and dispositions so different, could he not, had he willed it, in giving men bodies and souls of a similar description, inspire them also with an uniformity of sentiment in regard to that religion which they ought to follow, and that worship which was most acceptable to him, ordaining the same religious laws among all nations of the world? Might not this order amongst men, and uniformity in the works of Divine providence, have been introduced with as much ease as the variety which has existed in all ages? Is it not reasonable to believe, that the true God takes as much pleasure in being glorified by myriads of living creatures, who praise him each in his own way? Would the beauty and variety which we admire in the natural order of the universe, be less admirable in the spiritual, or less worthy of the wisdom of God? However this may be," concluded the king, 'since we know that God is absolute master of the world, and are persuaded that nothing is done contrary to his will, I commit my person and my kingdom to the arms of Divine mercy and providence, and with all my heart I pray his eternal wisdom to dispose of them according to his good pleasure.'

We doubt that *civil* conquest was meditated by Louis or his ministers. In the fourth volume of Flasse's *Diplomatie Française*, there is an abstract of the diplomatic intercourse, from the official reports. In 1681, the King of Siam, informed of the victories of the *Grand Monarque*, deputed three ambassadors to him, on board of a French ship, which was never heard of afterwards. In 1684, he sent, on the same errand, two dignitaries of the first rank, who merely had an audience of the two principal ministers of Louis; but the French missionary who accompanied them, persuaded the king to send an ambassador in return, by the gratuitous assurance that the Siamese so-

vereign intended to embrace Christianity. The French envoy, (Le Chevalier de Chaumont,) reached his destination in 1685, was presented at court with the utmost eclat, addressed the throne in a studied harangue, and delivered a letter from Louis, who thanked his royal brother for the protection he had granted to the Christian bishops, and invited him to learn the mysteries of the Christian religion. A civil, but unmeaning reply was given; conferences were held between the French envoy and the Greek vizier; and rich presents interchanged. Finally, a treaty was signed, by which the missionaries obtained liberty to preach the Christian faith, and impunity for their proselytes. Two Siamese ambassadors accompanied the Chevalier de Chaumont on his return, in 1686. They had a splendid audience of Louis, and complimented him magnificently on his vast conquests and illustrious qualities. To commemorate this mission, which delighted his vanity, he caused a medal to be struck, bearing the legend *Fama virtutis*, and the exergue *Oratores regis Siam*, 1686. He is represented on his throne, with the Siamese ambassadors at his feet. The revolution which occurred in Siam in 1688, extinguished the treaty and the hopes of the French court. A zealous Buddhist rebelled and seized the throne on the death of Louis's ally; condemned the brothers of his royal predecessor to be thrust into *velvet* sacks, and beaten to death with clubs of *odoriferous wood*, in compliment to their quality; and banished from the kingdom, for a time, all the French and English intruders.

There is still a Catholic bishopric of Siam. Mr. Crawford had an interview with the titular, who was a native of Avignon, in France, and had lived either in Siam or Cochin-China, for thirty-four years; and most of this long period, without a European nearer to him than a thousand miles. At the age of sixty, he retained much of the characteristic sprightliness of his nation. From him, the envoy learned that the Catholics of Siam amounted to three thousand; that the Siamese treated with ridicule the notion of their having any equals, especially among the European races; that they nevertheless had very serious apprehensions of the British power, but knew nothing of the French of the present day. A native Christian priest, who was sent with the British strangers to show them a new Catholic chapel, when asked what objections the Siamese had against the Catholic religion, answered,—“they consider it too difficult and troublesome a road to heaven.” The bishop's immediate predecessor fell into an odd quarrel with the Chinese adventurer, who mounted the throne of Siam upon the expulsion of the Burman invaders, in 1769. His majesty conceived, that, by intense devotion, he might earn the gift of *flying*, and thus be enabled to reach heaven by a sort of short cut, as a bird soars to the sky.



He sent for the priests of his own god Guatama, who at once declared the project to be quite feasible. The bishop, and the other Christian clergy, were then summoned, and asked their opinions. They honestly endeavoured to reason the supreme out of his delusion, arguing, that flying was incompatible with the form of the human body. For this heterodox piece of philosophy, the prelate and his wisecracks received each a hundred blows of the bamboo, and were driven into exile. Among the acquaintance whom the envoy formed, none appears to us more worthy of being signalized, than the individual mentioned in the following passage of the Journal:—

*"July 10th.*—I had, in the course of this afternoon, a visit from a person of singular modesty and intelligence, Pascal Ribeiro de Alvergarias, the descendant of a Portuguese Christian of Kamboja. This gentleman holds a high Siamese title, and a post of considerable importance. Considering his means and situation, his acquirements were remarkable; for, he not only spoke and wrote the Siamese, Kambojan, and Portuguese languages, with facility, but also spoke and wrote Latin with considerable propriety. We found, indeed, a smattering of Latin very frequent among the Portuguese interpreters at Bang-kok, but Señor Ribeiro was the only individual who made any pretence to speak it with accuracy. He informed us, that he was the descendant of a person of the same name, who settled in Kamboja in the year 1685. His lady's genealogy, however, interested us more than his own. She was the lineal descendant of an Englishman of the name of Charles Lister, a merchant, who settled in Kamboja, in the year 1701, and who had acquired some reputation at the Court, by making pretence to some knowledge in medicine. Charles Lister had come immediately from Madras, and brought with him his sister. This lady espoused a Portuguese of Kamboja, by whom she had a son who took her own name. Her grandson, of this name, also, in the revolutions of the kingdom of Kamboja, found his way to Siam; and here, like his great uncle, practising the healing art, rose to the station of maha-pet, or first physician to the king. The son of this individual, Cajitanus Lister, is at present the physician, and at the same time the minister and confidential adviser of the present king of Kamboja. His sister is the wife of the subject of this short notice."

A certain number of Mr. Crawford's pages, are of course allotted to the story of his frequent and long political discussions with the Siamese minister of state, and the prince royal. These negotiators were so suspicious and wary, that no progress could be made in the British project of a reduction of duties and a free commercial intercourse. When it was explained to the prince, that the revenue of Ceylon, although considerable, was inadequate to the maintenance of the island, and that it was necessary to remit large sums from England for this purpose, he immediately said,—“If this be the case, it can be of no use to you; and for what purpose was it conquered, and is it now retained?” A member of the British mission told the minister of state, emphatically, that Great Britain was at peace with all the world, and then descanted on the strength and numbers of the British navy. The Siamese politician coolly observed,—“If you are at peace with all the world, why do you keep up so great a navy as that which you now describe?” In answer to the demand of secu-

rity for the persons and property of the British subjects, it was distinctly stated, that the King of Siam would make no alteration in the established laws of the country, in favour of strangers. An interpreter of the mission, reported the following dialogue between him and a confidential friend of the minister of state. The latter observed, that "the English were a dangerous people to have any connexion with, for they were not only the ablest, but the most ambitious, of the European nations who frequented the East." The interpreter replied, "it is impossible the English can have any ambitious views on Siam; for, what could they, who have so much already, and are accustomed to convenient countries, do with such a one as yours, in which there are neither roads nor bridges, and where you are ankle-deep in mire at every step?" The Siamese rejoined,—“do not speak so; these people are clever and active, and the country would not be long in their possession, before they would make it such that you might sleep in the streets and rice fields.” All that could be obtained, ultimately, from the government, was comprised in the subjoined official document:—

“The governor of Bengal commanded Mr. Crawford to come to Siam, to open a way to friendship and commerce, and to request permission for English ships to trade to this capital, buying and selling with the merchants of Siam, and paying duties as heretofore. The Pia Pralikang, by authority of his Majesty, directs me, in consequence, to express his satisfaction at the contents of the letter of the governor of Bengal, and to address a letter to Mr. Crawford in the form of an agreement, to say, that if English merchant ships come to the port of the capital, as soon as they are anchored, the superintendent of customs shall afford all assistance in buying and selling with the merchants of Siam, and the duties and charges shall not be more than heretofore, nor afterwards be raised. Let the English merchants come to Siam to sell and buy, in conformity to this agreement.”

The king of Siam is absolute master of the lives and fortunes of some millions of people. He is “the Sacred Lord of heads, infallible and infinitely powerful.” He has no distinctive name, as a sublime essence. The dust of his golden feet honours the noblest crown upon which it may fall. The monarch whom Mr. Crawford saw, did not embroider petticoats, but employed himself daily in gilding images for the temple. When he “flew into an ungovernable passion” about the disappearance of some small globe lamps, the princes and ministers disappeared also, to escape the bastinado. His father, thirty-six hours after the demise of his predecessor, put to death one hundred and seventeen chiefs and other persons suspected of being unfavourable to his pretensions to the throne. One of the fundamental laws is a universal conscription, by which the labour and strength of the adult male population are placed at the disposal of the government, whether for common labour, or for military or menial service. All are enrolled, and held liable, (the Talapoins excepted, fifty thousand in number,) to serve the state for four months in each year. The

king is the great merchant, and the royal monopolies embrace the most valuable products. The same chiefs who are charged with the administration of the military, civil, and fiscal departments, are the only judges and magistrates. The bamboo is applied in the punishment of all offences. For sedition and treason, the culprits are trodden to death by elephants, or devoured by tigers. It is, on the whole, a "very pretty despotism"—a fine specimen of the political march of the oriental intellect. The excesses of the government keep down the number of labourers, and, in this way, contribute to render their condition better than might be expected from its arbitrary character. In general, the climate of Siam is salubrious, and the soil fertile; but the population is computed to be only at the rate of fourteen or fifteen inhabitants to the square mile. The checks are chiefly political and moral; the only material ones from disease, are the small-pox and cholera morbus. Vaccination has been introduced. Dreadful havoc was made by cholera morbus, in 1820, when it infested Siam, after having ravaged Hindustan for three years. Of this malady, Mr. Crawford remarks that it is by far the most destructive which has ever afflicted the human race. It extended from Arabia to China, over ninety degrees of longitude, and from Java to the Himalaya mountains, embracing forty degrees of latitude:—almost all the civilized and populous nations of tropical Asia were included in its fell sweep; several millions were its victims. A Chinese insisted, in conversation with our author, that, as the wars between the principal nations had then ceased, the pestilence was a necessary arrangement of nature for keeping population down to the level of subsistence. He had not, however, studied the book of Malthus.

The area of the Siamese empire is estimated at one hundred and ninety thousand geographical miles. The elephant is found in every division of it, and attains there his greatest bulk. In all parts, except the metropolis, this animal is freely used both for riding and bearing burdens. *Lanchang*, the capital of Lao, takes its name from the number of elephants which are used by its inhabitants, the word in the Siamese language meaning the place of *ten millions of elephants*. A native of that town informed Mr. Crawford, that they were employed for many domestic purposes—"even," he added, "for carrying women and fire wood." Elephant-hunters shoot the males, chiefly on account of their tusks. The chase is laborious, and not without danger. Ivory is a royal monopoly. The *Rhinoceros* exists in unusual numbers in Siam. The Chinese ascribe medical virtues to the horn, and the skin brings, weight for weight, nearly double the price of any other hide. That portion of Kamboja, which now belongs to Siam, and some contiguous tracts of the Siamese territory, afford the well-known medicine and pigment, *gam-*

*boge*; and our author supposes that they are the only parts of the world in which it is produced. The gum is obtained from a species of *Garckenia*, to which it gives name,—as our maple sugar is, by making incision in the bark of the forest trees, from which it exudes, and is collected in vessels suspended or affixed to them. In these it soon takes a concrete form, and is fit for the market without further preparation. The fruits of Siam Mr. Crawford pronounces to be excellent, and superior, indeed, to those of all other parts of India. The most exquisite are the mango, the mangustin, the orange, the durian, the lichi, and the pine apple. The best of them are of exotic origin. The whole neighbourhood of Bang-kok, the metropolis, is one forest of fruit trees. Upon the “fresh lusciousness” of their produce, the British embassy feasted from April to July.

On the 16th July, the embassy re-embarked, on the voyage to Cochin-China, which they reached in August. The first impressions of the British were more favourable than those of our countryman White and his companions, and to the disadvantage of the Siamese in the comparison. In the outset, the Cochin-Chinese were chiefly anxious, as the Siamese had been, to ascertain whether the mission came from the King of England, or from the Governor-General of India. Neither nation was able to comprehend that sovereign or substantial power could be communicated to a company of merchants, or to conceive the Governor-General as other or less than the king of England’s *brother*. Many tedious and ludicrous ceremonies were to be endured, before the party could proceed from the city of Saigon to the capital. Saigon is about fifty miles from the sea, and the principal seat of Cochin-Chinese commerce. Lieutenant White has furnished a more interesting and minute account of it than Mr. Crawford. Among the entertainments provided for the British, were the following:—

“After tea was served to us, we were invited to be present at an elephant and tiger fight; and for this purpose mounted our elephants, and repaired to the glacis of the fort, where the combat was to take place. The Governor went out at another gate, and arrived at the place before us in his palanquin. When the hall broke up, a herald or crier announced the event. With the exception of this ceremony, great propriety and decorum was observed throughout the audience. The exhibition made by the herald, was truly barbarous. He threw himself backward, projecting his abdomen, and putting his hands to his sides, and in this absurd attitude uttered several loud and long yells. The tiger had been exhibited in front of the hall, and was driven to the spot, on a hurdle. A great concourse of people had assembled to witness the exhibition. The tiger was secured to a stake, by a rope tied around his loins, about thirty yards long. The mouth of the unfortunate animal was sewn up, and his nails pulled out. He was of large size, and extremely active. No less than forty-six elephants, all males of great size, were seen drawn out in line. One at a time was brought to attack the tiger. The first elephant advanced, to all appearance with a great show of courage, and we thought from his determined look that he would certainly have dispatched his antagonist in an instant. At the first effort, he raised the tiger upon his tusks to a considerable height, and threw him to the distance of at least twenty

"The hall of audience appeared a well-proportioned and spacious saloon, of about eighty feet in length, perhaps half this in breadth, and thirty feet in height. Two rows, each of ten handsome wooden pillars, formed an avenue from the door to the throne, which was situated at the upper end of the hall. The walls and ceiling were painted of a bright vermilion; the cornices of the former being gilded, and the latter thickly spangled throughout with stars in rich gilding. Between the pillars, we observed several good lustres of English cut glass. The apartment would have been altogether in good taste, but for the appearance, against the pillars, of some miserable lamps of tin-plate, which had been imported from Batavia, and which were in all likelihood prized only because they were foreign.

"The throne and its appendages, occupied the whole of the upper end of the hall. The first was gilded all over, and about fifteen feet high. It had much the shape and look of a handsome pulpit. A pair of curtains, a gold tissue upon a yellow ground, concealed the whole of the upper part of the room, except the throne; and they were intended to be drawn over this also, except when used. In front of the throne, and rising from the floor, were to be seen a number of gilded umbrellas of various sizes. These consisted of a series of canopies, decreasing in size upwards, and sometimes amounting to as many as seventeen tiers. The king, as he appeared seated on his throne, had more the appearance of a statue in a niche, than of a living being. He wore a loose gown of gold tissue, with very wide sleeves. His head was bare, for he wore neither crown nor any other ornament on it. Close to him was a golden baton, or sceptre.

"The general appearance of the hall of audience, the prostrate attitude of the courtiers, the situation of the king, and the silence which prevailed, presented a very imposing spectacle, and reminded us much more of a temple crowded with votaries, engaged in the performance of some solemn rite of religion, than the audience-chamber of a temporal monarch.

"The king seemed a man between fifty and sixty years of age, rather short in person, and disposed to corpulency. His features were very ordinary, and appeared to bespeak the known indolence and imbecility of his character; but, upon this subject, it was not easy to form any correct opinion, owing to the distance we were from the throne, and the sort of *chiaro scuro* cast upon it, evidently for effect.

"To the left of the throne, we saw exhibited the portable part of the presents from the governor-general: a secretary proceeded to read a list of them; and I make no doubt they were represented as tribute, or offering, although of this it was impossible to obtain proof. The letter of the governor-general was neither read nor exhibited, notwithstanding the distinct pledge which had been given to that effect.

"The words which His Siamese Majesty condescended to address to us, were delivered in a grave and oracular manner. One of the first officers of state delivered them to a person of inferior rank, and this person to Ko-chai-sahak, who was behind us, and explained them in the Malay language. The questions put, as they were rendered to us, were as follows: 'The Governor-General of India, (literally, in Siamese, The Lord, or Governor, of Bengal) has sent you to Siam—what is your business?' A short explanation of the objects of the mission was given in reply. 'Have you been sent with the knowledge of the King of England?' It was here explained, that, from the great distance of England, the political intercourse with the distant nations of the East, was commonly intrusted to the management of the Governor-General of India, 'Is the Governor-General of India brother to the King of England?' To this question it was replied, that the Governor-General of India had been the personal friend of his sovereign from early life, but that he was not his brother. The following questions were successively put: 'What difference is there in the ages of the King and Governor-General?'—'Was the Governor-General of India in good health, when you left Bengal?'—'Where do you intend to go, after leaving Siam?'—'Is peace your object in all the countries you mean to visit?'—'Do you intend to visit Huế, the capital of Cochin-China?' After receiving replies to these different questions, His Majesty concluded with the following sentence: 'I am glad to see an

envoy here, from the Governor-General of India. Whatever you have to say, communicate to the minister, Surivangkosa. What we chiefly want from you are fire-arms.'

"His Majesty had no sooner pronounced these last words, than we heard a loud stroke, as if given by a wand against a wainscoting; upon which the curtains on each side of the throne, moved by some concealed agency, closed upon it. This was followed by the same flourish of wind instruments, and the same wild shouts which accompanied our entrance; and the courtiers, falling upon their faces to the ground, made six successive prostrations. We made three obeisances, sitting upright, as had been agreed upon.

"As soon as the curtain was drawn upon His Majesty, the courtiers, for the first time, sat upright, and we were requested to be at our ease,—freely to look round us, and *admire the splendour and magnificence* of the court,—such being nearly the words made use of by the interpreter, in making this communication to us.

"During the audience, a heavy shower had fallen, and it was still raining. His Majesty took this opportunity of presenting us each with a small umbrella, and sent a message to desire that we would view the curiosities of the palace at our leisure. When we arrived at the threshold of the hall of audience, we perceived the court-yard and the roads extremely wet and dirty, from the fall of rain. We naturally demanded our shoes, which we had left at the last gate. This was a favour which could not be yielded, and we were informed that the first princes of the blood could not wear shoes within the sacred enclosure in which we now were. It would have been impolitic to have evinced ill-humour, or attempted remonstrance; and therefore we feigned a cheerful compliance with this inconvenient usage, and proceeded to gratify our curiosity.

"The greatest of the curiosities to which our attention was directed, were the white elephants, well known in Europe to be objects of veneration, if not of worship, in all the countries where the religion of Buddha prevails. The present king has no less than six of these, a larger number than ever was possessed by any Siamese monarch; and this circumstance is considered peculiarly auspicious to his reign. Four of them were shown to us. They approached much nearer to a true white colour than I had expected; they had, indeed, all of them, more or less of a flesh coloured tinge; but this arose from the exposure of the skin, owing to the small quantity of hair with which the elephant is naturally covered. They showed no signs of disease, debility, or imperfection; not less than six feet six inches high. Upon inquiring into their history, we found that they were all either from the kingdom of Lao, or Kamboja, and none from Siam itself, nor from the Malay countries, tributary to it, which last, indeed, had never been known to afford a white elephant.

"The rareness of the white elephant is, no doubt, the origin of the consideration in which it is held. The countries in which it is found, and in which, indeed, the elephant in general exists in greatest perfection, and is most regarded, are those in which the worship of Buddha and the doctrine of the metempsychosis prevail. It was natural, therefore, to imagine that the body of so rare an object as a white elephant, must be the temporary habitation of the soul of some mighty personage, in its progress to perfection. This is the current belief, and accordingly every white elephant has the rank and title of a king, with an appropriate name expressing this dignity—such as the "pure king," the "wonderful king," and so forth. One of the Jesuits, writing upon this subject, informs us with some *naïveté*, that His Majesty of Siam does not ride the white elephant, because he, the white elephant, is as great a king as himself!

"Each of those which we saw, had a separate stable, and no less than ten keepers to wait upon it. The tusks of the males, for there were some of both sexes, were ornamented with gold rings. On the head they had all a gold chain net, and on the back a small embroidered velvet cushion.

"Notwithstanding the veneration with which the white elephants are considered in some respects, it does not seem to be carried so far in Siam, as to emancipate them from occasional correction. Two of them were described as so vicious, that it was considered unsafe to exhibit them. A keeper pricked the foot

of one, in our presence, with a sharp iron, until blood came, although his majesty's only offence was stealing a bunch of bananas; or rather, snatching it before he had received permission!

"In the stables of the white elephants, we were shown two monkeys, whose presence, the keepers insisted, preserved their royal charges from sickness. These were of a perfectly pure white colour, of considerable size, and of the tribe of monkeys with long tails. They were in perfect health, and had been long caught."

The members of the mission were permitted to wander about the metropolis and its environs as they pleased, and whenever they appeared in a crowd, their presence was announced by shouts. The deportment of the people towards them, in the questions with which they were teased, and the examination of the texture of their dress and the trinkets which they wore, resembled altogether the treatment of the deputations of Osages or Winnebagoes in the streets of our cities. The most consequential of our *optimates* cannot be more persuaded of his superiority over the blanketed and painted red-man, than were even the lowest of the Siamese in relation to the British officers and their Hindu retinue. Among the objects of attraction for the embassy, none engaged them more than the religious temples, the construction and furniture of which are particularly mentioned. Every church is not only a place of worship, but a monastery of the *Talapoins* or monks. In one of the temples which Mr. Crawford surveyed, the number of regular Talapoins was five hundred, and of noviciates and pupils seven hundred and fifty;—he was informed, moreover, that it contained no less than fifteen hundred images, great and small, four hundred of which were of gigantic proportions. Although very costly and ostentatious, these structures are not durable. More credit for piety is gained by building and adorning them, than by keeping them in repair. Hence, they multiply inordinately, only to fall into speedy decay and neglect. The British envoy entered them at a period of religious festival, when they were crowded with votaries of all ages and sexes. Instead of the gravity and decorum becoming the scene and occasion, he was scandalized by a wild clamour and indecent levity. The visitors were at one moment stretched before the idols, and at another involved in some frolic, or singing idle catches. One man, for example, lighted his segar at an incense rod; another played a merry air on a flageolet, before an image; the women, without veils, mixed in the crowd, and practised a familiarity with the other sex, which gave colour to the hint of Mr. Crawford's conductor—that the temples were frequently places of assignation. His thirteenth chapter consists in part of a curious and instructive exposition of the Siamese creed, and of *Buddhism* generally—one of the forms of worship which have exerted the most extensive and permanent influence upon the destinies and opinions of mankind. The

moral precepts of the Siamese are comprised in ten commandments, remarkable enough to be repeated:—

“1. Do not slay animals. 2. Do not steal. 3. Do not commit adultery. 4. Do not tell lies nor backbite. 5. Do not drink wine. 6. Do not eat after twelve o'clock. 7. Do not frequent plays or public spectacles, nor listen to music. 8. Do not use perfumes, nor wear flowers or other personal ornaments. 9. Do not sleep or recline upon a couch that is above one cubit high. 10. Do not borrow nor be in debt.”

Some four or five of these prohibitions are abundantly sensible; but, according to our author, they are not more efficacious with the Buddhists, than are those of Mahomet with the Turks, according to Dr. Walsh; or those of Brahma with the Hindus, according to Bishop Heber; or a more sacred and unquestionable decalogue, with a very large proportion of a great division of mankind called Christians, according to the experience of every country of Christendom. The impotence of the first and chief of the Siamese commandments, may convey a just idea of the force of all. Mr. Crawford remarks, that the abhorrence of shedding blood, inculcated in theory by the worship of Buddha, has had no influence whatever in humanizing the character of its votaries; for, the history of the Singalese, the Burmans, the Peguans, and Siamese, teems with acts of the utmost cruelty and ferocity:—in a word, there are no countries in Asia, in which human life is held so cheap, as in those in which the shedding of blood is considered sacrilege. In Siam, a strict observance of religious precepts is expected only from the priests. The laity imagine that all duties are performed, if they honour and provide for the clergy, go to church, and keep the usual holydays. Every male in the kingdom, must, at one period or other, enter the priesthood, for however short a time. This step seems to be a sort of necessary spiritual confirmation. The details of the institution are very singular. There are no monastic establishments for females. Almost all the education received by the male children, is in the convents of the Talapoina. Our author encountered among them, a Javanese who had been ordained, and inquired into the reasons of his change of religion. The convert “proceeded at once with considerable vivacity, to a detail of the temporal immunities and advantages of the Siamese priesthood,—such as respect from the people, fine clothes, abundance of food, and, above all, a total exemption from labour.” Mr. Crawford went by invitation into the house of a prior of a monastery. Every thing indicated comfort and plenty. The walls were decorated with Chinese copies, in gilt frames, of English pictures, including portraits of celebrated English beauties. A number of priests were seated on the ground, each with a book before him, placed on a neat reading-desk.

The British party, in one of their excursions on the river, remarked the fort which was occupied by the French at the close



of the seventeenth century, "in the extraordinary attempt made by Louis XIV. for the civil and religious conquest of Siam." Mr. Crawford recurs, in his 13th chapter, to this scheme of proselytism, and we are tempted to quote from him on the subject:—

"The history of this transaction deserves to be briefly adverted to, as well on account of its own singularity, as for the light it throws on the character of the Siamese. The French monarch, in his instructions to the Chevalier Chaumont, his ambassador, told him, that the conversion of the King of Siam was the main object of his mission; and even in his letter to the Siamese monarch himself, urged his adoption of Christianity. The ambassador, true to his instructions, imperturbed the minister Phaulcon upon the subject. The wily Greek, in reply, communicated the following, real or pretended, but, in either case, curious message, from his Siamese Majesty.

"But, to reply to the ambassador of France," continued the king, "you will tell him from me, that I feel greatly obliged to his royal master, convinced as I am, from his memorial, of the friendship of His Most Christian Majesty. The honour which this great prince has conferred upon me, is already published throughout the East, and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge such civility. But I am truly grieved that my good friend, the King of France, should propose to me a thing so difficult, and of which I have no knowledge. I refer to the wisdom of His Most Christian Majesty, to judge of the importance and difficulty of an affair so delicate, as that of changing a religion received and followed throughout my kingdom two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine years.

"At the same time, I am surprised that my good friend the King of France, should so strongly interest himself in a matter which regards God alone; in which God himself takes no interest, and which he leaves entirely to our discretion. For, this true God, who has created the heavens and the earth, and all the creatures which we see, and who has given to them natures and dispositions so different, could he not, had he willed it, in giving men bodies and souls of a similar description, inspire them also with an uniformity of sentiment in regard to that religion which they ought to follow, and that worship which was most acceptable to him, ordaining the same religious laws among all nations of the world? Might not this order amongst men, and uniformity in the works of Divine providence, have been introduced with as much ease as the variety which has existed in all ages? Is it not reasonable to believe, that the true God takes as much pleasure in being glorified by myriads of living creatures, who praise him each in his own way? Would the beauty and variety which we admire in the natural order of the universe, be less admirable in the spiritual, or less worthy of the wisdom of God? However this may be," concluded the king, "since we know that God is absolute master of the world, and are persuaded that nothing is done contrary to his will, I commit my person and my kingdom to the arms of Divine mercy and providence, and with all my heart I pray his eternal wisdom to dispose of them according to his good pleasure."

We doubt that *civil* conquest was meditated by Louis or his ministers. In the fourth volume of Flasse's *Diplomatie Française*, there is an abstract of the diplomatic intercourse, from the official reports. In 1681, the King of Siam, informed of the victories of the *Grand Monarque*, deputed three ambassadors to him, on board of a French ship, which was never heard of afterwards. In 1684, he sent, on the same errand, two dignitaries of the first rank, who merely had an audience of the two principal ministers of Louis; but the French missionary who accompanied them, persuaded the king to send an ambassador in return, by the gratuitous assurance that the Siamese so-

vereign intended to embrace Christianity. The French envoy, (Le Chevalier de Chaumont,) reached his destination in 1685, was presented at court with the utmost eclat, addressed the throne in a studied harangue, and delivered a letter from Louis, who thanked his royal brother for the protection he had granted to the Christian bishops, and invited him to learn the mysteries of the Christian religion. A civil, but unmeaning reply was given; conferences were held between the French envoy and the Greek vizier; and rich presents interchanged. Finally, a treaty was signed, by which the missionaries obtained liberty to preach the Christian faith, and impunity for their proselytes. Two Siamese ambassadors accompanied the Chevalier de Chaumont on his return, in 1686. They had a splendid audience of Louis, and complimented him magnificently on his vast conquests and illustrious qualities. To commemorate this mission, which delighted his vanity, he caused a medal to be struck, bearing the legend *Fama virtutis*, and the exergue *Oratores regis Siam*, 1686. He is represented on his throne, with the Siamese ambassadors at his feet. The revolution which occurred in Siam in 1688, extinguished the treaty and the hopes of the French court. A zealous Buddhist rebelled and seized the throne on the death of Louis's ally; condemned the brothers of his royal predecessor to be thrust into *velvet sacks*, and beaten to death with clubs of *odoriferous wood*, in compliment to their quality; and banished from the kingdom, for a time, all the French and English intruders.

There is still a Catholic bishopric of Siam. Mr. Crawford had an interview with the titular, who was a native of Avignon, in France, and had lived either in Siam or Cochin-China, for thirty-four years; and most of this long period, without a European nearer to him than a thousand miles. At the age of sixty, he retained much of the characteristic sprightliness of his nation. From him, the envoy learned that the Catholics of Siam amounted to three thousand; that the Siamese treated with ridicule the notion of their having any equals, especially among the European races; that they nevertheless had very serious apprehensions of the British power, but knew nothing of the French of the present day. A native Christian priest, who was sent with the British strangers to show them a new Catholic chapel, when asked what objections the Siamese had against the Catholic religion, answered,—“they consider it too difficult and troublesome a road to heaven.” The bishop's immediate predecessor fell into an odd quarrel with the Chinese adventurer, who mounted the throne of Siam upon the expulsion of the Burman invaders, in 1769. His majesty conceived, that, by intense devotion, he might earn the gift of *flying*, and thus be enabled to reach heaven by a sort of short cut, as a bird soars to the sky.

He sent for the priests of his own god Guatama, who at once declared the project to be quite feasible. The bishop, and the other Christian clergy, were then summoned, and asked their opinions. They honestly endeavoured to reason the supreme out of his delusion, arguing, that flying was incompatible with the form of the human body. For this heterodox piece of philosophy, the prelate and his wisecracks received each a hundred blows of the bamboo, and were driven into exile. Among the acquaintance whom the envoy formed, none appears to us more worthy of being signalized, than the individual mentioned in the following passage of the Journal :—

"*July 10th.*—I had, in the course of this afternoon, a visit from a person of singular modesty and intelligence, Pascal Ribeiro de Alvergarias, the descendant of a Portuguese Christian of Kamboja. This gentleman holds a high Siamese title, and a post of considerable importance. Considering his means and situation, his acquirements were remarkable ; for, he not only spoke and wrote the Siamese, Kambojan, and Portuguese languages, with facility, but also spoke and wrote Latin with considerable propriety. We found, indeed, a smattering of Latin very frequent among the Portuguese interpreters at Bang-kok, but Señor Ribeiro was the only individual who made any pretence to speak it with accuracy. He informed us, that he was the descendant of a person of the same name, who settled in Kamboja in the year 1685. His lady's genealogy, however, interested us more than his own. She was the lineal descendant of an Englishman of the name of Charles Lister, a merchant, who settled in Kamboja, in the year 1701, and who had acquired some reputation at the Court, by making pretence to some knowledge in medicine. Charles Lister had come immediately from Madras, and brought with him his sister. This lady espoused a Portuguese of Kamboja, by whom she had a son who took her own name. Her grandson, of this name, also, in the revolutions of the kingdom of Kamboja, found his way to Siam ; and here, like his great uncle, practising the healing art, rose to the station of maha-pet, or first physician to the king. The son of this individual, Cajitmas Lister, is at present the physician, and at the same time the minister and confidential adviser of the present king of Kamboja. His sister is the wife of the subject of this short notice."

A certain number of Mr. Crawford's pages, are of course allotted to the story of his frequent and long political discussions with the Siamese minister of state, and the prince royal. These negotiators were so suspicious and wary, that no progress could be made in the British project of a reduction of duties and a free commercial intercourse. When it was explained to the prince, that the revenue of Ceylon, although considerable, was inadequate to the maintenance of the island, and that it was necessary to remit large sums from England for this purpose, he immediately said,—“If this be the case, it can be of no use to you ; and for what purpose was it conquered, and is it now retained ?” A member of the British mission told the minister of state, emphatically, that Great Britain was at peace with all the world, and then descanted on the strength and numbers of the British navy. The Siamese politician coolly observed,—“If you are at peace with all the world, why do you keep up so great a navy as that which you now describe ?” In answer to the demand of secu-

rity for the persons and property of the British subjects, it was distinctly stated, that the King of Siam would make no alteration in the established laws of the country, in favour of strangers. An interpreter of the mission, reported the following dialogue between him and a confidential friend of the minister of state. The latter observed, that "the English were a dangerous people to have any connexion with, for they were not only the ablest, but the most ambitious, of the European nations who frequented the East." The interpreter replied, "it is impossible the English can have any ambitious views on Siam; for, what could they, who have so much already, and are accustomed to convenient countries, do with such a one as yours, in which there are neither roads nor bridges, and where you are ankle-deep in mire at every step?" The Siamese rejoined,—“do not speak so; these people are clever and active, and the country would not be long in their possession, before they would make it such that you might sleep in the streets and rice fields.” All that could be obtained, ultimately, from the government, was comprised in the subjoined official document:—

“The governor of Bengal commanded Mr. Crawford to come to Siam, to open a way to friendship and commerce, and to request permission for English ships to trade to this capital, buying and selling with the merchants of Siam, and paying duties as heretofore. The *Pia Pralikalang*, by authority of his Majesty, directs me, in consequence, to express his satisfaction at the contents of the letter of the governor of Bengal, and to address a letter to Mr. Crawford in the form of an agreement, to say, that if English merchant ships come to the port of the capital, as soon as they are anchored, the superintendent of customs shall afford all assistance in buying and selling with the merchants of Siam, and the duties and charges shall not be more than heretofore, nor afterwards be raised. Let the English merchants come to Siam to sell and buy, in conformity to this agreement.”

The king of Siam is absolute master of the lives and fortunes of some millions of people. He is “the Sacred Lord of *heads*, infallible and infinitely powerful.” He has no distinctive name, as a sublime essence. The dust of his golden feet honours the noblest crown upon which it may fall. The monarch whom Mr. Crawford saw, did not embroider petticoats, but employed himself daily in gilding images for the temple. When he “flew into an ungovernable passion” about the disappearance of some small globe lamps, the princes and ministers disappeared also, to escape the *bastinado*. His father, thirty-six hours after the demise of his predecessor, put to death one hundred and seventeen chiefs and other persons suspected of being unfavourable to his pretensions to the throne. One of the fundamental laws is a universal conscription, by which the labour and strength of the adult male population are placed at the disposal of the government, whether for common labour, or for military or menial service. All are enrolled, and held liable, (the *Talapoins* excepted, fifty thousand in number,) to serve the state for four months in each year. The

king is the great merchant, and the royal monopolies embrace the most valuable products. The same chiefs who are charged with the administration of the military, civil, and fiscal departments, are the only judges and magistrates. The bamboo is applied in the punishment of all offences. For sedition and treason, the culprits are trodden to death by elephants, or devoured by tigers. It is, on the whole, a "very pretty despotism"—a fine specimen of the political march of the oriental intellect. The excesses of the government keep down the number of labourers, and, in this way, contribute to render their condition better than might be expected from its arbitrary character. In general, the climate of Siam is salubrious, and the soil fertile; but the population is computed to be only at the rate of fourteen or fifteen inhabitants to the square mile. The checks are chiefly political and moral; the only material ones from disease, are the small-pox and cholera morbus. Vaccination has been introduced. Dreadful havoc was made by cholera morbus, in 1820, when it infested Siam, after having ravaged Hindustan for three years. Of this malady, Mr. Crawford remarks that it is by far the most destructive which has ever afflicted the human race. It extended from Arabia to China, over ninety degrees of longitude, and from Java to the Himalaya mountains, embracing forty degrees of latitude:—almost all the civilized and populous nations of tropical Asia were included in its fell sweep; several millions were its victims. A Chinese insisted, in conversation with our author, that, as the wars between the principal nations had then ceased, the pestilence was a necessary arrangement of nature for keeping population down to the level of subsistence. He had not, however, studied the book of Malthus.

The area of the Siamese empire is estimated at one hundred and ninety thousand geographical miles. The elephant is found in every division of it, and attains there his greatest bulk. In all parts, except the metropolis, this animal is freely used both for riding and bearing burdens. *Lanchang*, the capital of Lao, takes its name from the number of elephants which are used by its inhabitants, the word in the Siamese language meaning the place of *ten millions of elephants*. A native of that town informed Mr. Crawford, that they were employed for many domestic purposes—"even," he added, "for carrying women and fire wood." Elephant-hunters shoot the males, chiefly on account of their tusks. The chase is laborious, and not without danger. Ivory is a royal monopoly. The *Rhinoceros* exists in unusual numbers in Siam. The Chinese ascribe medical virtues to the horn, and the skin brings, weight for weight, nearly double the price of any other hide. That portion of Kamboja, which now belongs to Siam, and some contiguous tracts of the Siamese territory, afford the well-known medicine and pigment, *gamboge*.

*hoge*; and our author supposes that they are the only parts of the world in which it is produced. The gum is obtained from a species of *Garcenia*, to which it gives name,—as our maple sugar is, by making incision in the bark of the forest trees, from which it exudes, and is collected in vessels suspended or affixed to them. In these it soon takes a concrete form, and is fit for the market without further preparation. The fruits of Siam Mr. Crawfurd pronounces to be excellent, and superior, indeed, to those of all other parts of India. The most exquisite are the mango, the mangustin, the orange, the duriar, the lichi, and the pine apple. The best of them are of exotic origin. The whole neighbourhood of Bang-kok, the metropolis, is one forest of fruit trees. Upon the “fresh lusciousness” of their produce, the British embassy feasted from April to July.

On the 16th July, the embassy re-embarked, on the voyage to Cochin-China, which they reached in August. The first impressions of the British were more favourable than those of our countryman White and his companions, and to the disadvantage of the Siamese in the comparison. In the outset, the Cochin-Chinese were chiefly anxious, as the Siamese had been, to ascertain whether the mission came from the King of England, or from the Governor-General of India. Neither nation was able to comprehend that sovereign or substantial power could be communicated to a company of merchants, or to conceive the Governor-General as other or less than the king of England's *brother*. Many tedious and ludicrous ceremonies were to be endured, before the party could proceed from the city of Saigon to the capital. Saigon is about fifty miles from the sea, and the principal seat of Cochin-Chinese commerce. Lieutenant White has furnished a more interesting and minute account of it than Mr. Crawfurd. Among the entertainments provided for the British, were the following:—

“After tea was served to us, we were invited to be present at an elephant and tiger fight; and for this purpose mounted our elephants, and repaired to the glacis of the fort, where the combat was to take place. The Governor went out at another gate, and arrived at the place before us in his palanquin. When the hall broke up, a herald or crier announced the event. With the exception of this ceremony, great propriety and decorum was observed throughout the audience. The exhibition made by the herald, was truly barbarous. He threw himself backward, projecting his abdomen, and putting his hands to his sides, and in this absurd attitude uttered several loud and long yells. The tiger had been exhibited in front of the hall, and was driven to the spot, on a hurdle. A great concourse of people had assembled to witness the exhibition. The tiger was secured to a stake, by a rope tied around his loins, about thirty yards long. The mouth of the unfortunate animal was sewn up, and his nails pulled out. He was of large size, and extremely active. No less than forty-six elephants, all males of great size, were seen drawn out in line. One at a time was brought to attack the tiger. The first elephant advanced, to all appearance with a great show of courage, and we thought from his determined look that he would certainly have dispatched his antagonist in an instant. At the first effort, he raised the tiger upon his tusks to a considerable height, and threw him to the distance of at least twen-

monarch, but the fear of insurrection. As in Siam, the whole male population is enrolled either for war or other service. The late king had a standing military force of one hundred and fifty thousand men, including his navy. Nevertheless, our author thinks that a force of five thousand European troops, and a squadron of a few sloops of war, would be quite sufficient for the conquest and retention of the whole empire; but he also thinks, that, were Cochin-China and the countries dependent upon it, placed under the skilful rule of an European government, a power might in time be established there, more formidable to the British Indian commerce and empire, than could arise in any other situation, or under any other circumstances. The coffers of the present government are enormously rich, owing to rapacity, parsimony, and exact habits of business in all the departments. To judge from the testimony of Lieutenant White, and the examples which abound in our author's Journal, we might declare it nearly impossible that the political and social degradation of subjects,—especially the middling and lower orders,—should be greater than in Cochin-China. Yet, certainly, the condition of the Siamese is still worse. A Siamese rarely stands or walks erect;—an inferior never does so, in presence of a superior: he *crouches*, or *crawls*, and his whole gait and carriage are spoiled by this habit. The necessary practice of grovelling upon knees and elbows, and knocking the forehead against the earth, is incompatible with the very idea of any dignity or elegance of manners. The effects of constant prostrations were visible to the British embassy on the limbs even of the dignitaries of their acquaintance;—the knees and elbows were marked with black, indelible scars. Among the Chinese, pads are allowed for the protection of the limbs and garments; but a precaution like this, on the part of the Siamese, would offend, as insufferably disrespectful, and be rewarded with the bamboo. Such customs and feelings may teach us to value our own institutions. It is well to contemplate occasionally living pictures of this description.

The diversity in the respective situations of the Cochin-Chinese and Siamese, is indeed striking, for every observer and reader. We have seen that the latter are under the sway of a very numerous priesthood and a pervading system of religion. But, in Cochin-China, the *Talapoins* are so few in number, that the British embassy never happened to see any of them;—the ministers of religion are of the meanest orders, and regarded as a sort of fortune-tellers; there exist no spacious temples wherein the people assemble to perform their devotions in common, or to receive religious or moral instruction. What temples they have, are comparatively small and paltry, and dedicated to inferior supernatural beings, tutelary or malignant.—

Voyage to Cochín-China,—“The activity and industry of the women are so unabating, their employment so varied, and the fatigue which they undergo, so harassing, that their countrymen apply to them the same proverbial expression which we confer on a cat, viz.—“that a woman, having nine lives, bears a great deal of killing.” These circumstances certainly imply a sad condition; yet, it may be deemed preferable on the whole, to that of being immured as the sex are in most countries of western Asia. At the town of Saigon, the river Don-nai forms many branches and canals, which are usually crossed in ferry-boats. The women alone pay; all the men, under pretext of being the king’s servants, pass freight free. So, with the ferries elsewhere. The sex can assert, however, the privileges which are common. In Cochín-China, when one person charges another with an offence, he or she has only to seize the other by the waistband, and the law expects that the accused shall at once submit to this species of arrest. The British embassy saw females grasping lustily in this way, men whom they charged with depredations on their property. It is a necessary advantage for them, that the Chinese fashion of *little feet* is unknown in their country. Most of their occupations exact a full pedestrial power. Barrow, whom we have just quoted, is so ungallant as to report, that by their bustling about with naked feet, these become unusually large and expanded. None of the European travellers acknowledge either the beauty or purity of the sex in Cochín-China.

We shall now proceed with the embassy to Hué, the capital of the kingdom, for which they embarked at Touran, in galleys, or regular war boats, furnished by the government. These galleys are ninety feet long, but very narrow, strongly built, rigged with two lug sails, and armed each, with five swivels, “as handsomely cast and modelled as any European cannon.” The rowers, forty in number, plied incessantly, and in perfect unison—an officer beating time, by striking against each other two cylindrical sticks of sonorous wood, and cheering the crew with a song. A royal galley met the embassy in the harbour, with an invitation to land and take possession of the house which had been selected for their accommodation. It was spacious and convenient, but its entrances were stocaded with bamboos, and guarded by one hundred men. The British visitors found themselves for some days close prisoners, while, however, as a mark of respect, all persons on horseback were ordered to dismount as they passed the dwelling; and it was expressly forbidden to any one, to stand and gaze at the strangers from the street. These prohibitions begot for Mr. Crawford, unequivocal evidence of the fact, that the Cochín-Chinese, like the Siamese, are “a well-flogged nation.” The bastinado was liberally applied to delinquent passen-



gers; the first morning, seven soldiers of the guard, who neglected to enforce the orders, received each fifteen strokes. They threw themselves down on their faces, took the blows as mere matter of course, and duly made, when they rose, a low and penitential obeisance to the officer who directed the punishment. Dr. Clarke's gibe in reference to Russia, that from morning until night, the cudgel has no respite in any part of the empire, could be applied, with more propriety, to the two countries under our survey. Another more ludicrous example, related by Mr. Crawford, will suffice. While he was entering the courtyard of the Cochín-Chinese minister of state, on a visit, he saw a company of comedians who had not been perfect in their parts, or had failed to please the great man, undergoing the universal panacea for offences—the bamboo. The first object that caught his attention, was the hero of the drama, stretched on the ground, and suffering flagellation in his full theatrical costume. The inferior characters received their share, in due course; as the envoy discovered, from hearing their cries, while he sat in diplomatic conference with the minister. The influence of the bamboo discipline upon the merits of the actors, may be even considerable. Voltaire, in adverting to the famous horn music, does not forget to tell, that the Russian musicians were sometimes perfected in a similar mode. It is related in both Lieutenant White's History, and this Journal, that the Cochín-Chinese are remarkably fond of dramatic entertainments. Barrow has minutely described the representation of an opera, which he witnessed. At Touran, as in China, he invariably found the actors busily engaged in the performance, at all hours of the day, proceeding apparently with as much ardour when no spectators were present, as when they were. Being hired for the day, a crowded or a thin audience made no difference to these players. No entrance money is ever expected. According to Lieutenant White, their draperies are of the most fantastic character, and a clown or merry Andrew is an indispensable concomitant. The Lieutenant was delighted with the singing.

Mr. Crawford was admitted speedily to the honour of an interview with the chief minister, the Mandarin of Elephants, "a little lively old man, dressed in a rich habit of orange-coloured silk, covered with flowers and devices." Two French gentlemen, who had the rank of Mandarins at court, sat on each side of him. Assurance was given by the minister, that English ships would be admitted freely to trade in the king's dominions; and alluding to the imposts upon foreign commerce, he observed,—“In England, imposts are no doubt levied on Foreign Commerce, as here; every nation has a right to do this, for its own benefit.” Mr. Crawford was urgent for an audience of the king. The minister thought that it could not be granted consistently with eti-

quette; and when pressed with various reasons, said, with a smile of national vanity,—“it is natural enough, that you should employ every expedient in your power to attain the honour of being presented to so great a monarch.” The Cochin-Chinese place themselves much above the Europeans in the scale of civilization; or rather, firmly believe themselves, and the Chinese from whom they are descended, to be the only civilized people in the world. During the ministerial audience—which lasted four hours—a handsome repast of meat, fruits, and wine, was served to the gentlemen of the embassy, and a Chinese dance represented for their amusement. At another entertainment, one of the dainties consisted of three bowls of hatched eggs. When the British gentlemen expressed some surprise at this portion of the feast, one of their Cochin-Chinese attendants observed, with much *naïveté*, that hatched eggs formed a delicacy beyond the reach of the poor, and only adapted for persons of distinction. Mr. Crawford found, on inquiry, that they cost thirty per cent. more in the market than fresh ones;—that when invitations were sent out for grand entertainments, it was the practice to set the hens to hatch, and that about the tenth or twelfth day, the eggs were considered as ripe, and exactly in the state most agreeable to the palate of an epicure,—a *friend* of the first order. The same people who prefer this food, have a loathing for milk.

Hué, the metropolis, is described in the Journal, as, perhaps, the only city in the East, the neighbourhood of which has good roads, good bridges, and canals. The highways are straight, broad, and well-constructed; the stone and wooden bridges extremely neat and serviceable; and the canals deep and regular, and answering the double purpose of irrigation and navigation. About the year 1820, a canal was commenced from Que-dong, on the western shore of the great river of Kamboja, to Athiën, on the coast of the gulf of Siam. Twenty thousand Cochin-Chinese, and ten thousand Kamhojans, were employed on the work. No provision was made for supplying the workmen with water for themselves, so that ten thousand of them perished from thirst, hard labour, or disease. In a beautifully romantic part of the mountains, and about ten leagues to the north of the capital, the late king constructed a splendid mausoleum, and laid out extensive gardens, as a place of interment for himself and his favourite queen. In the course of this magnificent enterprise, hills were levelled, mounds thrown across from one hill to another, canals and tanks dug, and spacious roads completed. When the British embassy solicited permission to visit the spot, they were politely informed, that the king was always reluctant to permit the visits of strangers, whose presence, he said, “*might trouble the repose of the spirits of his ancestors.*” But the strangers were rather courted to survey the still more splendid and extra-

ordinary work, the new fortification, or walled city, to which, Mr. Crawford supposes there is nothing parallel in the East. We shall quote the whole of his description, as quite worthy of the space which it may occupy :—

“The new city, which is of a quadrangular form, is completely insulated, having the river on two sides of it, and a spacious canal of from thirty to forty yards broad on the other two. The circumference of the walls, or of the city, which is the same thing, is upwards of five miles. The form of the fortification is nearly an equilateral quadrangle; each face measuring eleven hundred and eighty toises. The late king himself, was the engineer who formed the plan, under the instructions and advice, however, of the French officers in his service, but whose personal assistance he had lost, before he commenced the undertaking, in the year 1805. This singular man proves to have been no mean proficient in this branch of European military science; for the works, as far as we could judge, are planned and constructed on technical rules, and the materials and workmanship are not inferior to the design. The fortress has a regular and beautiful glacis, extending from the river or canal to the ditch; a covert way all around, and a ditch which is thirty yards broad, with from four to five feet water in it, all through. The rampart is built of hard earth, cased on the outside with bricks. Each angle is flanked by four bastions, intended to mount thirty-six guns a piece, some in embrasures, and some in *barbette*. To each face there are also four arched gateways of solid masonry, to which the approach across the ditch is by handsome arched stone bridges. The area inside is laid out into regular and spacious streets, at right angles to each other. A handsome and broad canal forms a communication between the river and the fortress, and within, is distributed by various branches, so as to communicate with the palace, the arsenal, the granaries, and other public edifices. By this channel the taxes and tributes are brought from the provinces, and conducted at once to the very doors of the palace or magazines. The palace is situated within a strong citadel, consisting of two distinct walls, or ramparts. Within this we were not invited: but the roof of the palace itself was distinguishable by its yellow colour; and one handsome temple, consecrated to the royal ancestors of the king, was also noticed. This last, which has no priests attached to it, was the only place of worship within the new city.

“In the whole of this extensive fortification, there is scarcely any thing slovenly, barbarous, or incomplete in design. Perhaps the only exceptions are the Chinese umbrella-shaped towers over the gates, and the embrasures of one or two of the bastions finished by his present Majesty, and in which he has taken it into his head, to invert the rule of science and common sense, by making the embrasures to slope inwards instead of outwards. The banks of the river and canal forming the base of the glacis, are not only regularly sloped down every where; but wherever the work is completed, for it is still unfinished in a few situations, they are cased from the foundation, with a face of solid masonry. The canal within the walls is executed in the same perfect and workmanlike manner; and the bridges which are thrown over it, have not only neat stone balustrades, but are paved all over with marble brought from Tonquin.

“The first object in the interior to which our curiosity was particularly pointed, was the public granaries. These form ranges of enormous length, in regular order, and are full of corn, being said to contain many years’ consumption for the city. It has been the practice of the late and present king, to add two or three ranges of granaries every year to the number. The pernicious custom of hoarding grain against years of scarcity, and the unavoidable effect of which is to aggravate, or even to create, the evil it is intended to obviate, seems to be a received and popular maxim of Cochin-Chinese government. It has its use in maintaining the tyranny of a despotic government.

“The barracks were the next object pointed out to us, and here we found the troops drawn out. These buildings are excellent, and, in point of arrangement and cleanliness, would do no discredit to the best organized army in Europe. They are extensive, and surround the whole of the outer part of the cita-

del. We were informed that from twelve to thirteen thousand troops were constantly stationed at the capital.

"The most extraordinary spectacle, was still to be exhibited—the arsenal. A violent fall of rain, and night coming on, prevented us from inspecting the whole of this; but what we did see, was more than sufficient to excite our surprise and gratify our curiosity. The iron cannon were first pointed out to us, consisting of an extraordinary collection of old ship-guns of various European nations—French, English, Dutch, and Portuguese. These were objects of little curiosity, compared with the brass ordnance, the balls, and shells, all manufactured in Cochin-China, by native workmen, from materials supplied by Tonquin, and after French models. The ordnance consisted of cannon, howitzers, and mortars. The carriages were all constructed, finished, and painted, as substantially and neatly as if they had been manufactured at Woolwich or Fort William, and the field carriages especially, were singularly neat and handsome. The cannon are of various calibres, from four to sixty-eight pounders, with a large proportion of eighteen pounders. Among them were nine remarkable guns, cast by the late king; these carry each a ball weighing seventy Chinese catties, or, in other words, are ninety-three pounders; they are as handsomely modelled, and as well founded, as any of the rest, and placed upon highly ornamented carriages. On these remarkable pieces of ordnance, is inscribed the name of the late king, Talung, and the day and year in which they were cast. The king used to say, that these would prove the most durable monuments of his reign—no great compliment to his administration.

"The art of casting good brass cannon, under the direction of Europeans, appears to have been long known in this part of the world; for, among the cannon in the arsenal, were a good number of very well founded ordnance, apparently of the size of long nine pounders, as old as the years 1664 and 1665. These had an inscription in the Portuguese language, importing that they were cast in Cochin-China, or Kamboja; and bearing the dates in question, with the name of the artist. Although very inferior indeed to those recently cast under the direction of the French, still they were very good specimens of workmanship. The balls and shells in the arsenal throughout, were neatly piled up, and arranged in the European method: the gun carriages were all painted, and in short, the arsenal was in the most perfect and complete order in all its organization.

"The chief of the artillery had been directed to exhibit the whole of it to us, and we found him waiting for us, on our arrival. This was one of the old warriors of the late king, a venerable and fine-looking old man, habited in a rich suit of velvet. Besides being chief of the arsenal and artillery, this Master-General of the ordnance, was also intendant of the household; and, in this last situation, according to all accounts, was charged with certain details scarcely compatible with his military character. It was his business, for example, to superintend the royal kitchen, and to make a registry of all the pregnancies and births within the seraglio, that all possible care might be taken to exclude illegitimacy from its sacred enclosures.

"The whole of the cannon within the fortified city, are not only raised on platforms to protect the carriages from damp, but placed, for security against the weather, in the arsenal; and there is not one mounted upon the works, with the exception of a few upon the walls of the citadel. The cannon, it is said, which are required for the sixteen bastions, amount to five hundred and seventy-six, and, for the whole of the works, the requisite number is about eight hundred. I do not know what the exact number in the arsenal is, but it probably far exceeds this amount.

"The powder magazine is constructed with the same intelligence, as the rest of the works; it is fenced by a strong wall, and has a broad and deep ditch completely surrounding it. Close to it is an extensive parade, for the exercise of the troops.

"It is hardly necessary to say, that, against an Asiatic enemy, this fortification is impregnable; its great fault is its immense extent. I presume, it would require an army of 50,000 men at least, to defend it,—a force which would be far more effectually employed in harassing an European enemy, (the only enemy

to be apprehended,) by the common desultory modes of warfare, which it is alone safe for an Asiatic enemy, to oppose to a disciplined army.

"An European force, either by making regular approaches, or by a bombardment, could not fail to render itself soon master of the place; and this occurrence, by putting it in possession of the treasures, the granaries, and principal arsenal of the kingdom,—by destroying the principal army, and thus cutting off all the resources of the government, would be naturally equivalent to conquering the kingdom at a single blow. We did not reach our residence till eight o'clock at night,—well drenched and fatigued, but highly gratified at the novel and striking scene which we had witnessed."

The king inquired of the French Mandarins, what opinions the British visitors had expressed respecting the new fortifications, and other public works; and was rejoiced, when he learned that they had manifested great surprise and admiration at all they saw. Reasons of state, however, forbade the gratification of his curiosity and theirs, by means of an audience. This favour was inflexibly denied, on the grounds that their errand was commercial, and that they came from a mere deputy or viceroy. The same motives were alleged for refusing to accept the presents sent for his Majesty, by the governor-general. Among the real dissuaves, were the jealousy and apprehension which the extensive conquests of the British in India had excited among the Cochin-Chinese, as well as the other nations of the farther East. Presents were admitted from the governor-general, in 1805, but it happened that one of the collection was a series of prints, representing the capture of Seringapatam, and the death of Tippoo Sultan, at the sight of which the monarch of Cochin-China exclaimed,—“The Governor-General of India wishes to intimidate me, by exhibiting to me the fate of this Indian Prince.” Mr. Gibson, an Englishman, who went to Cochin-China in 1823, as ambassador from his Burmese Majesty, relates, that the Governor-General at Saigon, dwelt much upon the British designs of aggrandizement in the Eastern seas:—

“His Excellency, the Governor,” adds the Anglo-Burmese negotiator, “seemed very well informed respecting the results of the wars of the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, and particularly respecting the battle of Waterloo, and his death at St. Helena. He lamented the misfortunes of that great man, and explained to the Mandarins who were round him, that the only fault he found in him, was his vast ambition. He added, that, after bringing the world into confusion, by long wars, he had finally done nothing for the good of the French nation. He ended his conversation by praising the British, but said, that they, too, were *over-ambitious*.”

Mr. Crawford, on his side, declined to take charge of any presents from the king, for his own principal—a circumstance which alarmed the pride of the Court, and occasioned the exercise of deep negotiation and finesse. One of the articles intended for the governor-general, as tokens of his Majesty's friendship, was cinnamon, of the first quality; with regard to which, the envoy remarks, that it is reserved exclusively for his Majesty; that it is death for a subject to trade in this commodity; and that the

value put upon it, is not less than twenty dollars the tael, or three hundred and twenty dollars the catty, of one and one third pound avoirdupois. The official conferences and social intercourse of the envoy with the Mandarins, are marked by interesting anecdotes and curious pictures. Among the points on which his new acquaintance were most anxious for information, and which proved inexplicable, were the reasons of the long war between Great Britain and France, and the causes of the separation of the former from the Americans, who, they observed, were in look, manners, and language, the same as the English. They involved the Americans, we fear, in their general opinion, that "the men with red hair and white teeth," (that is, the Europeans,) "are as naturally prone to war and depredation as tigers."

His Majesty signified, from time to time, his gracious remembrance of the legation, by sending them ready dressed dinners, which were escorted by military guards, and military and civil Mandarins of high rank, in their gorgeous robes of ceremony. Each Mandarin bore on the breast of his gown the badge of his order—that of a military chief, was a *boar*; of a man of letters, a *stork*. At one of the entertainments, the prime-minister spoke familiarly of his private affairs. He mentioned that he had in all fifty-four children, thirty-six of whom were living in his house. The inferior Mandarins, when admitted, "did great justice to the feasts." It is recorded in the Journal, that the Cochín-Chinese eat with chop-sticks; that the bowl in which the viands are contained, is applied to the very mouth, and the food dexterously tossed in, in immense quantities, and with a kind of beggarly scramble, as if the guest was fearful that some part of it might be snatched from him. The common salutation is to bow to the ground five times to the king; four times to persons next in rank to him; three times to persons in the third rank, and so forth. Our author saw twelve or fourteen Mandarins, simultaneously prostrating themselves thus before a governor. Cock-fighting is one of the sports which the embassy could always command; the Cochín-Chinese being "great cock-fighters." The governor of Saigun fought a main regularly twice a month, for which he distributed formal invitations. The lower orders of these people seemed to Mr. Crawford to be "vain, cheerful, good-humoured, obliging, and civil," beyond any other Asiatics whom he had known: but the higher classes, we should infer from his pages, are rapacious, tyrannical, and corrupt, though extremely shrewd, and by no means deficient in information and refinement of demeanour. A Chinese merchant of respectability, resident among them, observed to our author, that he never had a transaction with them, *without feeling his neck the smaller for it*; meaning, that he never thought his life altogether safe on such occasions.

The extreme length of the kingdom of Cochin-China, is estimated at above nine hundred miles ; the breadth is unequal, varying from sixty to one hundred and eighty miles. Parts of it are highly cultivated. The British embassy coasted the province of Fu-yin, the finest of the kingdom, and saw culture all the way from the sea side to the tops of the mountains, and the country every where interspersed with houses and cottages, giving to the whole the appearance of one extensive garden. The capital of Cochin-China, *Hué*, has between fifty and sixty thousand inhabitants, the greater part of whom occupy "poor structures of thatch and bamboo." Mr. Crawford does not estimate the population of the whole kingdom at more than five millions, notwithstanding that some of the French writers have raised it to fifteen or twenty. Lieutenant White adopts the mean of eight millions. *Tonquin* is the largest city of the empire, being thrice the size of *Hué*. The Christian religion was introduced into Tonquin, Cochin-China, and Kamboja, about the year 1624, by the Portuguese Jesuits from Macao, and after the persecution and massacre of the Portuguese in Japan. It was afterwards zealously fostered by French missionaries. According to information given to our author, the number of Christians in the viceroyalty of Tonquin, is three hundred thousand ; in that of Kamboja, twenty-five thousand ; and in Cochin-China proper, one hundred thousand. When Mr. Crawford was there, the government neither encouraged nor persecuted Christianity. For many years, it had not made any sensible progress. The Christians are among the poorest and most abject part of the population.

Maize is produced in Cochin-China in considerable quantity, as an article of food. Cotton is raised also throughout the country, and exported in Chinese junks. Mr. Crawford was informed by the Chinese, that the quality is so much superior to that of Bengal, that, in the market of Canton, it is worth twenty per cent. more. The Cochin tea-plant is inferior to that of China. Persons of condition drink the latter alone.

This people are lower in stature than any other of Central Asia, but strong and well-turned, active and hardy. The women, though not attractive, are much fairer and less ugly than the men. They have made progress in the useful arts, and possess a singular skill in imitation ; a faculty which is said to be common to semi-barbarous nations, and which we may suppose to be intended by Providence to advance them in civilization, as it contributes to the improvement of all individuals in their youth. Our author, when Resident of Singapore, in 1823, after his mission, sent to the Minister of Elephants at *Hué*, a highly finished double-barrelled English fowling piece. In the course of a fortnight, it was returned, along with another double-barrelled

gun, fabricated, within that short period, in the king's arsenal. The imitation was so perfect, that it was very difficult, at first sight, to distinguish the copy from the model.

The Cochin-Chinese have no literature and no written character of their own, and receive all their books from the Chinese. According to a French officer, M. Chaigneau, who long resided among them, the philosophy of Confucius, and for a few, medicine, are the objects of continual study. The physicians are divided between two theories; the one party employing only stimulants, and the other refrigerants. Mr. Crawford found, that in Cochin-China, there was nothing of the slightest moment done in public matters, without writing; whereas, at Siam, it was impossible to get the officers of government to commit a single sentence to paper, on almost any subject. Nearly all the works in the popular language, to which the Siamese attach value, are written on slips of palm-leaf, with an iron style. These slips are from a foot to a foot and a half long. They are tied up in small bundles, and generally richly gilt, forming thus a volume, which is carefully placed in an envelope of silk or cotton cloth. Most of the Siamese learn to read and write, in their imperfect way. They compose romances even longer than the novels of Richardson. Their favourite historical novel is comprised in about four hundred cantos or parts, and, when dramatised, takes up six weeks in the acting. They have no prepared dialogues for their dramatic entertainments. The plays are founded on the romances, and the players left to excogitate the dialogue from the subject, having a prompter near, who refreshes their memories from the written volume which he holds in his hand. At the Cochin-Chinese court, there is a regular historiographer; so at the Siamese, a state-chronologist records all public events and discussions. Our author refers to the remarkable accuracy of pronunciation attained by the Siamese and other Eastern nations, and the copiousness and perfection of their alphabetic systems, as affording a strong contrast with the paucity and vagueness of their ideas. It would seem, he adds, as if they studiously set more value on sound than sense: Among the dignitaries, or *haut ton*, to convey meaning clearly or fully, is deemed rustic and *bourgeois*.—They deal in obscure hints, brief ambiguities, and avoid all strong metaphors and hyperbolical forms of expression. We do not know how far the use of tobacco may be received as evidence of civilization, but the Cochin-Chinese—particularly those of rank, are addicted to the practice in an extraordinary degree. They chew and smoke, and the fashionable parties are soon enveloped in the fumes which they raise from their segars.

The government of Cochin-China is a consummate despotism in theory and practice. There is no check to the authority of the



monarch, but the fear of insurrection. As in Siam, the whole male population is enrolled either for war or other service. The late king had a standing military force of one hundred and fifty thousand men, including his navy. Nevertheless, our author thinks that a force of five thousand European troops, and a squadron of a few sloops of war, would be quite sufficient for the conquest and retention of the whole empire; but he also thinks, that, were Cochin-China and the countries dependent upon it, placed under the skilful rule of an European government, a power might in time be established there, more formidable to the British Indian commerce and empire, than could arise in any other situation, or under any other circumstances. The coffers of the present government are enormously rich, owing to rapacity, parsimony, and exact habits of business in all the departments. To judge from the testimony of Lieutenant White, and the examples which abound in our author's Journal, we might declare it nearly impossible that the political and social degradation of subjects,—especially the middling and lower orders,—should be greater than in Cochin-China. Yet, certainly, the condition of the Siamese is still worse. A Siamese rarely stands or walks erect;—an inferior never does so, in presence of a superior: he *crouches*, or *crawls*, and his whole gait and carriage are spoiled by this habit. The necessary practice of grovelling upon knees and elbows, and knocking the forehead against the earth, is incompatible with the very idea of any dignity or elegance of manners. The effects of constant prostrations were visible to the British embassy on the limbs even of the dignitaries of their acquaintance;—the knees and elbows were marked with black, indelible scars. Among the Chinese, pads are allowed for the protection of the limbs and garments; but a precaution like this, on the part of the Siamese, would offend, as insufferably disrespectful, and be rewarded with the bamboo. Such customs and feelings may teach us to value our own institutions. It is well to contemplate occasionally living pictures of this description.

The diversity in the respective situations of the Cochin-Chinese and Siamese, is indeed striking, for every observer and reader. We have seen that the latter are under the sway of a very numerous priesthood and a pervading system of religion. But, in Cochin-China, the *Talapoins* are so few in number, that the British embassy never happened to see any of them;—the ministers of religion are of the meanest orders, and regarded as a sort of fortune-tellers; there exist no spacious temples wherein the people assemble to perform their devotions in common, or to receive religious or moral instruction. What temples they have, are comparatively small and paltry, and dedicated to inferior supernatural beings, tutelary or malignant.—

"The only part," says our author, "of the religious belief of the Cochin-Chinese and Tonquinese, which assumes a systematic form, or appears to reach the heart, or materially to affect the character or conduct of the people, is the worship of the manes of progenitors. This universally obtains; it is enforced by the government not only as a religious but as a moral and civil duty; and the honours paid to the dead, appear to be considered equally necessary to their comfort and repose, as to the temporal prosperity of the living. Among the most striking objects in Cochin-Chinese landscape, are the little religious groves which are here and there interspersed among the villages, and commonly near the burying-places. Of these we saw many. A single entrance conducts by a winding passage to the centre of them, where there are an open space, and one or more little temples, or rather rude altars. These retreats are consecrated to the manes of the dead, and their gloom and solemnity render them well-suited for the purpose."

It is their custom, after the body has been buried three years, to disinter the bones, and remove them to another situation close to their dwellings; and the second place of interment is viewed as a place of worship. The British strangers saw a great number of graves open, which had been thus vacated. The bodies of the Siamese of all ranks are burnt on a pile, and the funeral is attended with singular ceremonies. Of these, the most fantastic is the following, as reported by Mr. Crawford, who witnessed it. The male relatives of the deceased tied their clothes in a bundle, and standing on each side of the pile, tossed them over it six successive times, taking great care not to allow them to fall to the ground. Widely unlike the original Chinese in this circumstance, the Cochin-Chinese scarcely ever emigrate, and the veneration which they entertain for the remains of their fathers, contributes to keep them at home. It is known that our Indians cherish a similar reverence for the graves of their progenitors, whose bones they sometimes piously carry with them in their removals. The Anglo-Burmese ambassador, cited above, has the following memorandum in his journal. "January 31st. This was the first day of the year; the people left off all manner of work, and tricked themselves out in their gala dresses, going from house to house to visit each other. At every house was laid out a small table, containing sweetmeats and a lighted taper, which was an offering to the memory of their ancestors."

There is another annual festival for the performance of religious honours to the souls of deceased progenitors. Along the rivers and near the other highways, are temples of neat structure, consecrated, as cenotaphs, to the manes of worthies of the literary or civil order, each of whom has a small pillar with his name inscribed. The Anglo-Burmese mission, in riding to Saigon, examined two of these buildings, and found a written testimony to each of the individuals whose merits had been deemed sufficient to be thus enshrined. As a mark of respect, every one who approaches these pantheons, on horseback, is compelled to dismount.

In all the more recent accounts of Cochin-China, the French

residents, and particularly the two French *mandarins*, have a prominent place. Their presence is connected with adventures nearly as romantic and striking, as any which belong to the eventful history of European association with the domestic revolutions and improvements of the Asiatic states. Barrow, in the ninth chapter of his work already quoted, has gathered the most copious and curious details of those adventures, from the manuscripts of Captain Baristy, an able and intelligent French naval officer, who had for several years commanded a frigate in the service of the King of Cochín-China, and enjoyed the opportunity of collecting accurate information. As Barrow's narrative is generally known, or at least easily accessible, we shall confine ourselves to the few principal features of the story, upon some of which, Mr. Crawford dwells through several pages.

In 1774, a rebellion broke out in Cochín-China. The reigning king and his eldest son were defeated in two great battles, taken, and beheaded. The queen, his wife, made her escape, carrying with her her second son Gia-Long. The prince, most fortunately for his welfare, put himself under the protection and guidance of a French missionary, who styled himself the *Apostolic Vicar of Cochín-China*, and whose real name and title were, *Georges Pierre Joseph Pigneaux de Behaim, Bishop of Adran*. This prelate became the tutelary genius of the royal family and the country. He shared in the distresses of a dangerous exile and concealment; and in renewed military efforts, which he chiefly counselled or directed, with the aid of some French and Portuguese adventurers. At length, in 1787, the "legitimate" king, after sad vicissitudes, confided his eldest son to the Bishop's care, and authorized him to proceed to France, with his ward, and claim the assistance of Louis XVI. The envoy arrived safely at the Court of Versailles, where he negotiated a treaty offensive and defensive, which Barrow first published *in extenso*. With the co-operation of fourteen or fifteen French, English, and Irish naval and military officers and engineers, who resorted to the standard of His Cochín-Chinese Majesty, in consequence of this alliance,—the king was enabled before the end of the century to vanquish and disperse all his enemies. Adran returned to him, restoring the son in safety, with the title of Bishop of Cochín-China, and the appointment of minister plenipotentiary, conferred by Louis XVI.

To the courage and sagacity of this adviser, and the skill and intrepidity of the European officers, Mr. Crawford attributes the restoration of *Gia-Long*, more than to the efficiency of his own genius or of his native auxiliaries. His subsequent successes in war, the extensive public works which he accomplished, and the progress which his subjects made during his reign in manufactures and the mechanic arts, were mainly owing likewise to the

wisdom and ascendancy of the same benevolent and enlightened friend. Adran died in 1800, without having lost in any degree the favour of the monarch, who continued to distinguish him by an epithet before reserved for Confucius—the *Illustrious Master*, and who lavished honours on his remains, one of which was the appointment of fifty families to the exclusive occupation of watching over his tomb. The other French coadjutors retained also their hold upon the friendship and gratitude of *Gia-Long*. This monarch acquired a high reputation for talents, judgment, and various liberality. But some of the French officers informed Mr. Crawford, that while he fully encouraged and comprehended military and naval tactics, and undertook with alacrity, fortifications, military schools, roads and canals; he constantly answered them when they ventured to recommend the promotion of civil industry and science in his dominions, that he did not want rich subjects, as poor ones were more obedient; and when they urged in reply, that in Europe, disorders and insurrections were most frequent among poor and needy nations, he rejoined briefly,—“the matter is different in China.” The spirit of these notions is the same as that of the Emperor of Austria, with regard to an educated people.

No attempt was made on either side, to carry into full effect the treaty with Louis XVI. Our author remarks that this circumstance was fortunate for the independence of the Cochin-Chinese monarch, for, had the views of the French court been prosecuted to the full extent, Cochin-China and the surrounding countries would virtually have become provinces of France in the first instance, and “in the sequel, Great Britain would have interfered, and probably supported the insurgents, and thus established her influence, if not her dominion, in that remote part of India.” The British conceived strong jealousy of the designs of France upon a country deemed the most suitable of Asia for maritime objects, and they found themselves thwarted by the French influence at the court, in their two first formal efforts to institute political and commercial relations. But when Mr. Crawford executed his mission, *Gia-Long*, the protector of the French and Christianity, was dead, having been preceded to the tomb by his only legitimate son, the pupil of Adran; and a natural offspring had ascended the throne, with other dispositions toward the European denizens and the Christian converts. In the *Anglo-Burmese Journal* to which we have more than once referred, Mr. Gibson has made this entry, for June 10th, 1823:—

“On this day, two French gentlemen paid the mission a visit—they informed us that of the many French who were once in the country, two of the elder ones only survived, and that there remained but five in Cochin-China altogether, exclusive of missionaries. The present king had openly expressed a dislike to Eu-

Europeans, and forbidden the overt profession of the Christian religion. He had refused to admit the two bishops into his presence, according to former usage, and when one of them lately presented himself, he insulted him by offering him a piece of money as a common beggar."

With the two French Mandarins, *MM. Chaigneau* and *Vanier*, the British envoy held frequent, and very agreeable and beneficial intercourse. Vanier, the senior, had dwelt in Cochín-China thirty-three years, served in all Gia-Long's wars, and gained a high rank and title. He began his professional career in the French navy—was present with the combined French and American army, to which Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Little York, as well as in the action between Lord Rodney and the Comte de Grasse. This share in our revolutionary struggle, excites additional interest in his biography and situation. M. Chaigneau, had been twenty or twenty-nine years in the country; returned to France in 1819, and brought back a French wife, and the appointment of Consul General for Cochín-China, from the French court. The spouse of M. Vanier, was a Cochín-Chinese, "a fine looking woman, tall, and as fair as the natives of the south of Europe." Both the gentlemen and ladies dressed in the indigenous fashion, but the repasts which they gave to the British embassy were entirely French. Mr. Crawford states, that it was their devotion to royalty which fixed the two mandarins, and the greater number of their countrymen, in this remote quarter of the world,—and he adds, "in short, it was the French revolution which achieved the revolution in Cochín-China, and established the existing order of things there." Many are the remote, unexpected and important incidents of every great political revolution. Our own will have a longer and more diffusive train, than any which has occurred in modern times. To the page in which Mr. Crawford has celebrated "the politeness, hospitality, and real kindness" of his French friends, he has appended this note. "These gentlemen have all quitted Cochín-China since, and I had the pleasure of seeing the greater number of them at Singapore, on their way to France, in 1825." The French party, so called, in Cochín-China, is now extinct; but the people continue to be styled the *French of India*, on account of their vivacity, gaiety, and other social qualities.

On the 17th of October, the British Embassy quitted Hoé, proceeded by land to Touran, and embarked thence for Singapore. Nothing was gained from the court of Cochín-China. It manifested an invincible reluctance to maintain any diplomatic relations with the delegated government of India. Mr. Crawford relates, that, after the breaking out of the Burmese war, a second mission was despatched by the governor-general, to Siam, the object of which was to gain the assistance of the Siamese,

and to improve the commercial intercourse. The Siamese sent armies into the field, and made a show of co-operating with the British; but when they discovered that they could acquire nothing substantial for themselves, they receded, and remained neuter, with warm professions of friendship for both belligerents; intensely hating, in fact, their inveterate enemy, the Burmese, yet dreading more the British power and policy. Our author also mentions, that some intelligent and extensive efforts were made by the merchants of Singapore, backed by the capital of London and Liverpool, to enlarge the British trade with Siam, by a direct intercourse. Those efforts totally failed, and the end is deemed hopeless. Mr. Crawford expatiates on the peculiar and close affinity subsisting between the races of men that inhabit the wide regions between Bengal and China, excepting, however, the Annam, upon which the Chinese character is so deeply stamped. The leading nations in this wide range, are the Burmese, the Siamese, and the Peguans. Their dialects bear a common resemblance in structure and idiom. There is a striking accordance among themselves, in all essential points, and a dissimilitude to all other Asiatic races, no less obvious. They have the same form of religion, the same laws, the same literature, the same civil and political institutions. They appear never to have been victims to foreign force or rule; but while exempt from foreign aggression, their own history is one of constant internal warfare, and alternations of conquest and subjection. The public annals of mankind, and the narratives of travellers, whether concerning the East or the West, betray at least the same general outline, and the same complexional traits, of human nature. In every part of the globe, our species fall into like vanities, follies, and vices, though mere usages and fashions may differ. Much of what we have abstracted respecting the Siamese and Cochin-Chinese, may smite the conscience of nations far more refined and exalted. For various reasons, the various divisions of mankind may be careful, too, in judging each other—backward in pretending to interpret what they do not understand. “To speak correctly,” says Barrow, “of the manners and opinions of foreign nations; to trace the motives of their actions, and the grounds of their prejudices; to examine the effects produced on the temper and disposition of the people, by the civil and religious institutions; and to inquire into their ideas of moral right and wrong, their notions of taste, of beauty, and happiness, and many other subjects necessary to be investigated, before a thorough knowledge can be obtained of their true character and condition, require not only a long residence in the country, but an intimate acquaintance with all the various classes of society; and after all, an accurate portrait is hardly to be expected.” Here is the testimony of a great authority on the subject. We leave it as a

caution to those who shall peruse Mr. Crawfurd's splendid and ponderous volume, rich as this is in evidence of the author's sound sense, comprehensive information, and scrupulous research.

#### ART. IX.—NEW MARITIME ARTILLERY.

*Nouvelle Force Maritime et Application de cette force a quelques parties du Service de l'Armée de Terre; ou Essai sur l'état actuel des Moyens de la force Maritime; sur une espèce nouvelle d'Artillerie de mer, qui détruirait promptement les Vaisseaux de haut-bord; sur la Construction de Navires à voile et à vapeur, de grandeur modérée, qui, armés de cette artillerie, donneraient une Marine moins Coureuse et plus puissante que celles existantes; Et sur la force que le système de bouches-à-feu proposé offrirait à terre, pour les batteries de siège, de place, de côtes et de campagne.* PAR H. I. PAIXHANS. Ancien élève de l'Ecole Polytechnique; Chef de bataillon au Corps Royal de l'Artillerie; Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis; Officier de l'Ordre Royal de la Légion-d'Honneur. 1 vol. 4to. pp. 458—7 plates. Paris.

*New Maritime Force, and the application of it to certain parts of the Land Service; or an Essay on the actual System of Maritime Force; on a new species of Marine Artillery, which would promptly destroy ships of the line; on the construction of both sailing and steam vessels, of moderate size, which, being armed with this New Artillery, would furnish a less costly and more powerful force than the present marine; and on the advantages which the New System of Artillery would offer by its employment on shore, either in battering or field pieces, or in the defence of Towns and Coasts.* By H. I. PAIXHANS, Pupil of the Polytechnic School; Chef de Bataillon of the Royal Artillery; Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis; and Member of the Legion of Honour.

It is now more than fifty years, since Gribeauval and other scientific artillerists and engineers, commenced a system of improvement in land artillery, which has so much increased the effects of this potent engine, in determining the fate of pitched battles; the ardour with which the French have sought after, and adopted every thing tending in the slightest degree to the perfection of this branch of the service, and the consequent su-

periority of their field artillery; both as regards structure and management, have contributed essentially to the success of some of their most brilliant campaigns. The great desideratum in field artillery, is rapidity of movement; and it would be perfect, if it could be brought up, manœuvred, and carried to the various parts of the field of battle, with the celerity of cavalry; this has been obtained to a certain degree; but the French were the first to introduce these improvements, by using guns lighter than those formerly brought into the field, which, together with a reduction in the weight of their "*appareil*," and a better mode of draught, rendered it for a time the most formidable in Europe. It is obvious, however, that advantages derived from improvements of this kind, must be temporary, and would soon be shared by all alike; and this branch of the military forces has in fact attained nearly the same degree of excellence in every service: if there is any difference, the English field artillery, (according to the opinion of a French officer,) is superior to that on the continent.

It may seem strange, that while the artillery used in land fights was receiving important improvements, the same weapon which constituted the *whole force* of the marine, should have undergone few or no material changes; for, with the exception of carronades, which were introduced into the British navy in 1779 or 1780, the armament of ships of war does not differ essentially from that of fifty years ago. There have been various experiments made, with a view to this object, and many hints and suggestions for material changes, but none of any consequence have been carried into effect. A little reflection will explain the causes of this seeming neglect. The situation of the fleets and armies of the belligerent powers, during this period, was very different;—the latter were in constant and fearful collision with each other; and, whatever might be the successes of either party, they were never so great as to render them indifferent to the improvement of all those means on which they depended for victory; but the French marine, which at no time had obtained more than a temporary and partial superiority over that of England, and the elements of which are very inferior to those of their insular neighbours, never made a successful stand after the 1st of June 1794. From this period, the star of Britain prevailed, and a series of victories ensued—terminating with Trafalgar, which annihilated the navy of France. The superiority on the part of England, was such as to render increased exertion unnecessary; it was useless to augment the effect of means already more than sufficient to accomplish their purpose; for every succeeding effort on the part of the French, only served to render their decline more obvious. This state of things very naturally led to the belief that the British navy was the



best possible in every point of view. So confident were they rendered by success, that they vaunted the superiority of some of their smaller guns over the heavier calibers in use in other navies—thus attributing to it a perfect combination of the *materiel*, as well as of the *personnel*; but in fact they were entirely indebted to the latter, to their superior *management* of this *materiel*—to their skill in *seamanship*;—for the moment they came in contact with seamen equal, and in many respects superior to their own, though opposing with their favourite class of ships, armed with a caliber they professedly considered the best, they were at once foiled, and the disparity between them and their new enemy, was greater than had ever been exhibited in their repeated triumphs over the French. It is not our intention to refer to their different modes of accounting for what was a very natural occurrence; but those who saw the true state of the case, also saw that the only remedy—if indeed remedy were now possible—was to oppose their enemy with the same, or heavier weapons, and endeavour to excel in the use of them. Here is, we conceive, under all circumstances, the true secret of victory. This led to some changes of armament hitherto considered unnecessary, and it has for a few years past been a matter of consideration to increase the *intensity* of the ordinary means in use in the different navies; but when the greatest degree of absolute force has been given to this part of the national defence, as the progress of all will be nearly alike, the relative force of the respective marines will be the same as at present, so that however the navies of Europe or the United States may go on improving in this respect—that which is most powerful will still continue so, and the overwhelming superiority of England can only be counterbalanced by the introduction of some means which shall change the whole face of affairs, and produce an *entire revolution* in naval warfare.

It is to this subject Mr. Paixhans has directed his researches; and the object of the work before us is the introduction of a new armament, whose use and principles, though long known, yet, from a variety of causes, were not carried into operation; but by the successful application of which, he now thinks to produce results highly important, not only to France, but to every nation in any degree dependent on a marine for prosperity and safety. The means thus proposed are *bomb-cannon*; and he endeavours to show that vessels armed in this manner are competent to the destruction of any class of ships whatever, and of course the present fleets of line of battle ships rendered in a great measure, if not entirely useless; and naval despotism will in future be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible.

The project of destroying the supremacy of the British navy, or putting it *hors de combat*, by means apparently so simple,

may at first appear rather more than paradoxical. Without coinciding entirely with the opinions of our author, as to the *certainty* of the results to be produced by the introduction of the "*Nouvelles Armes*," we have little doubt that highly important changes will take place in naval warfare:—to none will these changes be more important than to ourselves. Mr. P. asks in his preface—

"Are not ships of the line, more easily destroyed than preserved? and are such great efforts necessary to ensure the destruction of such frail edifices, when a few pounds of powder in a mine, are sufficient to crumble to dust the strongest ramparts?"

"No, ships of the line are not difficult to destroy: they may resist the ordinary artillery, but nothing is easier than to produce a kind of artillery which they cannot resist."—*Introduction*, p. v.

Mr. Paixhans claims no credit for inventions of any kind; indeed, he denies that there is any thing new in his project.

"We are so far from pretending to have invented any thing, that we have made laborious researches to show, that the principal innovation proposed in this work, is a thing long known—has been already tried with success—been often recommended by well informed professional men, and of which it was only necessary to study the details, and what is most remarkable, it was Napoleon himself, (as we shall show hereafter,) who came nearest to the solution of this problem."—*Introduction*, p. vii.

The sanction of such a name, would be in itself sufficient to secure our attention to the subject; however extravagant it might at first appear; we however hope to show, that the merits of this work claim, in a particular manner, the attention of military and naval men, both as it regards the modifications it is liable to produce in their respective professions, particularly the latter, as well as the more important subject of national defence. The work was commenced in 1809, but not made public until 1822, though it had been laid before the government in 1819. With respect to the *publication* of his system, Mr. P. very sensibly argues, that no inventions for warlike purposes can be kept secret; for, it is only by experiments on a large scale, and after mature discussion, that they are admitted; and "it has never occurred that victories have ever been gained by similar mysteries." He observes:—

"The system is either good, or it is not; if it is not, its publication can be attended with no inconvenience; but, if having been established from the experience of anterior and well proved facts, this system should be found admissible, and capable of producing the effects announced, what would be the results? Why that the advantages would not merely be to procure to the French marine, a priority of success; but these advantages would consist in this, *that in future, the naval power of states will be in proportion to the total force of their population, instead of being restricted, as at present, to the experienced part of their maritime population.* That is to say, the difficulty of having a good navy, will cease to be so much greater than that of having a good army; but, are these advantages, which France has an interest in procuring secretly, in order to ensure the success of the first battle, which never decides a war?" pp. xiv. xv.

The work is divided into eight books, besides an appendix on

coast defence. The first book consists of an examination of the ordinary means of offence and defence, actually in use, the improvements which have taken place in the construction of the vessels, or in their armament; among which he classes, as the most useful and simple, that of giving to a vessel the greatest possible force of artillery; that is, to put the greatest possible number of guns, in the smallest possible space. These are the ideas of Montalembert, in which we confess we see no advantages; for, on board of vessels carrying long guns, the *minimum* distance between the ports is probably attained; the distance between the ports of a battery of thirty-two pounders, (seven feet six inches,) is perhaps the smallest space in which men can perform the necessary manœuvres, in working guns of this caliber. But the greatest objection to increasing the number of guns in a given space, would be the necessary increase of men, and this would be more particularly objectionable, in sloops of war, and smaller vessels, and would not be remedied by *smaller caliber*, which, whatever might be the number of guns, would be less effective than at present. Carronades, from their lightness, peculiar construction, and facility of handling, would probably admit of being placed nearer together; yet this would be attended by inconveniences, more than counterbalancing any advantages to be derived from such an arrangement: the men would be crowded so closely on deck, as to render it almost impossible to receive a shot, without suffering, in killed and wounded; and there would be more openings for the smaller ammunition to find its way among them, besides adding to an already existing difficulty with regard to this class of vessels—that of not carrying provisions enough for a cruise of any length, even with their present complement of men, setting aside the additional quantity of ammunition which would be necessary. With respect to increase of caliber, we agree with Mr. P., that a *maximum* limit has probably been attained. We were the first, we believe, to attempt a *maximum*, together with *unity* of caliber; and he quotes our ships, as favourable instances of the superiority to be obtained by these means; yet he observes very justly, this has its limits, and we are disposed to think we are about to exceed this limit, by the substitution of forty-two pounders for thirty-two pounders, in the armament of our heavier ships of the line. The last of these two calibers, the thirty-two, we are, from a variety of considerations, induced to regard as the one most likely, under all circumstances, to produce a maximum of effect. The *quantity of metal* thrown in an action by a forty-two pounder, will rather fall short, than exceed, that of a thirty-two; for, supposing the *number of shots* fired from the forty-two, to be to those fired from the thirty-two, as seven to ten, which is a supposition favourable to the forty-two, still, the weight of iron thrown from the thir-

ty-two is greatest, and in an action of any length, would be very considerable; but, the momentum of a thirty-two pounder, is highly sufficient for all purposes of damages, either on hull or spars: and after *this* has been obtained, any further increase of momentum is not only useless, but injurious, inasmuch as it necessarily requires greater efforts to produce it. The object should be to obtain, not the *greatest* degree of momentum, but the *best*; and when this is had, rapidity and accuracy of fire will do the rest.

Carronades, Mr. P. considers as well calculated for firing hollow shot, particularly the lighter kind, as they will be fired with smaller charges of powder, and with lighter balls, though of the same size. As we have within a few years considerably increased the weight of this species of gun, by an access of metal at the breech, the lighter ones might be immediately brought into play, without any change whatever in their *apparel*, except that of providing hollow shot, of the requisite size; and, as this expense would be small, we would suggest the propriety of making some experiments in this way. We might thus have ocular proof of their effects, and be enabled to judge for ourselves, of the probability of its producing an entire change, both in the armament and construction of ships of war, which the author confidently anticipates from the decided advantages of the "*nouvelles armes*:"—

"Advantages," says he, "which will be seen to be such, as inevitably to produce a total change in the *system*, not only of their armament, but of the construction, of men of war.

"In confining ourselves in this chapter to what merely concerns the employment of hollow shot, with the artillery now in use in the navy, without any changes whatever, we shall simply observe,—

"That the large carronades, in particular, may produce great havoc, by firing hollow projectiles of heavy caliber.

"That long guns, still continuing to fire solid shot, if it is desirable, at great distances, would produce formidable effects in closer action, by firing hollow balls with small charges of powder." p. 22.

Mr. P. anticipates no great *changes* to be produced by the moral effects, at least no lasting ones. Whatever advantages have been derived from this source, they must, from their very nature, be transient; for, although the moral force of a navy, or army, must be based upon good rules and regulations, rendered efficient by their vigilant and continued application, yet, no important and sudden *changes* are to be expected; they are more generally the work of an *individual*—a Napoleon or a Nelson; they belong to *him*, rather than to the *service*, and of course are likely to perish with the spirit which gave them life and energy.

The second book treats of the *extraordinary* means of the present marine: it passes in review, the whole array of ships, fusees, rockets, floating batteries, incendiary, and explosive shot, and infernal machines of every description, in use, or

invented for two centuries past; not forgetting the American steam frigate, the descriptions of which, together with a desire to become acquainted with the real state of our navy, induced the French government to send out two scientific officers, (one of them in the command of a sloop of war,) to examine, and report from actual observation. A curious note, appended to this part of the work, will give a better idea of the notions entertained concerning this *monster*, than any thing we can say on the subject:—

“Travellers have been pleased, on their return to Europe, to give the most incredible accounts of the accumulated means of destruction, on board of the American steam batteries. Sharp scythes, melted pitch, hot sand, flails, clubs, darts, and pikes, suddenly starting up, and covering the whole surface of the vessels, &c. &c. In short, there is nothing which their imaginations did not see, and which the journals, both of France and England, did not believe, or at least did not publish. We have also some books, otherwise judiciously written, which have not scrupled to repeat these follies; but some professional gentlemen, (Messrs. Maristier and Montgery,) have been upon the spot, and have seen for themselves; and all these infernal descriptions have vanished.” pp. 38, 39.

We shall leave the arsenal of destructive machinery, exhibited by Mr. P., to be examined at leisure by those who feel sufficient interest to refer to the work itself. Regarding the whole farra-go as mere matter of curiosity; ingenious enough—but utterly useless for the purposes of naval war—we shall merely select one or two of the most recent, as fair samples of the rest.

The excellencies of the whole rocket tribe, are comprised in the Congreve, and though somewhat underrated in this country, are considered by the English as an efficient weapon in European warfare. Their flight and direction being almost entirely independent of those who manage them, render them at least very uncertain—there has been, however, a rocket lately invented in England, which being fired through a sheet iron tube, and the staff or directress of which, being a prolongation of the axis, has, it is said, given the most extraordinary results; at the distance of two hundred toises, its correctness of fire was superior to that of cannon!

In June 1826, there was a newly invented case shot exhibited for trial at Woolwich. It was a hollow iron cylinder terminating at one end in a cone, through which was inserted a piston communicating with a priming of percussion powder, laying immediately over the charge; the cylinder was deeply grooved, or *rifled*; which is said to be sufficient to make it rotate like a rifle ball, thereby preserving its primitive direction, arriving always pointed end foremost: for its explosion depended on the piston striking directly against the object fired at. This did not always occur; in one instance, however, it exploded, and did great damage. Besides the objections to its form, there are other equally important contingencies, which cannot be guarded against; for

should it strike ever so little on one side, the piston, instead of being driven in and firing the charge, might be bent or broken, and of course, the shot rendered entirely useless; for, from its form, and want of momentum, it could not be used in long ranges, and the liability of such a machine to explode by a blow from any quarter, is an insuperable objection to its introduction on ship-board.—Fane's shot is a small iron ball, enveloped in cotton, prepared in such a manner as to be inextinguishable. This projectile is equally objectionable with the others. The last we shall mention, was invented by an American, and has, we understand, been patronised in our naval service. It is a case shot or carcase; but liable to the same, and, indeed, more objections than any yet named, being of an oblong figure, with a directress or tail composed of warped surfaces, placed around a spindle or continuation of its axis, similar to the wheel of a smoke-jack, and intended to operate in the same manner as the grooving of the cylinder mentioned above. The number of holes in the shell is alone sufficient to exclude it from use on board ship, where a spark might kindle it, in spite of precautions; and when we know that round shot, from want of sphericity, too much windage, incrustations of rust, are liable to be deflected from the line of fire, so as to miss a target of considerable size, little is to be expected from correctness of flight, where a slight accident may destroy its directress, or a fresh breeze of wind in a lateral direction, may alter its trajectory, to almost any degree: additional causes of error in flight, are a want of symmetry and homogeneity, not readily obtained in shot of this form, either as it regards the case, or the charge. But the best and only test of the utility of such means is experience, and though many of these inventions have been known a long time, not one of them has yet been *retained* in any of the various marines, or ever contributed in any degree to win a battle. At the present day, scarcely any other than round shot are admitted on board men of war.

In his third book, our author discusses the improvements which may still be introduced into the marine as now constituted, by partially adopting his system. He contends, that, however far the art of construction may be perfected, or however skilful seamen may become, still it is in the very nature of the progress of the arts, that all improvements must be slowly, successively, and *publicly* introduced; that no one nation can appropriate to itself any important discovery, but that it must soon be equally well known to all; and the advantages derived from strength of construction and rapidity of sailing being equal, no real access of force could accrue to the weaker parties:—

“So that, for example, however swift and strong, French, Russian, or American vessels may be made, nothing could prevent the English from immediately rendering their's as rapid and as strong; and though it is true, that art can in-

crease the absolute degree of force, it is equally true, that the relation of these forces remains the same,—but it is a change in this ratio of force that we seek to effect." p. 53.

With regard to a *maximum*, and at the same time a *unity* of caliber, we had put this in practice at the time the author was composing his work. Indeed, he seems aware of this fact, though in quoting our ships he has fallen into some errors with respect to their armament. He mentions the *Columbus* as carrying fifty-six carronades. She carried only twenty-four. This mode of arming ships, if it did not originate with us, at least we were the first to put in practice, by arming the *Independence*, *Washington*, and *Franklin*, with long thirty-two pounders on the batteries, and carronades of the same caliber on the spar-deck,—and this being the highest caliber necessary for long guns on ship board, we can only wonder at the changes which have since taken place in their armament. An examination of the comparative advantages, would, we are confident, restore the thirty-two pounder to its place;—we shall then have attained this point of improvement which Mr. P. solicits for the actual marine, that is—"that the caliber of the largest batteries of ships of the line, may be adopted as the only caliber for all the artillery of ships of war;" whence results—

"1st. The greatest possible increase of effect."

"2d. The greatest possible simplification of means."

We shall give a slight sketch of the improvements proposed in the armament of ships of the line. They are to retain the long thirty-six pounders (French) as before, on the principal battery, —to adopt a gun of the same caliber for the next, weighing no more than the ordinary twenty-four's, and firing with reduced charges of seven to eight pounds; and to replace the twenty-four's usually carried on the upper battery, with a thirty-six, having a mean weight between the ordinary eighteen and twelve pounders, and preserving the present thirty-six pound carronades, for arming the spar decks of ships of the line and frigates. This refers, of course, to French ships; but as we have already carried the heaviest caliber on the upper decks, it can only apply to us as regards the projectile,—and where it is not intended to change the whole system, by adopting that of Mr. Paixhans *in toto*, we see no reason, indeed no room, for any of the alterations suggested by him, except that of substituting hollow shot for the solid balls, which could be very well used with the present guns; in which case, part of the objection urged against the forty-two pounder on the lower deck would not exist, its projectile being so much lighter.

By adopting these alterations, Mr. P. thinks we shall then have a *maximum* of force with the *present means*; that the destructiveness of the new agents thus employed, will tremendously

augment the power of the actual marine ; but that even *this maximum force* can be destroyed by other means more powerful and less costly.

“ Nous allons voir maintenant, comment on pourra détruire cette force *maximum*, par des moyens beaucoup moins coûteux qu’ elle,” p. 74.

In the fourth book, our author comes at once to the point, by explaining his new means of destruction, giving a number of experiments made with a view to test their great power, and the horrible ravages made by bombs of all descriptions, together with the opinions of experienced and skilful professional men, as to their tremendous effects. We shall let Mr. P. speak for himself, by making extracts from this part of his work :—

“ The marine artillery at present in use, fire solid balls of the caliber of thirty-six pounds (French). The effect of these is inconsiderable, since hundreds of them may be fired upon a ship without placing her in danger of sinking. In Lord Exmouth’s attack on Algiers, in 1816, the Impregnable received two hundred and sixty-eight shot, fifty of which were below the lower deck, and three sixty-eight pound shot below the water line ; and yet this ship arrived safely at Gibraltar. What would have become of this vessel if she had received two hundred and sixty-eight hollow shot ? Still more striking examples might be furnished nor can the effects produced on the *personnel* of fleets be at all compared with that which takes place in an army—since England lost in killed only 1720 seamen in the twelve great battles of the wars of the revolution ; 1243 in all the war of American Independence ; 1512 in the seven years war ; making only 4475 men killed in the fights of three great wars. The dreadful effects of hollow projectiles having engaged the attention, artilleryists have endeavoured to increase their caliber, so that by containing more powder, they might produce more violent explosions ; experiments have been made on howitzer-shells which are nothing more than large hollow shot ; but hitherto the howitzers have but imperfectly combined the requisite conditions of precision of flight, extent of range, certainty of effect, moderation of recoil, preservation of carriages, &c., but above all, they have failed in what particularly relates to the habitual service of ships of war.

“ The researches with which we have been occupied, have been directed to the employing of hollow projectiles on board ships of war ; and we shall not only show how shells of the caliber of forty-eight and eighty pounds, very superior to hollow shot of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six pounds, may be fired ; but we shall also show, that so far from limiting ourselves even to this heavy and powerful caliber, we shall suddenly increase the effect of marine artillery to an unexpected and decisive degree of energy ; by firing with the force and precision of cannon balls, large bombs of the caliber of one hundred and fifty, and two hundred pounds, to which we shall add some improvements, intended to augment the destructive effects of the bombs themselves.

“ In proposing to fire large bombs horizontally, we shall prove that this is possible, both as it regards extent of ranges, and precision of flight : that it will be practicable on board ship, without any danger to the ship herself, and that it will be truly and powerfully efficacious ; and we shall, besides, furnish the weight, dimensions, drawings, and all the necessary details, for the execution ; for the mere idea would be nothing by itself, and even a demonstration would be of little service, without the determination of the exact measures which should guarantee the immediate possibility of execution. It is these matters which will form in a great measure the body of our work.” pp. 77, 78, 79.

With regard to firing bombs, and hollow *spherical* projectiles of any kind horizontally, we conceive there are but two conditions necessary, namely,—momentum proportioned to their size, and that the projectiles should be symmetrical. *Bombs*



have hitherto been practically considered only in one point of view; they have invariably been fired with great angles of elevation, producing effects in many instances almost equally terrible, by their momentum in a vertical direction, as by their subsequent explosion; but however efficacious this mode of firing, in the attack of fortified places, where the situations fired from, and at, never change, and the range being once obtained, every shell is thrown with fatal accuracy, or falling any where within the place, does pretty nearly equal damage;—yet in firing at ships, the case is very different. Where the two objects, in themselves small, are every moment changing their relative positions, often moving with great rapidity, it is next to impossible that shells should take effect one time in a million, setting aside the impossibility of preserving for a single moment the desired angle of elevation. Among clusters of ships in port, or in particular situations, the ordinary bomb would prove a most *destructive* instrument—but if bombs can be fired horizontally, of which we entertain not the slightest doubt, then, to the power of the common cannon ball, we add that of a shell also. Let us examine the probability of the fulfilment of the conditions above mentioned—momentum and symmetry. The momentum of spheres moving with similar velocities, is as the *cubes* of their diameters, while the areas of the spaces through which they move, are as the *squares* of these same diameters; or which amounts to the same thing, suppose two balls to be fired at a target—say the side of a ship, where we may assume the resistance as every where equal; then the resistances these balls will have to overcome, that is, the *spaces* they must *bore* in the ship's side, will be in the ratio of the *squares* of their diameters; but the *power* of *boring those spaces*,\* will be as their *cubes*; and as the cube increases so much faster than the square, this *power* very much increases with the increase of caliber; and notwithstanding the diminution of weight, from having their centre filled with a charge so much lighter than the metal, it will be found on an examination of the weights and dimensions proposed, that there will be fully sufficient momentum to penetrate a ship's side under all ordinary circumstances. Admitting however that there may be cases in which they will not penetrate, still, by lodging in the side, they will in all probability do more damage by their explosion there, than inside the battery, as there will be more splinters, and the irregular fracture made by such a shot could not readily be stopped, particularly if it should enter below the water line. With respect to the caliber now in use in our own service, admitting that we adopt the hollow shot without any change in the artillery, we shall find that the *weight* of the charged projectile will be sufficient for

\* The velocities being the same.

producing the *usual effects* of naval fights as well as their *additional power* as shells.

Symmetry, we presume, can be very easily obtained. The casting of hollow shot is not a new art. The ansæ, and other inequalities, on the surfaces of bombs, being entirely dispensed with, as unnecessary, the projectile will present a uniform spherical surface. By using this shot with the forty-two's and thirty-two's, the predominant caliber of our marine, the weight of the gun remaining the same, while that of the projectile, as well as the charge, will be less, the recoil will also be considerably less, and we shall still be able to fire solid balls, if necessary to batter, or at very long shot, or we may use increased charges with hollow balls, should a greater initial velocity be required. With respect to the weight of our guns, we doubt if we have improved. For firing hollow shot, they might be considerably reduced, and this, as we have shown, is one of the improvements, in case of retaining the present species of gun. In reference to the new bomb cannon, Mr. P. observes:—

“By availing ourselves of the superabundance of metal employed in the construction of the present ship guns, we shall be able, without increasing the weight of these guns, to make the new ones, which, having the same volume, but different dimensions, will completely satisfy the following conditions:—sufficient diameter for firing bombs; solidity to resist the action of the necessary charge of powder; length enough to clear the ports; and lastly, sufficient *inertia*, which is imperiously demanded to deaden the recoil.

“We shall see, that these conditions, as well as several others equally necessary, may be completely fulfilled. It is only from their having been misunderstood, not being duly appreciated, or from attempting to fulfil conditions, in their very nature impracticable, that the various attempts hitherto made, have had little or no success.” pp. 80, 81.

As to the efficacy of large bombs, when fired horizontally, he considers it almost self-evident. With regard to their destructive effects on the enemy's vessels, he says:—

“And previous to entering into details respecting this question, is it not evident, that when bombs are thrown horizontally, in the manner of cannon balls, their mass being equivalent to five or six large shot, that they will crush, shake to pieces, and tear open, the side of the vessel, with a terrible shock. If they remain in the side, their explosion, acting like a mine, will open large breaches; the irregular fractures of which, extending below the water line, will make a passage through which the water will rush in, as through a dyke suddenly broken. If a bomb should enter a mast, it will overturn it, together with its yards, top, and rigging; should the bombs pass entirely through the ship's side, then they will produce their effects between decks, in the midst of the combatants, the artillery and munitions; and they will scatter around showers of iron, and insupportable volumes of smoke and flame; they will completely destroy a fabric of wood, much more easily than one of stone: they will rip up the deck, set every thing on fire, and cause dreadful ravages every where.” p. 83.

In support of his opinions of their tremendous and irresistible effects, he gives numerous and incontrovertible proofs. The one perhaps most in point, is as far back as 1690:—

“Mr. Deschiens had invented a method of firing bombs with cannon, not by throwing them parabolically, as with mortars, but horizontally, like the common

ball. This secret was of great service to him : he was going from Brest to Toulon, and was attacked by four English ships, superior to his own. He had on board two of these bomb cannon ; he fired on two of these ships, and set one of them on fire ; they were of course entirely occupied in extinguishing it. The English were surprised at this new invention, and fearing their vessels might be set on fire, sheered off, and allowed him to pass. This same Mons. Deschiens, being afterwards in a small vessel, was attacked by two Dutch vessels, one of which he sunk, the other was obliged to run aground." p. 84.

"In 1798, there was constructed at Meudon, a target, having the form and dimensions of a portion of an eighty gun ship. During the space of five months, various trials were made with incendiary shot ; these, though superior to any of the kind which had hitherto been tried, yet were not considered as giving any decisive results. Howitzer shells were then tried, with cannon of thirty-six pound caliber : twenty-six of them were fired, with different charges, at the distance of from two hundred to three hundred toises, (*upwards of six hundred yards ;*) of these twenty-six, several of them penetrated quite through the mass, and burst in the open space beyond : [none of these would have been lost, if they had fallen in between decks, or lodged in the opposite side of a vessel.] Three of them lodged in the target, and burst ; the first, after traversing eighteen inches of timber, tore off two pieces of the outside planking, one of which was eight feet long.

"The second started four of the planks, as much as three, six, and even thirty inches from the timbers—made a rent in one of the timbers, of three feet ; scattered some splinters to a distance of twenty-six feet ; started one of the uprights, tearing away bolts, screws, nails, &c.

"The third passed through twenty-four inches of the mass ; cut two of the double timbers, tore off twenty-two inches of the planking ; broke bolts, &c. ; and then changing its direction, lodged, and, by its explosion, carried away, and tore up beams, stanchions," &c. &c. p. 98.

To a variety of examples of this description, and experiments made on the efficacy of shells of various kinds, when fired against ships of war, most of which were made in presence of the most celebrated engineers, among whom he cites Vauban, Belidor, and Gribeauval, he also adds a list of the opinions of celebrated men. We shall give that of Napoleon, in itself a host :—

"Napoleon was convinced, that hollow projectiles were the most powerful means of assaulting ships ; and, from the measures adopted by his order, with a view to prevent the English vessels from approaching, we may judge what would have been done, if he had turned his attention specially to sea-fights. He wished the thirty-six pound cannon ball to be replaced by shells, in the coast batteries ; and directed each gun to be furnished with thirty, and some even with one hundred, of these shells ; a thing which had never been done till then. He also caused those employed in coast defence, to be exercised in the management of them. In order that there may be no doubt as to the opinion of Napoleon, we shall cite, literally, some passages from his communications on this subject, where the idea is explicitly and precisely announced. On the 8th of October, he wrote to the Minister of War.—*'Je vous charge de faire faire un projet pour des pièces propre à tirer des bombes, ou obus de huit pouces ; Lorsque la fameuse pièce turque dont on s'est tant moqué, a tiré aux Dardanelles, elle a jeté un boulet qui a produit un grand effet, et qui a imprimé du respect ; ces pièces d'un gros calibre sont très utiles contre les Vaisseaux.'*

"The 10th December 1810, the minister directed some artilleryists to furnish a plan of a howitzer cannon, of eight inch caliber, weighing 7500 pounds, and which could be fired with a charge of twenty pounds of powder. On the 21st of August, he reiterated his order, and wrote as follows :—*'Je desire que vous me fassiez couler comme essai, à la fonderie de Douai, un canon qui puisse tirer des obus de huit pouces. Faites également quelques boulets du calibre de 78, pour tirer avec ces nouvelles pièces, et voir l'effet que cela produirait.'* pp. 141. 143, 144.

The idea of firing hollow shot against vessels, and also of using them on board ships of war, has not been confined to the French. Various suggestions and experiments of the same kind were made in England, but none so clearly and fully developed, as the plan of Mr. Paixhans.

When carronades were first introduced, their inventor, General Melville, suggested that they could not only fire solid shot, but might also be used for throwing carcasses and *cored shot*; that is, in fact, the very shot now proposed by Mr. P. In consequence of this suggestion, some experiments were made in the same year, 1779, in presence of Sir Adolphus Oughton, General Melville, and a number of engineer officers, at Carron, where the guns were cast. The result of these was such, as to determine at once the practicability, and the great and powerful effects produced by their explosions wherever they penetrated: they were recommended both for the land and sea service. In 1780, a series of experiments was made at Fort Languard, by order of Lord Townsend: they were fired alternately, with solid and hollow shot, at point blank ranges, and up to elevations of  $24^{\circ}$  and  $3^{\circ}$ . The hollow shot gave the longest distances to the first graze; and, although the extreme range was rather less than that of the solid ball, they were nevertheless highly satisfactory; and the guns were considered very superior to the eight inch howitzer. The objections made to the employment of such heavy and unmanageable shot, on board ship, it was thought would be removed, by their weight being thus reduced, from sixty-eight, (which was the caliber of the first carronades,) to about thirty-two pounds. The irresistible effect of such shot, in blowing up, splitting, and tearing to pieces, in a sea fight, was strenuously urged. The gun used on this occasion, was of eight inch caliber, weighing twenty-nine hundred-weight, being rather more than the average of the forty-two pound carronade employed in our service, and was fired with charges varying from four to six pounds of powder; its length of bore being four feet, nearly a diameter shorter than that of our forty-two pound carronade.

Some other experiments were made with the same gun, with different weights of shot, before the Duke of Richmond and General Melville, which we believe were equally efficient—these took place in the following year, 1781. In 1813, a small howitzer was used on the poop of one of our ships on Lake Ontario. But it is obvious that a gun intended to be fixed in a bed or carriage on shore, and fired with certain degrees of elevation, could be but of little service on the deck of a ship in continual motion, being fired in the usual way—parabolically. And in the unremitting labours of a short but harassing campaign, there was no time to give attention to subjects of this kind, and any plan not giving immediate practical results, would of course be abandon-

ed. We merely mention this fact, to show that the idea has been thought practicable on this side of the Atlantic.

But if this plan of firing hollow shot has been so long known, and is so efficacious, why has it not been universally adopted? This seemingly triumphant question is of course anticipated by Mr. P., and replied to, by others of a similar nature, which, if those who adopt this mode of argument will answer, they will then have a solution of their own. It would apply equally to every great and important discovery.

Why, asks our author, was not gunpowder used in mining, until one hundred and thirty years subsequent to being used in artillery? "Howitzers were invented in 1607, by a Frenchman, yet one hundred and fifty years elapsed before they were admitted into the French army." But to come nearer home; why was so much ridicule heaped upon the early attempts at steam navigation? Or why the opposition to what has been called the *big ditch*?

In concluding his fourth book, he observes, that having proved that the firing of bombs horizontally against ships is *feasible*, that it *has been done*, and *produces the effects announced* by him,—he has only then to give the details of execution—that is, weights, dimensions, and forms of the guns, and their projectiles: but, previous to doing it, he gives a summary of propositions, which he considers as demonstrated by the facts exhibited in his twenty-third chapter, and other facts generally known in artillery. These are:—that the range of hollow shot and shell is sufficiently great, and increases with increase of caliber,—that there is also great precision of flight,—that they will penetrate deep enough, even with an ordinary degree of velocity,—that large *bombs* also, in spite of their great weight and volume, may be fired horizontally, in the same way as howitzer shells and hollow shot,—that the effects of their explosion, when used against vessels, is much greater than that of red hot shot; and, lastly, the explosion produces much greater ravages and destruction, than hollow shot or howitzer shells.

We have already stated our belief in the feasibility, and in the effect of throwing hollow shot and shells; and shall proceed to exhibit the new guns, as proposed by our author, to replace the various calibers in the French marine. The three first are of similar caliber, forty-eight pounds *French*, but of different weights. They will be as follows:—

"1st. To take the place of small guns and the thirty-six pound carronade which weighs 2,500 pounds, or sixty-nine times its solid ball, there will be a howitzer-carronade weighing also 2,500 pounds, but of the caliber of forty-eight, which would fire a shell of thirty-five pounds, and consequently would be seventy-two times the weight of its charged projectile.

"2d. For the ordinary eighteen pounder, which weighs 4,200 pounds, would be substituted a howitzer-cannon, weighing 4,200 pounds; but with the same

propose for firing bombs horizontally on board ships, would have the same weight as the actual ship guns for firing solid balls; their exterior would differ little from the ordinary cannon and Willantrois Mortars; their interior is analogous to that of carronades and howitzers; their management on board ship, their carriages, their equipment, would require little or no alteration; and the bombs, both inside and out, would, with the exception of some slight modifications, be like the howitzer-shells now in use.

"We have then invented nothing, produced nothing new, and hardly changed any thing; we have only collected the scattered elements, to which a slight degree of attention was sufficient to give the necessary size, and convenient proportions, for the attainment of the object we had in view." pp. 229, 230.

In the sixth book, our author meets the objections which may be raised against his system. We shall quote the chapter in which he replies to these objections, in what he considers a satisfactory manner:—

"Hitherto no one has ever remarked that it was possible to fire large bombs of a caliber of two hundred pounds horizontally, and with sufficient force, like cannon-balls; but, for more than twenty-five years, we have used with success hollow shot of the caliber of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six pounds, the employment of which, in our marine, would have prevented many reverses. What then are the motives, which, after so many authentic, official, and satisfactory trials, have prevented the admission of such easy means of victory?—The danger, it is said, which would be incurred by having such projectiles on board ship.

"If it be true that the employment of explosive projectiles of the calibers of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six pounds, be too perilous, the reasons would be still stronger against the admission of similar projectiles having the caliber of two hundred pounds; but is this danger real? Men of the highest rank, who are as disinterested in this question, as they are competent to judge it, and several seamen well known for their skill and experience, have affirmed that these projectiles ought to be, and can be conveniently used on board ship. We shall in this chapter examine whether this assertion has been inconsiderately hazarded.

"To object a danger, it is not sufficient to affirm that it exists; it must be shown to be real; it must be measured; but what have we at present on board a line of battle ship? And what shall we have with the new artillery?

"A ship of the line carries 60,000 pounds of powder, for the purpose of loading her guns; and from the necessarily less abundant supply, in consequence of using the more violent and promptly destructive projectiles, the same ship will in future carry only from 15,000 to 20,000 pounds of powder for the service of the guns, and from 7,000 to 8,000 pounds enclosed in the projectiles, that is, in all about 30,000 pounds.

"What there will be new then, is on one side 30,000 pounds of powder instead of 60,000, a reduction which, will by so much diminish the danger, and, on the other hand, the introduction of a new danger, which might be caused by the explosion of the powder contained in one of these shells.

"The explosion of a shell on board ship, would undoubtedly be a very serious accident; so likewise would be the explosion of an ordinary twelve pound cartridge; and much more so, the bursting of a gun cast of bad metal; and still more mortally serious would be the explosion of a magazine of 60,000 pounds of powder. Nevertheless, seamen are perfectly habituated to cartridges, cast iron guns, and powder magazines: how is it, then, that they cannot readily become habituated to the use of shells, the powder contained in which, far from being exposed to accidents, as in thin paper cartridges, and in fragile wooden barrels, which merely contain the powder, will, on the contrary, be completely protected in globes of iron hermetically sealed, and which are inaccessible, except by one very small orifice, which is only uncovered in putting the projectile into the gun.

"And even though by some improbable accident, this orifice of the first

affect either the strength, or recoil. Mr. P. estimates it one hundred and fifty-four pounds, and, in case of using hollow shot, this would perhaps be the best way of coming at a large caliber. Besides those already mentioned, there are two others, which are truly *bomb-cannon*; the first of them will have the same weight as the thirty-six, (7,200 pounds;) but of eight inches caliber, nominally eighty pounds, the charged projectile of which will weigh but fifty-five pounds.

The second will have the enormous weight of the forty-eight pound iron gun, 10,800 pounds; some of the old models of which are stated to weigh 13,000 pounds; this is a caliber of *two hundred*. With regard to the management of such guns on ship board, we shall say a word hereafter. Mr. Paixhans evidently considers them as very *easily* managed, for he observes that it is a different thing to manage a small number of large pieces of this weight, on board of vessels offering *peculiar facilities*; and a battery of thirty or sixty, almost as large, on board the *line of battle ships*—A glance at this reasoning, will show its fallacy; there can be no comparison between the handling of guns in batteries on shore, where he is no doubt *au fait*, and the manœuvring of guns at sea. He states that the *Willantrois Mortar* and carriage, weighed 22,000 pounds, yet was conveniently managed by eight men. We can assure him that a ship gun of not half that size, would take as many men to handle it as could get round it.

There is a great deal of scientific detail, relating both to the guns and their projectiles; but to be fairly understood, they must be studied with the assistance of the plates and tables; to these, therefore, we must refer the reader. We shall merely mention, that in charging his bomb, Mr. P. does not confine himself to the effects produced by bursting, but mixes with the powder a portion of incendiary matter.—

“Of which each bomb will contain a considerable quantity, which, by spreading a thick smoke through the whole ship, will soon render her uninhabitable.” p, 196.

This incendiary matter is a German composition, called *Dampfkugeln*, used to poison the galleries of mines, and make smoke signals in the day time; it is made of tallow, rosin, sulphur, pitch, turpentine, &c. &c. and is truly “a pestilent congregation of vapours.”

“The propositions which we (Mr. P.) have developed in this fifth book with regard to the elementary details and ameliorations, are far from being given definitively, as the best that can be adopted. On the contrary, we submit them to examination, in order that they may be properly modified and corrected. We simply believe, that such as they are, they will serve to ensure the execution of the first experiments which may be made.

“Besides, what we have here proposed, are not innovations; they are things which have been long known and practised. The method of firing howitzer shells and hollow shot with cannon, is well known; and nothing is simpler than to imagine the same thing could be done with bombs. The artillery which we

propose for firing bombs horizontally on board ships, would have the same weight as the actual ship guns for firing solid balls; their exterior would differ little from the ordinary cannon and Willantrons Mortars; their interior is analogous to that of carronades and howitzers; their management on board ship, their carriages, their equipment, would require little or no alteration; and the bombs, both inside and out, would, with the exception of some slight modifications, be like the howitzer-shells now in use.

"We have then invented nothing, produced nothing new, and hardly changed any thing; we have only collected the scattered elements, to which a slight degree of attention was sufficient to give the necessary size, and convenient proportions, for the attainment of the object we had in view." pp. 229, 230.

In the sixth book, our author meets the objections which may be raised against his system. We shall quote the chapter in which he replies to these objections, in what he considers a satisfactory manner:—

"Hitherto no one has ever remarked that it was possible to fire large bombs of a caliber of two hundred pounds horizontally, and with sufficient force, like cannon-balls; but, for more than twenty-five years, we have used with success hollow shot of the caliber of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six pounds, the employment of which, in our marine, would have prevented many reverses. What then are the motives, which, after so many authentic, official, and satisfactory trials, have prevented the admission of such easy means of victory?—The danger, it is said, which would be incurred by having such projectiles on board ship.

"If it be true that the employment of explosive projectiles of the calibers of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six pounds, be too perilous, the reasons would be still stronger against the admission of similar projectiles having the caliber of two hundred pounds; but is this danger real? Men of the highest rank, who are as disinterested in this question, as they are competent to judge it, and several seamen well known for their skill and experience, have affirmed that these projectiles ought to be, and can be conveniently used on board ship. We shall in this chapter examine whether this assertion has been inconsiderately hazarded.

"To object a danger, it is not sufficient to affirm that it exists; it must be shown to be real; it must be measured; but what have we at present on board a line of battle ship? And what shall we have with the new artillery?

"A ship of the line carries 60,000 pounds of powder, for the purpose of loading her guns; and from the necessarily less abundant supply, in consequence of using the more violent and promptly destructive projectiles, the same ship will in future carry only from 15,000 to 20,000 pounds of powder for the service of the guns, and from 7,000 to 8,000 pounds enclosed in the projectiles, that is, in all about 30,000 pounds.

"What there will be new then, is on one side 30,000 pounds of powder instead of 60,000, a reduction which will by so much diminish the danger, and, on the other hand, the introduction of a new danger, which might be caused by the explosion of the powder contained in one of these shells.

"The explosion of a shell on board ship, would undoubtedly be a very serious accident; so likewise would be the explosion of an ordinary twelve pound cartridge; and much more so, the bursting of a gun cast of bad metal; and still more mortally serious would be the explosion of a magazine of 60,000 pounds of powder. Nevertheless, seamen are perfectly habituated to cartridges, cast iron guns, and powder magazines: how is it, then, that they cannot readily become habituated to the use of shells, the powder contained in which, far from being exposed to accidents, as in thin paper cartridges, and in fragile wooden barrels, which merely contain the powder, will, on the contrary, be completely protected in globes of iron hermetically sealed, and which are inaccessible, except by one very small orifice, which is only uncovered in putting the projectile into the gun.

"And even though by some improbable accident, this orifice of the first



should catch fire, what would prevent any one from throwing the shell overboard through the port, before the fuse, which burns from thirty to forty seconds, should cause it to explode? Besides, is it not easy to dispose of the projectile, in such a manner that the fuse could not take fire, except from the fire of the piece? In short, the chances of such an occurrence as the explosion of a shell, are highly improbable, and the slightest precautions will suffice to render this danger altogether imaginary.

"The objection urged by some, is, that if the use of hollow projectiles was a thing really practicable, and advantageous, the English would have adopted it. To these it may be answered, that the power of the English is derived principally from their maritime force, and that they are far from being so senseless, as to be first to introduce a method of destroying that species of force.

"But let us suppose that it is with reason that shells have been rejected in the navy; and that when tried, instead of succeeding, they have failed; that shells which never burst, when loading guns on shore, should explode while loading them at sea. Let us suppose, that every means of avoiding this danger have been sought, and that instead of finding them, distressing accidents have occurred, (which, by the by, never have.) Let us suppose, in short, that hollow projectiles are entirely inadmissible on board line of battle ships. What may we conclude from thence? Why, that a line of battle ship, may be completely destroyed, by means, the use of which she is entirely interdicted. But this will be to pronounce at once the condemnation of such expensive fabrics, and the inevitable admission of the more simple and economical constructions which we propose in this work. In short, if it be true, as it has been asserted, that the explosion of a single shell, of the caliber of twenty-four or thirty-six, on board ship, is so dangerous, that, in order not to be exposed to the liability of such an accident, the navy is really obliged to renounce the use of such projectiles, how, then, can they make out that the present ships will, in future, be able to contend against small vessels, which, so far from confining themselves to firing shells of the calibers of twenty-fours and thirty-sixes, will assail them with bombs of two hundred?

"But let us admit that all we have just said is absurd, and that it is proper to reject the proposition without reply; we shall conclude then with one observation:—The use of shells is said to be impracticable on board of men of war, on account of the danger, and of the moral effect on the minds of the seamen;—but how can a thing be impracticable, which has been generally practised for a hundred years? Do not seamen employ bomb vessels? And are not these vessels always furnished with bombs, for their mortars, which are always very large, frequently in great quantities, and consequently very dangerous? But have any of the misfortunes occurred, which were so loudly prophesied at the time bomb ships were first proposed to Louis XIV.? Have seamen ever been affected, either morally or physically, by the dangers of bomb ships? On the contrary, is it not rather the cities of Algiers, Genoa, Alicante, and Tripoli, that have reason to complain of them?

"Then, if the navy, without any inconvenience, can use bombs when it is necessary to demolish a town, how does it happen that the use of these same bombs becomes suddenly impracticable, when the object to be fired at, is a ship, instead of a town?

"But the true reason for the objections is, that the men who have acquired renown by combats on board these ships, or in constructing them, are unwilling that these ships should suddenly be rendered so easy to destroy. Those intrusted with the fate of our seamen, have urged, as an objection, a danger which they are really far from considering such, with a view of avoiding another danger, that of rendering the *personnel* much less necessary, in consequence of the increased power of the *material* about to be employed; but such apprehensions are erroneous; and we shall see, further on, that if the proposed system, by promoting the general good, should injure the interests of individuals, it is not in France that individual interests can be thus injured." p. 233 to 239.

As to any real risk incurred, by having on board such a quan-

tity of charged projectiles, secured in the way they ought to be, we look upon it as altogether visionary ; it is certainly no greater than that of having 60,000 pounds of powder. Knowing of no mode of estimating dangers of this kind, unless by the frequency of their occurrence, if there was a scale of dangers, we should, by this rule, place the blowing up of a ship of war absolutely at zero ; for, the magazines, and all avenues leading to them, are so well secured and guarded, that they may be considered free from all accidents, unless they be such, as from their very nature, render precaution and vigilance alike unavailing ; and we see no reason why a deposit for shells cannot be made equally secure. As to any diminution of danger, by reducing the quantity of powder from 60,000 to 20,000 pounds, we are free to confess, we would as soon be in the vicinity of one as the other, in case of an explosion ; either quantity is abundantly sufficient to destroy any ship whatever : and we should rather depend on the *improbability* of a shell's catching fire, than trust to its being thrown overboard after its fuse *had* caught ; for, however desirable it might be to get rid of such a neighbour, we should have doubts of any volunteers for the service. We have, hitherto, with some exceptions scarcely worth mentioning, fully coincided with the plans of Mr. P., as far as relates to the practicability of them, as well as the results likely to ensue, from their partial or entire adoption, whether we use the present caliber, or those of forty-eight, which we have already described ; but we are by no means so clear with regard to the heavy calibers of *one hundred and fifty, and two hundred*. Without any reference to the expediency of such tremendous agents, we consider them as unmanageable on ship board ; for, though not as heavy as their nominal caliber, being hollow, and reduced to *one hundred and ten*, and *one hundred and fifty pounds*, respectively, they are still obviously too heavy to be handled in the usual way. The following method of loading the gun is proposed by the author. A jack screw is placed before the gun, in such a way as always to retain its relative position to the muzzle ; at the upper part of the piston is an iron saucer, in which the ball is lodged, and then screwed up to a level with the bore of the piece ; a notch on that part of the saucer presented to the bore, facilitates the rolling of the bomb into the piece. This is certainly an ingenious mode of doing the thing, but by no means obviates the first difficulty : the bomb will still have to be *lifted into the saucer*, which is necessarily at a sufficient height from the deck to allow of the play of the piston. As to lifting them in the ordinary way, it is altogether out of the question. Besides the liability of this machine to be injured by shocks of any kind, which would create ruinous delays, we are opposed to gimcracks of every species, particularly, where every thing, to be

effective, must be simple and strong. It is the great simplicity of the system of Mr. P., which constitutes its excellence. The carriages are liable to similar objections. They are in their general construction, very similar to the ordinary gun carriage, but moving only on two trucks, the hinder part of the carriage sliding on the deck; this of course increases the friction, and deadens the recoil, but the labour of managing the gun is increased; and we cannot easily conceive, how a gun, which, together with its carriage, will probably weigh 13,000 pounds, is to be handled in a *sea way*. The method of poising it on three points, by means of a moveable lever and roller, is in our opinion still more objectionable; this mode of mounting guns is common on shore, where the roller is a fixture, generally having a double movement, serving at once to run out, and train the gun. The French and English coast batteries, offer many examples of this sort of equipment; but the violent shocks to which ship guns are subjected, would render this lever a very dangerous machine. In urging these objections, we admit that they *may be* all ill founded, but they strike us as those most likely to be brought against the gun in its present shape. In coast fortifications it might be made an exceeding formidable engine, as the objections mostly apply to its being placed on a moveable platform.

The proposition to arm merchant vessels with the new armament is equally facile, and the eight inch howitzer certainly large enough; for at present, as Mr. P. very justly observes, this class of vessels "are either obliged to have on board a cumbrous and excessively expensive establishment, both of men and materials, or to defend themselves badly." p. 280.

Whereas, he thinks, with a couple of guns of the weight of the ordinary twelve pounder, but of eight inch caliber, placed abaft, a tolerably good sailing vessel might make a very effectual resistance.

"Vessels armed in this manner, might make a vigorous running fight, and whatever might be the strength and boldness of the aggressor, he could not keep up the chase with impunity." p. 281.

We think we could suggest a better mode of equipping and arming merchant vessels, than the one given by Mr. P., but in case of attention being in any way drawn to his system, the alterations and modifications which must ensue, will proceed from abler hands than ours.

The seventh book, is a summary of the armament of the present classes of vessels, composing the navy, after the manner of Mr. Paixhans; which he evidently considers merely as a *succedaneum*, in case his *projet* should not be entirely adopted—for he concludes thus:—

"We are now going to see, in the eighth book, that we may have a still greater naval force than that just described; and that by means of some modifications in

the present mode of construction, the actual line of battle ships, even if armed in the manner proposed, would, in future, encounter adversaries, less costly and of simpler equipment, against which it would be difficult for them to contend." p. 284.

Mr. P's. eighth and last book, treats of the necessary modifications and changes that will take place from the introduction of his system, and of the various classes of vessels which may be employed. He recommends single decked vessels, which will carry, comparatively speaking, but a small number of guns: in reference to the size of these ships, he observes, that although a small bomb vessel, may destroy a large ship, we must not conclude from thence, that it will in future, be unnecessary to have any but small vessels; that there will be causes in which small vessels will be sufficient, yet it will be proper to have ships of various sizes.

"And the *maximum* limit in this case must be determined: not from the number of guns necessary for the destruction of a line of battle ship, armed in the present mode; for the *smallest* number of large bomb-cannon will more than suffice for this purpose; but this limit will be determined, by the two following conditions;—

"That the vessel must make as good headway in a heavy sea as a line of battle ship, and that she must be able to make good use of her guns in bad weather. But it will be easy to satisfy these two conditions, without having recourse to any colossal structures, since in the ships navigated by wind as well as in those moved by steam, we shall be freed from the necessity of having a great number of guns, in consequence of the intensity of power in each of the new guns; and of course, there need be no multiplied batteries, nor will as great a number of men be wanting to manœuvre the guns; there will be a corresponding diminution of stores and ammunition of every kind; and as a consequence of getting rid of all these embarrassments, the new ships may be constructed with lightness, and at the same time with a view to great stability, great height of battery, and great swiftness of sailing." p. 293.

In reference to the entire and satisfactory fulfilment of these conditions, particularly in combination, and which Mr. Paixhans seems to think a matter of election,—we have strong doubts; and those too based on the incontrovertible evidence of facts. In the first place, *great* height of battery, and *great* stability, are not easy of attainment, even if compatible in the class of vessels our author has in view; but the combination of these with the third, and perhaps the most important one,—swift sailing—we are certain, is not to be had at will. There is no single circumstance, which has set skill and science so much at defiance, as the velocity of ships. In certain classes of vessels, peculiar we believe to our own country, where from their size, or intended pursuits, every thing could be sacrificed to swiftness, this object has been attained with more certainty; but in larger ships, destined to purposes admitting of none, or but partial modifications with a view to this object, nothing is more uncertain than their rates of sailing. Frigates; constructed, whether from the most approved models, or in conformity to the scientific results, and best rules of naval engineers and architects, have been known

to fail in this most important quality; and notwithstanding that the theories of Newton and Euler have been aided by the practical researches of some of the ablest men since their day, the precise curves, or that just combination of forms which shall ensure the greatest degree of velocity, is still among the desiderata. So much depends, not only on the *form* of the hull, but on what is above it, and within it; that is, stowage, spars, rigging, and the disposition and adaptation of these to their several purposes. It is by no means wonderful, that in the economy and arranging of such jarring elements, amid such a complication of machinery, we should be led to error and disappointment in the results. But it must not be supposed, from what we have here stated, that the requisite qualities are not to be obtained to a sufficient degree, for all the purposes of the new mode of warfare, contemplated by this system: on the contrary, we believe there will be no more difficulty in carrying and fighting a battery of bomb, cannon, than any other, and that by attaining *this* point we have all that is necessary."

But by far the most important part of this book, indeed, of the work, we may say, is the plan of combining this new armament with steam navigation; and such is its importance to the United States, that it cannot be too strongly urged on the attention of government. The two great naval powers of Europe, are so deeply impressed with a conviction of the prominent part which this new element will take in future wars, the different aspect which these will assume, and the different results which may confidently be looked for in maritime affairs, that various experiments are actually in operation, to determine—not the practicability, for that is considered beyond a doubt,—but how far this shall supersede the present ordinary means of defence, and to what extent it shall be introduced, at present, in the cruising marine, as well as in coast defence. These are not the wild schemes of projectors, but the serious and well digested plans of such as have long regarded it as intended to operate changes, equally great in war, as in navigation and industry:—

"In 1816," says Mr. P., "an enlightened statesman did not hesitate to say publicly at the Institute, 'the most important result from the invention of steam-boats, will be the changes which will take place in maritime wars, and the power of nations;—it is certainly probable, (he added) that we have, in this invention, one of those experiments, which change the face of the world.'" p. 288.

The advantages of steam navigation are known to none better than to ourselves. On no nation has it conferred greater benefits; and no where has the art been carried to greater perfection. In point of strength, elegance, convenience, and swiftness, we yield to none. Indeed, in the latter very desirable quality, we are disposed to think we have exceeded all others; certainly, no greater degree of velocity has been obtained any where; and exertions

are still making with a view to improvements in all these particulars; and though we are aware, that some few of our steamers may approximate to a limit beyond which any increase of speed may be physically impossible; yet we are far from believing that this *maximum* velocity has been attained. The transition from an ordinary steamer, to one adapted to the purposes of war, is by no means great; and the situation of our country as it regards geographical peculiarities, as well as physical resources, would lead us to anticipate advantages, not less great, from its employment in war, than we have already derived from its application to ordinary navigation and the arts. A flotilla, à la Paixhans, the officers and crews of which should be completely drilled in the management of the *motive* power, as well as to the use of the new artillery, would present a formidable, not to say irresistible force. We are aware, that the bare idea of such a possibility, as that of rendering null, the splendid preparations we have of late years been making for naval war, of forcing the towering structure, with her three or four tiers of cannon, to yield to the smoky and unseemly steamer, will be violently to overthrow all our preconceived notions of sea-fights.—The aspirants for the fame of Duncan, Howe, and Nelson, will reluctantly yield their assent to a system, which to appearance promises so little—offers so few opportunities for fame and honours.—They cannot consent to relinquish their splendid visions of glory, for what they consider an humble, and petty warfare of steam boats;—but if the system of steam defence obtains in Europe, it *must be* adopted here:—if we will not lead, we must at least follow. Admitting for a moment, that the system should produce none of the effects contemplated by our author and others, and that the fleets of the world should continue to carry on their operations as heretofore, —the defence of our coast by steam, is not a whit the less important, or feasible. The great difficulty which all nations find in manning their fleets, and which has in fact been already recognised by that department of the government whose duty it is to provide for such contingencies, will be in some measure relieved by this species of force.—An incalculable advantage of steam warfare, is the comparatively slight degree of instruction necessary to qualify for efficient service on board such vessels. Under officers duly qualified, and selected with a view to these duties, the exercise of the guns, whether bomb-cannon or the usual ship guns, may be learnt in a short time: the men need not necessarily be seamen, but may be drawn from other sources. For service of this kind, we believe there are other classes of our population much more valuable than “seamen,” (we now use the word in its restricted sense.) The crews of the steamers may be recruited from landmen, as well as from that hardy and active race of men employed in our inland water trade, who, though

unwilling to risk the "dangers of the seas," would cheerfully serve in a flotilla of this kind. It would be in perfect accordance with their previous habits; and their hardihood, intelligence, and local knowledge, peculiarly qualify them for the duties of steamers. Thus, at the commencement of a war, we should have on the spot most requiring immediate defence, a numerous class of persons, the best qualified for the purpose.—In case of sudden invasion, the *whole* population of the coast, may be considered competent to its defence, in either land or steam service; whereas the duties of *seamen*, as distinguished from the other classes of men who fill up the ranks of the navy, are various and complicated, and though not difficult of attainment, yet require *some* years of labour and practice, ere a man can dub himself "*sailor*."—The tactics of steam boats, though requiring both skill and practice, will be infinitely less difficult and complicated than the system of tactics for fleets, which depend for the success of their movements, on an element proverbial for instability; while the steam tactician has only to conceive his plan, and he is certain of its execution; he has only to determine on his mode of operation, and he is sure of effecting it: to the steam navigator no point of the compass is interdicted; he has neither head winds nor calms—instead of being at the mercy of the motive power, he wields it at will.

The details of the new vessels are interesting. Various modes of equipping and securing them are suggested, particularly as it relates to the steam vessels, the principal difficulties of which will be, in securing the machinery and paddles from the effects of shot.—The latter we should consider as claiming the greater degree of attention; and those who may feel disposed to give attention to these matters, as forming part of their future duties, (for such they will become,) will have full scope for ingenuity and invention. The machinery, apart from the paddles, we imagine, can be very readily secured: the sides of the vessels themselves may be so constructed as to protect it from assault in that direction, and the battery of a steamer being at each end of the vessel, and the power of locomotion in either direction equally easy and rapid, will, of course, render it entirely unnecessary to present any other part to the enemy; and the idea of *traverses*, as suggested by Mr. Paixhans, appears to us, to be exceedingly well calculated to secure this quarter, the only one which we conceive liable to direct and serious assaults. There are many modes of securing the different parts of the vessels from shot, suggested by our author, as by *traverses*, composed of wood, or wood and iron combined, &c. Much of this is intended merely as furnishing hints, on which to ground the basis of future experiments; but the immediate determination of them is not at all essential to the adoption of his system, either *partially* in the old vessels, or *entirely* in the new ones.

What we have said, however, must be considered as applying only to steamers, intended for harbour or coast defence.—The knowledge requisite for the construction and equipment of a steam fleet, which shall be adapted to all purposes of navigation and war, *on the ocean*, whether acting by themselves, or in conjunction with sailing vessels, must be acquired by future research and experiments, of which the small steamers will necessarily be the starting point. With regard to the comparative expense of the two classes of vessels, the difference is such as to form in itself a sufficient motive for an examination of its expediency and practicability. Reasoning analogically, we may form some estimate of the cost of our own establishment, from what Mr. P. says of the French navy :—

“In 1819, the minister declared, and subsequently repeated his declaration, *that if the annual expense of the French marine was limited to forty-five millions, (nine millions of dollars,) it would have ceased to exist in 1830; and that even with an expenditure of sixty-five millions per annum; that is, seven hundred and fifteen millions, (one hundred and forty-three millions of dollars,) to 1830, it will at that epoch be reduced to thirty-eight sail of the line, and fifty frigates.*”

A steamer, with bomb cannon, must take infinitely less to construct, and maintain, than a sloop, with a crew of one hundred and sixty men; yet we imagine there can be no comparison in point of efficacy. What chance would one of the largest sloops of war stand with an opponent of this description? Of the probable influence of such a system, if but *partially* successful, there can be but one opinion. The attack and defence of coasts, will be an entirely different matter to what it has hitherto been; blockades will be extremely difficult, if not impossible; and so peculiarly is this mode of defence adapted to the United States, that an energetic and judicious management of it, will, if we do not entirely mistake results, completely insure the integrity of our soil. We may venture to assert, that no ship of the present armament, would risk being caught in our water, by a steam-boat *a la Paixhans*; nor would a single ship of the line be able to blockade the Delaware, and lay a town under contribution. What would be the fate of blockading squadrons similar to those which lay undisturbed in the Chesapeake, the Delaware, the Sound, and other places, during the last war, if they should be attacked by a steam flotilla, even of the ordinary kind? They could not maintain their positions for a single hour. Should the enemy bring a similar force, this would be a still stronger reason for its adoption on our part; and the advantages we should possess over any nation crossing the ocean for the purpose of attack, are too obvious to need exemplification. The great amount of personal force which has formed the principal advantage of the British navy, will be in a measure rendered useless, as far as regards their skill and experience as *seamen*; and the 145,000



men with which the fleets of England were manned, will, in a warfare of this kind, be little better than 145,000 men of any other description.

"We may then hope, that a few thousand men, bred and nursed on the ocean, will not, in consequence of their skill, be able to dictate laws to the world; and that the iniquity of universal dominion, will henceforth be as difficult at sea, as on land." p. 348.

While writing these remarks, we have received Captain Ross's work on steam defence. Some parts of the introduction, (the only portion of the work we have yet read,) are so highly corroborative of the opinions and views we have expressed, and so plainly exhibit, at the same time, the degree of importance attached to this subject by the English, that we cannot refrain quoting a few passages. In speaking of steam, as still more applicable to war, than to commercial and mercantile purposes, he says:—

"There is abundant reason to believe, that it is fully felt, not only by the government itself, but by every naval officer who has bestowed the slightest attention on the subject; while, if it be true, as is generally understood, that our rivals and enemies are turning their attention very particularly to this object, it is the more incumbent on us, to see that no time is lost by ourselves, in taking such steps as may insure us that continued superiority at sea, on which our very existence depends."—*Introduction*, p. x., &c.

Further on:—

"In fact, it is notorious, that both the French and Americans, have been for some time training their officers,\* in this new art of steam navigation: while the former abound, not only in steam engines of our manufacture, but even in English workmen and engineers; a sufficient proof of their intentions on the subject, and of the importance which they now attach to it. If we do not absolutely know, that any other naval power has turned its attention to the subject, this, at least, is probable, or we may safely infer, that, conscious from experience of their inferiority as to warfare on the same old system, and hopeless of attaining, in an equal degree, the management of large vessels and fleets, they will gladly resort to a system far more practicable and economical; and one, which, from its requiring far less of what is called nautical knowledge, will bring their means to that equality, which may render their future enmity at sea most hazardous to our superiority, if not to our existence."

"This is a serious, but a true view of the subject; and without wishing to excite unnecessary alarm, not being an alarmist in disposition; it is difficult to reflect steadily on the question, without some feeling of doubt, whether the destiny of Great Britain, may not at length be involved in this very invention, whether its fate will not even be sealed, as soon as steam vessels shall supersede the present ones, among the nations of Europe, and become, what the latter scarcely ever can, the general naval warfare of the world." p. xiv. xv. &c.

Again, in p. 17 of *Introduction*, he says:—

"The system, in fact, will become a species of military, instead of a naval one; and they who should have been sailors, will be maritime soldiers, not seamen; and then will our superiority, as far as depends on seamanship, disappear; or we also shall become what they will be, and must learn to meet them on our own channel, and on our own shores, as we met them at Vittoria and Waterloo."

We have made these few extracts, in order, as we have said, to show the degree of importance which is attached to this subject

\* A mistake, we regret to say.

in England, and by English naval officers. A glance at the contents and the plates, convinces us, that Captain Ross has devoted much time and attention to the details, as well as the *ensemble*, of a system, to which he very justly attributes the most important consequences.

The dedication of his work, as well as its being "patronised by His Royal Highness, the Lord High Admiral," gives it a semi-official character, and shows that the strong language used by Captain Ross, is sanctioned by the acquiescence of his government.

ART. X.—*St. Petersburg. A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital; through Flanders, the Rhenish Provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, the Federated States of Germany and France. By A. B. GRANVILLE, M. D. F. R. S. F. L. S. M. R. A. F. S. S. & M. R. A. S.* 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1324. London: 1828.

WE have copied only a small part of the list of Dr. Granville's titles, which fill twelve lines more, in very small type. His chief professional pursuit seems to be that of a "Physician accoucheur;" and we learn from his book, that he had been for twenty years surgeon in the British navy. The United States possess a famous *savant*, who has been celebrated as a "fellow of forty-nine societies;" but this London accoucheur may be denominated centifolious;—he is the flower of his tribe, with a hundred rustling leaves. Without furnishing a regular auto-biography, he makes himself known to his reader in every way:—we are brought acquainted with what he was; the writings that he has published; the offices which he enjoys; the great estimation in which he deems himself to be held by others, and the prodigious degree of his self-esteem and consequence. His volumes are dedicated, by permission, to his Most Gracious Majesty King George IV.; and if we confine ourselves to the external beauty of the page, and the admirable wood-cuts with which they are adorned, they may be pronounced worthy of the royal patronage,—“a dainty dish to set before a king.” Here are two superlatively elegant, and very thick octavos, the fruits of an excursion of seventeen weeks' duration altogether, over more than four thousand miles. The quantity of matter, light or heavy, which they contain, is truly wonderful, when we consider the space which was achieved in so short a period, and the quality of the traveller at home—“a medical man, fully engaged in prac-

tice in such a metropolis as London ;” to say nothing of his avocations as a correspondent of half the republic of letters. It is some time since we have seen a more remarkable specimen of the art of book-making ; a specimen, indeed, to which nothing equal will be produced in our own country, until equal aid can be obtained from booksellers, printers, and engravers.

In the middle of July, 1827, Dr. Granville hied for St. Petersburg, as the medical attendant, the safe companion, and the easy friend, of the Russian Count Michel Woronzow and his fair countess, exalted and accomplished nobles, whose auspices ensured to him a favourable reception in the best circles, wherever they appeared together, independently of his being a clever man, with a full share of the *savoir vivre*, or *savoir faire*. Their route was that which is indicated above ; he reaches St. Petersburg at the four hundred and seventeenth page of his first volume, in thirty-five days after his departure from London—days spent in journeying seventeen hundred and sixty-five miles. Not enjoying a proportional latitude of space or remark, we cannot accompany him from city to city, or kingdom to kingdom ; but must be content with using a part of his evidence concerning Russia, which we shall offer as food for a general curiosity, that recent occurrences in Europe have freshened and animated. Our inquisitive and locomotive doctor, found or made opportunities of collecting information, ample or meagre, on nearly all ordinary topics :—it is an account of the Russian capital that he specially offers to the world ; but he communicates whatever he could extract or infer relative to the peculiar institutions and various resources of the empire at large. He is the latest witness among the British writers ;—which forms our chief motive for introducing to our readers, one who is more fluent than profound, and withal a true courtier, constantly intent on preserving the good graces of the foreign personages who honoured him with their courtesies. In this point of politic gratitude, he differs widely from his carping predecessors, Drs. Clarke and Lyall, who saw and painted every thing *en noir*—for whom, in Russia, every member of the government was a tyrant or profligate, every patrician a debauchee and oppressor, every merchant or dealer a rogue, every peasant a brutish slave, every priest a sot or hypocrite, every woman dissolute, every public functionary corrupt, every domestic a spy or pilferer, every national dish a poisonous mixture, every fair semblance a mere gloss or treacherous disguise.

We were at first tempted to place also at the head of this article, the title of another recent and popular work, in two sizeable volumes, in which more of Russia is described, from personal observation, by a British officer, who traversed the empire, and sojourned in St. Petersburg and Moscow, in the year 1822—3:

we refer to the tour of *Captain Jones*, of the Royal Navy. This commander, after being at sea nearly all his life, resolved to try a cruise on shore, and inspect the interior of ports which had "excited much interest in his breast, during tedious blockades." The imperial family of Russia distinguished him likewise at St. Petersburg, by a flattering notice, that has fructified, and procured for them all a rich harvest of admiration and praise. But the Captain is less of a general or set encomiast than the Doctor; he can find fault, and, in so doing, is not addicted to euphemism; and his style of narrative and cast of sentiment, smack of his professional education and habits. We shall have occasion to quote some of his statements and opinions. Within the few months past, the attention of the British politicians has been attracted to a single octavo, "*The Designs of Russia*," by Lieut. Colonel De Lacy Evans, who investigates the situation and views of the gigantic head of the Holy Alliance, with regard to the independence of the other nations, and particularly the integrity of the British power and dominions. We have this production, too, before us, and may find room for some of the colonel's principal suggestions. His alarm is not without foundation; nor is it new or peculiar. Similar appeals were made, many years ago, to the cabinets interested in the question. In 1739, Algarotti clearly foreboded the present enlargement and prepotency of Russia: Rousseau threatened the West with an invasion of the northern Tartars, and had a vision of the Calmucs under the colonnade of the Louvre. In 1812, Napoleon caused a volume to be prepared, on the *Progress of the Russian Power*, in which the fearful growth, tendencies, and objects of the continental rival of France, are exhibited and discussed with the broadest inquiry, and most elaborate minuteness and skill. Colonel Evans is not a peerless statesman nor practised writer, and much of his matter is too hypothetical and conjectural. He has condescended to advert to our republic, with speculations which are really so *pleasant*, that we cannot refrain from reciting them before we proceed with Dr. Granville. General Jackson will be the bugbear of England, as he has been of a part of his own countrymen. Colonel Evans, after having put Turkey into the grasp of Russia, and in array against Great Britain, continues thus:—

"Should the American general, now a candidate for the highest office in the United States, still survive, and be then, for instance, in his second or third presidentship, (which is by no means impossible, being a remarkably hale and strong man,) he is one that would co-operate against the British ascendancy in Ireland, with a peculiar zeal and determination. His parents are said to have been exiled from that country, and he himself is understood to cherish for it a most fervent remembrance.

"The desire of conquest indulged in by our trans-Atlantic descendants, is, considering the nature of their institutions, sufficiently absurd; nevertheless, such is the fact: and there is no public man in all the Federacy, more likely to

push that policy to its uttermost, especially against us, than the individual just alluded to.

"The Canadas and some islands of the Western Main, are primary and unquestionable objects of their ambition. Now, if Ireland should be then in a disaffected or insurrectionary state—should some imitative phantom of a presidential government have been created within it, and be in a condition to fulminate, from any beleaguered fastness, seditious decrees resembling those now sent forth from the nascent republic of Egina—in what better mode could the American general promote the aggressive views on his own borders, than by preparing a number of small fast-sailing vessels or steamers, for the successive conveyance, as they are wanted, of arms, ammunition, and stores, to the insurgents? How are we to prevent these supplies being landed, in some of the multitude of fine ports which every where indent, (especially to the westward,) the Irish coasts? American cruisers or privateers would, also, under these circumstances, swarm in the Irish Channel and seas. A more obvious, an easier, cheaper, or more decisive diversion against the British power, could not, it is manifest, be effected. Is it by vainly attempting to conceal these matters, that they are to be guarded against?"

To return to our medical traveller. In passing from Dover to Calais, he successfully administered laudanum to the countess, for sea sickness, and recommends it to all who suffer this horrible quailm. At Ostend, he encountered Capo d'Istrias, the present Chief Magistrate of Greece, upon whom he lavishes encomiums for his talents, judgment, generosity, and refined devotion to the cause of the Greeks. Count Capo d'Istrias is a native of Corfu, one of the Ionian Islands, and was one of the Emperor Alexander's secretaries of state for the Foreign Department. At Aix-la-Chapelle, the doctor is reminded of the familiar, unreserved intercourse which subsisted between the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, on one side, and Sir Thomas Lawrence, the celebrated English limner, when the latter drew the portraits of the three monarchs, which he had been commissioned to take by His Britannic Majesty. More than one eminent portrait-painter has commemorated as an inestimable advantage of his profession, the opportunity which it affords of familiar converse with the great and the illustrious in every elevated sphere and esteemed pursuit. At Cologne, our author discovered that a much larger quantity of *Eau de Cologne*, so called, is consumed in Europe, than is made in the town; just as the traveller may learn in Portugal, that vastly more Port wine is drunk abroad than is produced in the Portuguese vineyards. The excess of the nominal Bordeaux wine over the real product, is beyond all calculation. Of *Eau de Cologne*, about thirty-eight thousand bottles are annually exported from the place. Dr. Granville was struck with the timber-rafts on the Rhine, which are composed of many thousand trees, lashed together in layers, frequently from nine hundred to one thousand feet in length, and from sixty to eighty in breadth, manned by eight hundred men, who lodge in a small village of wooden huts, neatly erected on the float—an extraordinary spectacle on the whole. The great

literary machine at Weimar—*Landes Industrie-Comptoir*—the establishment for the translation and circulation of foreign books and the preparation of lithographic engravings—which may be said to inundate Germany with literature and science—astonished our traveller as much as the endless rafts. At Weimar, on witnessing the portentous energy of the Germans at the *table d'hôte*, he indulges himself, after the manner of Sterne, in a digression on *Stomachs*; condemning and ridiculing those physicians who *class* morbid stomachs and prescribe accordingly. Our doctor affirms that “one can no more find two stomachs, than two roses alike,” and that “the whole secret lies in learning how the stomach of the patient has been *educated*, and dealing with it conformably.” Dietetic hints are never amiss. *Eating* in Germany, at the ordinaries, was not the most delectable duty, for a stomach like the doctor’s, *finished* in London and Paris; but sleeping was still more difficult in what he terms a bachelor’s bed, which he piteously describes as follows:—

“We are to figure to ourselves a deep wooden cradle, (which, in the present instance, was made of highly polished mahogany,) about five feet four inches long, and just three feet wide, containing a hard, thick mattress at bottom, resting on a number of cross pieces of wood, and a full feather bed at the top, covered with the sheets, over which is laid, as the only cover, a puffy silk bag, the length and breadth of the crib, stuffed with the lightest down, and weighing consequently a mere nothing. Two square pillows, both filled with feathers, and a straw bolster of the same shape, intended to raise the former, are so arranged as to give them considerable inclination. These, from their great size, take up at least one-half of the length of the bed, so that to lie flat in it, is out of the question. A large proportion of the miseries of human life are really so many *bon bons*, compared to the misery endured in such a bed. If you attempt to stretch your legs, the solid footboard reminds you to keep your knees bent; if you turn on your side, again the poor knees are the sufferers, for you are sure of knocking them violently against the sideboards. The feather bed heats your loins—the down bag heats your chest—the feather pillows heat your shoulders—and by the time you are worked up into a fever, perspiration flowing from every pore, and drowsiness at last overpowering you—off flies, at an unlucky turn, the flimsy and untucked bag under which you were buried; and a chattering shiver of the frame awakens you to the full consciousness of bruised flesh, sore bones, broken back, and stiff neck, with parched mouth, and a dreadful headach into the bargain—the inevitable results of such a feathered nest.”

The music at Berlin, indemnified him for the miseries of the *cradle*; and he truly exclaims, when he had heard Winter’s new opera (*Das Unterbrochen Opferfest*)—“no person can form an idea of the difference between the performance of this, or any other piece of music, by a German orchestra and the orchestra of any other nation, who has not heard both.” *Mademoiselle Sonntag* was the star or the magnet of the Prussian metropolis at this period. Several pages are devoted to a rapturous delineation of her person, and a learned analysis of her vocal powers and skill. The German language is proscribed as utterly unsuitable for the musical expression of the softer passions. Our doctor places the German next to the English tragedians, allows the Germans a

considerable degree of merit in the walks of genteel comedy, and represents *broad farce* to be decidedly their *fort*. For the instruction of the American faculty, we note that the knowledge of diseases in Prussia, as well as in many other parts of Germany which Dr. Granville visited, is in general sound, because founded on an excellent academical and medical education ; but that it is also occasionally eccentric, generally too systematic, and partakes of idealism ; while the treatment of diseases is too experimental and pharmacological. We shall now overleap still more of his route, and take him up at Strelna, eighteen versts from St. Petersburg. He informs us, that an uninterrupted line of sumptuous palaces, built in every variety of chaste, fanciful and imitative architecture, flanks the right side of the road, thence to the capital. They are the country-seats of opulent Russian families, who occupy them during the short-lived summer of the north. At St. Petersburg the Doctor became an inmate of Count Woronzow, and of course was admirably situated for all his purposes. He presents the city to his readers in the following picture :

"The general *coup d'œil* which the Imperial Residence of St. Petersburg presents to the traveller, is one of the most magnificent in Europe. It does not, like that of Naples and Constantinople, heightened by the magic effect of the surrounding country, convey the idea of beautiful nature and picturesque situation ; neither is the impression first received, on entering the spacious streets and extensive squares of St. Petersburg, like that which the capitals of London and Paris excite, when first beheld, imparting at once just notions of the wealth, splendour, and luxury of their inhabitants. But it surprises more than either, from the great number and magnitude of the public buildings, from the bold style of architecture which pervades every part, and from the total absence of those dark and wretched courts and lanes, the abode of the lowest classes, which, in other cities, obtrude themselves on the notice of the traveller, in the midst of grandeur and stateliness of exterior.

"It was not without some reason, that a French traveller newly arrived in this city, asked where the people lived ? 'Partout on ne rencontre que des palais et d'innombrables édifices,' he observed ; and the remark thus far was correct. No capital in Europe can, in this respect, be compared to St. Petersburg ; for no where else do we meet with buildings of such striking appearance, nor does any other city contain so many private houses, which might rival the palaces of Rome. St. Petersburg is, in fact, a city of palaces."

"St. Petersburg, according to the latest observations, is situated in latitude 59° 56' 31". This line passes precisely through the principal islands in the Neva, the observatory, and the Imperial Palace, at which latter point it is intersected by the meridian, 48° east of the island of Ferroe. The most important part of the town is placed on the left bank of the Neva, having a western aspect inclined to the north. Opposite to this part, are two large and three lesser islands, formed by the Neva and its branches, swarming with population, and crowded with public buildings and establishments. On the main land, eastward of the island, and stretching along the right bank of the river, is another division of the town, which is becoming every day more worthy of notice."

"One of the most remarkable and striking features of this great metropolis, is doubtlessly the Neva ; a river which, whether we consider its origin, its rapidity, great depth, and the beautiful transparent blue colour of its water, or the advantages it affords, stamps the character of the capital as one, on that account,

unrivalled in Europe. Travellers accustomed to behold only the muddy streams that traverse the principal cities of Europe,—impressed with the recollections of the clay-mixed currents which flow between the banks of the Thames, the Seine, the Po, the Arno, and Tiber, the Elbe, the Spree, and the Vistula—on approaching the embankments of the Neva, as it rushes past the palaces of St. Petersburg, must be struck at once with surprise and delight at the novelty of the scene."

"Independently of the Neva, St. Petersburg has the advantage of being watered by other smaller rivers, which, with three handsome canals, serve to fix very distinctly the limits of the different districts, while they also add to the beauty and salubrity of the town, as well as to the accommodation of the inhabitants; for in summer most of these are navigable, and all of them communicate, in some way or other, with the *Fluvius Fluviorum*, the Great Neva."

"When I beheld for the first time both banks of the Neva lined with such magnificent buildings, and their varied architectural beauties reflected in the unruffled mirror of the most majestic river I had ever seen, my surprise equalled my admiration. Numerous vessels were sailing down its stream, pleasure boats and gondolas plied on the still surface; and, to give to the whole a still more interesting appearance, the hulls of a ship of war of three decks, and of a seventy-four, both launched at the time of our arrival at St. Petersburg, were lying in front of the superb building of the Academy of Arts."

"The charm of this scenery, and that of the still more imposing spectacle presented by a range of stately palaces running westward for the space of a mile on the left embankment, are not lost even on a winter's morning, when the weather is clear, and the sky of that deep azure which is alone to be seen in frosty regions."

"A few days after our arrival, the Count requested one of his aid-de-camps, the Prince Herheoulidzeff, a Circassian nobleman, whose amiable disposition and refined manners have won the affections of a large circle of friends, to accompany a medical friend and myself, to see the interior of the Admiralty. The elevated tower of this building, offers an excellent opportunity of taking a periscope bird's eye view of the city; we at the same time ascended to the external gallery placed around the lantern, which, surmounting the dome, serves as a base to the beautiful and richly gilt spire that rises from this point, eighty-five feet high. In this situation, we found ourselves at an elevation of one hundred and forty-five feet above the level of the Neva; and never did a more magnificent spectacle greet the eye of an inquiring traveller, than burst upon us, when we stepped out on the circular balcony. The day was one of the finest seen in this climate. An uninterrupted sunshine lighted up every part of the surrounding panorama, and there was a transparency in the atmosphere, which made every object still more conspicuous."

"The first impression received on looking around, when hundreds of fine palaces, colonnades, statues, and towering spires, with not a few specimens of the pure Grecian style of building, attract the attention, would lead one to imagine oneself suddenly transported to a newly erected city of Greece, in the time of Pericles. But, when we connected those different objects with the long, straight, and wide streets, flanked with houses of various but generally handsome designs—when we marked the bustle of the multitude—the great and motley variety of costumes, most of them picturesque—the *bizarries* of the different vehicles that glided before us, some training silently along the handsome area that lay immediately below us, intersecting each other in a thousand directions; others rapidly coursing on low wheels, with horses that are taught antics and gambols in their course—now and then a stately carriage drawn by four horses, guided by a long-bearded coachman, whose waist is compressed by a silken sash, with a square cap of crimson velvet placed diagonally on his head, and who was heard urging the distant leaders, under the control of a little urchin; we were recalled in our imagination to present times, and to reality, and we surveyed with admiration this youngest of the European capitals, and the capital of the largest empire in Europe."



A model of St. Petersburg, on a scale without example, was sent thence to London during Dr. Granville's visit. It was executed by an Italian artist, Signor Rossi, and includes every building in all the various and most minute details, with a strict observance of the proportions, distances and relative positions. This work occupies more than sixty feet in breadth, and seventy-four in length, and filled five large wagons. The population of the Russian metropolis, which, in 1801, was 230,000, is now 320,000. It is continually expanding by the addition of magnificent palaces and churches, besides the new streets and squares which business creates. By law, the name of the proprietor or tenant of every house is inscribed on some conspicuous part of it. The footways, paved with white granite flags, are raised three or four inches above the general level of the streets, most of which are from sixty to one hundred and twenty feet wide. There are not fewer than seventy bridges, one half of which are of granite, and eight or ten of iron; but no permanent one has been attempted over the main river, on account of the floating ice. The quays of the Neva, and canals, deserve to be styled magnificent. They are, in the ensemble, absolutely unrivalled. The distinction between the fashionable and unfashionable districts of St. Petersburg, is as strongly marked as it is in London. Every large city, in fact, even in republics, has a *Court-end*, where the more wealthy and refined are supposed to be collected, and either just claims, or false airs, of superiority, are particularly prevalent. Walking is not *à la mode* in the Russian capital, though pedestrians have no where more comfort and security, and more "points of view and objects of interest." Authority keeps the pavements clear and clean, and sweeps away all the mendicants. It is indispensable that all fashionable visits should be paid, all dinner parties attended, in a coach and four—a custom of which Captain Jones complains as somewhat expensive. The public means of conveyance to and from St. Petersburg, are as numerous as those to be found in any other country. Private carriages are seldom drawn by fewer than three, and often by four, six, and eight horses. The national vehicle, the *Drosky*—a bench with springs and cushions on four wheels—did not gain the favour of Captain Jones. He considers the motion as "absolutely tormenting," and the exposure dreadful. The Russians have gorgeous equipages and fine horses. The number of vehicles of all sorts used in the capital, has been estimated at fifty thousand. A *maitre d'hotel*, and the cook of a patrician, will not go to market on foot. Every man in good circumstances keeps his carriage. In May 1827, a steam vessel, larger than a first rate frigate, began to ply between London and St. Petersburg, and performed the voyage in nine or ten days.

The Russian capital, according to Dr. Granville, is not excellently provided with hotels or great inns, but this in part is owing to "the ready hospitality of the upper classes of society, frequently imitated by the wealthy merchants and the middle classes of inhabitants." A foreigner, well introduced, may count upon being asked to dine out almost daily. Captain Jones, on the contrary, asserts, that probably there never was a capital "so little distinguished for hospitality;" and this, he adds, is a general complaint, which he had no particular reason to make, for he received "more invitations than his neighbours." Of good society, the classes are as numerous as in the other great capitals of Europe;—with regard to the ladies, Dr. Granville thinks, that in point of manners, and general dignity of deportment, they yield to none of the most eminent of the fair sex elsewhere; and some of them he deems superior, in accomplishments and the more solid advantages of education. Of the Russian merchants resident in St. Petersburg, the younger part do not differ from persons of the same age and order in Germany. Many of the older have relinquished the native dress. A considerable part, (about one ninth,) of the population of St. Petersburg, consists of foreigners, of whom the most numerous are the Germans, next to them the French, and then the English. The latter mix less in society with the natives than they did formerly. It is no longer the policy of the government to tempt foreigners to settle in the empire, except as colonists. Notwithstanding the great proportion of strangers, and its influence upon the general character and manners of the inhabitants, our author believes that almost every custom connected with the religion, habits, amusements, and peculiar mode of living of the Russian, is as strongly illustrated in every part, and on every occasion, at St. Petersburg, as in Moscow. Yet, we should infer that the former city represents less strongly and comprehensively, the mass of the native population, than any other European metropolis. The Emperor Nicholas himself, said to the Doctor:—

"Allez à Moscow—Vous verrez une ville qui mérite à tout égard l'attention d'un voyageur. Vous nous voyez ici (à St. Petersbourg) dans des habits tout neufs, que nous tachons de porter le mieux possible; mais à Moscow on voit le Russe tel qu'il est, on découvre ce qu'il a été, et on peut juger par là ce qu'il pourra devenir un jour. Certes, l'ancienne capitale de la Russie doit offrir des réflexions intéressantes à une personne instruite et sans préjugés."

Dr. Granville speaks favourably of the climate of St. Petersburg, against which, in the winter, precautions and defences abound, that counteract or defeat its inclemency. He was delighted with that hyperborean season;—he treats it as a luxury, when "the ground is covered with snow, the rivers and canals frozen, the air pure, and the sky serene." So is it in our North American climate; and we may repeat after him—"one feels

then more than usual energy and elasticity, more inclination to exercise, digests his food better, has excellent nights, grows robust, keeps disease at bay, and *smiles at the doctor.*" In general, the snowy days in the year, from October to May, amount to eighty or ninety,—and the quantity of snow is immense. Storms and drifts are frequent. The Aurora Borealis appears, on an average, twenty-one times annually. There are so few diseases of the chest, catarrhs, and defluxions, and feverish colds, in the Russian capital, that our traveller was "quite surprised, on hearing consumption quoted as an endemic complaint." *Determination of the blood to the head* is common, and ascribed to the use of stoves in confined rooms: *scrofula* exists in great force; *scarlet fever* and *erysipelas*, prevail more than in any other capital of the same extent; and the Doctor testifies, that at least one out of every three persons of both sexes, labours under the *hemorrhoids*, and foreigners seldom escape. This malady he avers to be strictly indigenous. He describes, in abundant detail, the means employed to preserve a warm temperature in the Russian dwellings; and particularly the petch or stove, which is unique, and which he celebrates as by far a more rational and effectual mode of warming a house, than either the coal-grate of England, the blazing hearth of France, or the iron-stove of Germany. He dwells, through six pages, upon that great winter luxury of the Russians, their peculiar bath, which no tourist fails to mention, but which every one has not courage to try. Dr. Granville "determined to ascertain with his own eyes, and by his own experience, the nature and form of such a bath," and narrates every appearance and incident in the course of his enterprise; still, we prefer the report of Captain Jones, as less *lengthy*, and more quaint and honest, and shall therefore proceed to quote the latter:—

"Having seen and heard so much of the Russian baths, we determined to try the effect of one, contrary to the advice of our medical friends and others, many of whom had been born and lived nearly all their lives in Russia, without venturing the experiment. We accordingly repaired to that which is esteemed the best in this city; and I will describe the whole thing precisely as it was administered. The baths are private, and only contain one person. First, there is a dressing-room at a moderate temperature, with cushions and conveniences for the toilette. When undressed, a fellow presents himself stark-naked, and conducts you into the bath, a good sized room, having a bench like a bedstead, with a slight rise for the head. At the opposite side are fitted up shelves like flower stands, which terminate with a similar bench or bedstead, to be subsequently used. The bath is at a high but not oppressive temperature, and is furnished with several pipes, communicating with water, from the freezing to the boiling point.

"You first of all sit down on the bench, while he forms a lather and scours your head well, after which, he prepares a bundle of soft shavings, with soap and hot water, when he obliges you to lie down at full length, while he curries you all over on both sides. After this, you stand up and are rinsed with tepid water, when he prepares a bunch of birch leaves, and obliges you to mount by the shelves, or steps, to the upper bench before described. He now throws wa-

ter on a hot iron, which produces such a vapour or steam, that it is almost impossible to support the heat: he then obliges you to lie down, and, with the birch leaves, performs the same operation he had previously done with the shavings, except that while you are roaring out with pain from the heat, and begging to be relieved, yet, afraid to lift your head, because every inch in height, from the vapour ascending, causes some increase in the intenseness of the heat, the fellow coldly affects indifference, and laughs at your request, or sings a few words of a song. At length he relieves you, when, jumping down as hastily as possible from a heat which really struck me as red hot, and I thought must have brought the skin off, the fellow adroitly seizes the moment you are on your legs, to pour buckets of cold water on your head. The first gives a violent and unexpected shock, which you instantaneously recover; and the second produces a most delightful glow, a perfect elysian feel, which you would willingly continue; but, fearful of checking the perspiration too long, the bath is brought to a higher temperature, and, when the pores are again open, and perspiration appears, the Russian bath finishes, you return to your dressing-room, wrap warmly up, get into your carriage, drive home, lie down on your bed much relaxed for an hour, after which you feel quite restored, and are fit for any thing. Indeed, two hours after, I joined a large party at dinner, with a most excellent appetite. The price of a private bath is two rubles and a half, and I gave one to the attendant. The common ones vary from ten to fifty copecks; they are merely large rooms, constantly filled with vapour. The bathers take their own birch leaves with them, and mutually scour each other, but, as they cannot have cold water inside, they either plunge into the river, as we marked at Helsingfors, or if it is winter, the yard being full of snow, they roll themselves in it, and then return to the bath for a moment, to restore perspiration. After this, they dress as usual, and walk home, or remain in the cold, washing their clothes. This must be the effect of habit, as it certainly would be extremely dangerous for a stranger to be so exposed to the action of the air, after being so much relaxed. Fortunately, the Greek religion requires ablution before attending the church, and, equally fortunately, the attendance is exacted twice a week, so that the lower classes by this means ensure health and cleanliness of body, which otherwise, from the length of time they wear their garments, (as I have before noticed,) could not be preserved.

"Upon the whole, I must say that these baths present a greater want of delicacy, than it is possible to imagine in civilized society; and yet, within these few years, they have been much reformed. Originally, there was no distinction of sexes, both promiscuously entering the same bath, and rendering mutual assistance. Indeed, in many places, the old custom is not abolished, and in all it is not considered indelicate to enter the court appropriated to the females, who continue their cold ablutions, apparently unconscious of shame. Added to this, it is said, that for a small gratification to the proprietors or attendants, they make no difficulty in clandestinely admitting visitors into those baths that are supposed to be exclusively appropriated to the use of younger females. In short, it is impossible to conceive any public custom, or establishment, which produces more immoral conduct between the two sexes. Having, as a traveller, gratified my curiosity, I do not feel any desire to repeat a Russian bath."

The Winter Palace, so called among the imperial mansions at St. Petersburg, occupies an area of four hundred thousand square feet. There are from ninety to one hundred principal rooms on the first story. Neither the Tuileries nor the palace at Versailles, possesses any saloon so rich and magnificent as the great hall of St. George. Another of the apartments, the military gallery, one hundred and eighty feet long, is entirely covered with half-length portraits of the general officers, who signalized themselves in the Russian service during the war with

they have precedence next to the imperial family; but, deprived of liberty, where can happiness be found? Bondage is still bondage, however highly the chains may be gilt.

"The princess of Wirtemberg was certainly the prettiest woman and best dancer in the room, and her father (the dowager-empress's brother) was the ugliest man, having a large wen on his forehead.

"The galleries round both the halls were filled with spectators; the one in the ball room with those apparently of the common sort, while that of the upper room had a display of well dressed females.

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requisite quality to form a great prince. He saw him first at Plymouth, in 1817, and found him at St. Petersburg, where he experienced much personal kindness from him, "a good-looking young man, about six feet one, very little altered since his visit to Plymouth." Alexander was Emperor when Jones saw the court, and of him and his amiable consort, he affirms that "personages more truly great and good never existed." At court, the empress, and the empress mother, enchanted our worthy tar—the latter put various questions to him, "finishing with the usual French compliment, *Je suis charmée, &c.*" The elder dowager has a "tall, commanding person, holding her head erect, walking with much majesty, is fond of state and ceremony, and affects the air of the late Catherine, whom she is said to resemble in appearance." Alexander's person was so familiar to Europe directly, and is so well known in America by engravings, that we scarcely need copy the Captain's portrait of "a full-faced, fresh-coloured, good looking man, with light hair, rather bald, but large whiskers, and about five feet nine inches high." The Grand Duke Michael, himself welcomed the Captain at the artillery-school, and conducted him through the hospitals of the Imperial guards. His highness had "the gruffest voice for a young man" that his protégé ever heard, and gave a specimen of his severity as a disciplinarian, in this mode. The guard was not turned out for him in one of the hospitals. The party proceeded to the wards, when the officer of the guard came like a culprit:—"the Duke gave him *a deuce of a wigg*ing, and put him under arrest," but soon turned to the Captain, and observed with a smile, that it was only to frighten the delinquent. We do not know what kind of operation *a wigg*ing is; we suppose it may be some process with the hair, like the deuce of a pinching or pulling of the ears, which Napoleon used to give to those with whom he talked closely and amicably, as Father Escotiquiz hath particularly testified.

\* According to Dr. Granville, the Emperor Nicholas was thirty-two years of age on the 7th July 1827, and then full of health and energy. He was educated with great care and judgment, and studied the art and science of military operations, under very able masters and veteran officers. In 1816, he travelled extensively in foreign countries, for improvement. He married a daughter of the king of Prussia, and has proved a fond and faithful husband. His application to business is regular and severe. Dr. Granville saw him walking and riding abroad, with the empress alone, and stopping to converse familiarly with persons whom he recognised. He is, on the whole, an intelligent, vigilant, intrepid, and liberal monarch, whose personal character and political principles, our Doctor thinks, are "so many guarantees of the safety of the confidence which other sovereigns

have placed in him," with regard to the system of universal peace. How far that confidence has been confirmed or shaken by the rationale or prosecution of the present war against Turkey, will, probably, soon transpire. The physician-accoucheur does not pretend to be a politician, but as Lieutenant Colonel De Lacy Evans writes professedly as such, we shall extract here, some passages of that section of his pamphlet which is headed "Provisional Government,—Alexander, Nicholas"—and which exemplifies his spirit generally, and does rather more honour to his sagacity and accuracy, than our quotation about General Jackson.

"The Czar has just invested some Muscovite *Senator*, as he is termed, with the unlimited government, by anticipation, of '*All the Provinces* which shall be occupied by his armies *beyond the Danube*.' the Principalities being included in this investiture.

"Now, the *second* province *beyond* the Danube, (Roumelia,) being the very next one to that now actually occupied by the heads of the Russian columns, will enable the senator to extend the wand of his high office over the waters of the Mediterranean. How many more beyond these two provinces are to be comprehended under the ample 'all,' it might be hazardous to conjecture: but, certain it is, that, whatever may be the moderation of the Czar, his armies cannot stop there,—they must absolutely go on, or recede.

"But we have been told of the moderation and good faith of the Emperor Alexander, and now the same qualities are as lavishly bestowed on the Czar Nicholas. The former is indeed well known to have been of an amiable disposition, and of great amenity and goodness of heart, whose memory therefore well deserves being cherished by his subjects. He was a successful, indefatigable administrator in all the departments; a martinet in military details, but destitute of the higher qualifications of that or any other art; a civilian by temperament; and, though incapable of creating great plans, labouring with a laudable and unwearied assiduity on those that were handed down to him by his celebrated progenitors. Furthermore, it may fairly be assumed, that, in his greatest peril, he evinced a calm fortitude; and, in the hour of victory, was not devoid of equanimity. Here his panegyric ceases.

"Fickleness, political immorality, and, to use a gentle term, political duplicity of the deepest die, are flagrantly distinguishable in his public deportment in other respects. From the treaty of Tilsit, or at least from the interview at Erfurt, he appears to have been totally deluded, perverted, or subdued by the magic superiority of Napoleon's genius. He came into Austria, to assist the Emperor Francis; soon after, he joined in an attack on that Prince, and accepted, as his share in the spoil, Austrian Galicia. He entered the North of Germany, ostensibly to restore the then profoundly and not undeservedly oppressed Prussian king; he was almost instantly beaten, and bribed into an iniquitous compact, which transferred to him a good portion of his Prussian friend's dominions. He now required, that his brother-in-law of Stockholm should imitate this memorable versatility, and declare war against England. The Swede refused to violate his engagements. Alexander invited the subjects of his relative to forswear their allegiance,—made pecuniary tenders to the Swedish soldiery,—invaded Sweden,—permanently possessed himself of those commanding stations and bulwarks of the Baltic, Finland, Bothnia, Aland,—leagued with an infamous party of boyards against their sovereign,—and, in short, compassed the deposition of the imprudent Gustavus.

"For years he appears to have been perfectly content to witness, and even aid in the open violence or flagitious machiavelism, by which the ancient monarchies of western and southern Europe were successfully usurped or subverted. He pandered, in truth, it may be said, to the terrific and wide-sweeping career of the French emperor, on the condition, (and that only partially con-

ceded,) that he might himself be permitted quietly to dismember, in a more gradual manner, the states of his weaker neighbours.

"It was not the generous sympathy, or the enlarged and magnanimous statesmanship of the Autocrat, which made him a chief actor in the emancipation of the nation. Far from it. He would have been—(deny it who can!)—an accomplice,—but the infuriate presumption of Napoleon would insist on his being also a degraded dependent."

"Had he, indeed, succeeded in peaceable times, to a constitutional authority, he might, and probably would, have been a well-principled and beneficent prince; but having, in effect, been born to a military one, he has performed the rôle allotted to him by the accident of birth, and fulfilled his part in the pursuits of a characteristically aggressive domination. And so it is that he contrived to appropriate districts, states, or provinces, in Europe and Asia, of more than double the extent of the British empire, besides a prodigious tract, to which he laid claim and sent colonies, on the continent of America.

"Scarcely any adjoining power has escaped the consequences of this purloining and incorporating system,—even China not excepted. It is but recently, 1823, that seven Khauns of the Kirghis and Calmuck tribes, exchanged the supremacy of Peking for that of St. Petersburg. Accordingly, the population of these dominions, which, at the accession of Alexander, was under thirty-six, amounted at his decease, by the lowest computation, to fifty-four or fifty-five millions."

"Of the present emperor, less, of course, is known. When with the armies in France and Germany, he was scarcely twenty years of age, and not being heir to the crown, attracted little observation. His fondness, however, for the kingly profession of arms, or at least for the semblance of it, military organization and arrangement, especially in the higher and more scientific branches, has been constantly and unequivocally displayed; while his personal intrepidity and firmness were no less conspicuous during the insurrectionary movement, at the period of his accession; and which, it is averred, (by those who appear not unacquainted with the state of that country,) had considerable ramifications; but the immediate explosion of which, we may certainly attribute, in a very great degree, to the fermenting inaction of the army. A large unemployed army is every where a dangerous implement. The remedy has been now adopted.

"On the accession of Nicholas, an opinion, pretty nearly in the following words, was expressed by one of the highest functionaries of the empire, whose name, were it right to be mentioned, would carry with it, even in this country, a degree of authority. '*Russia has now an emperor, whose character is marked by much stronger traits, and who is of a far higher ambition than distinguished his late brother; but those qualities will not suddenly reveal themselves. They will be gradually disclosed by his public conduct.*' The truth or inaccuracy of this opinion, will soon, from the greatness of the pending events, be resolved."

"As to the reigning autocrat, although it is but the other day the diadem has descended to him, has he not already found time to prosecute successfully an aggrandizing policy? The ink is scarcely dry, which has signed away to him, by means of a most indefeasible exercise of force, the banks of the Araxes; and yet it is concluded that the same hand will gratuitously reject the splendid and incomparably superior prize, that now lies nearly prostrate for acceptance."

Captain Jones adverts to the character of the Grand Duke Constantine as once notoriously reprobate, but as having undergone a reform that has rendered him comparatively respectable and popular. His final renunciation of his right of succession to the throne, in 1825, and his tranquil acquiescence since under the sway of his younger brother, are traits which entitle him to more interest and attention, than are due to any other contemporary prince not invested with a diadem. He is commander in chief of the



Russian and Polish forces in Poland, and resides at a country-seat near Warsaw. Dr. Granville obtained an introduction to him, in the Polish capital, on his return from St. Petersburg. He delineates him as a corpulent person, above the middle stature, though not so tall as either of his brothers ; with a "very military appearance," and the tone and habits of a rigid tactician. He confines himself entirely to his military jurisdiction, and has conciliated the favour of both the Russian and Polish armies, which constitute his exclusive public care. His Imperial Highness, after his divorce from his first grand-dutchess, of the family of Cobourg, married a lady of inferior pedigree and rank, to whom he remains steadfastly attached. In 1822, Alexander obtained from him, that solemn relinquishment of his right to the throne which was disclosed only on the emperor's death, and his ratification of which, enabled Nicholas to grasp the sceptre. The motive of Alexander is alleged to have been his repugnance to the devolution of the crown on the offspring of the second dutchess:—Whether Constantine acted from personal fears, or self-distrust, or magnanimous disinterestedness, patriotic or fraternal sensibility, is a problem which we shall not undertake to solve. His grandmother gave him his name with a view to another empire, which may have been promised by both Alexander and Nicholas, as the price or alternative of his concession. The metropolis on the shores of the Marmora might be preferable to that on the banks of the Neva.

At the Russian court, there is no kneeling to either the Emperor or Empress ; and the kissing of hands takes place only with the two Empresses. No more humble obeisance to the sovereign is required than "a profound inclination of the head," on his appearance, and departure. The simplicity of the forms is strikingly contrasted with the fantastic pageantry of the scene and the original character of the despotism.

We conclude from both verbal and printed relations, that uncommon pains are taken by the Imperial family to please all strangers who are brought within their notice. They issued personally, the most liberal directions for facilitating that particular inspection of the palaces and public foundations, which Jones and Granville were understood to have in view. The latter was not present at any of the imperial entertainments, but the Captain enjoyed the good fortune to be invited to a ball and supper at the empress mother's, and has commemorated the circumstances as follows :—

"In the evening we arrived in the ball-room at a little before eight, at which hour precisely the two empresses entered ; the reigning one, after bowing generally to the company, selected the Grand Duke Nicholas, and walked a *polonaise* with him, after which she did the same with Sir Charles Bagot, and two or three officers of high rank, when she addressed some of the ladies, and then

taking her seat, waltzing and quadrilles began. The Dowager, upon coming in, entered into and continued in conversation chiefly with the *corps diplomatique*. There were five hundred persons present; the two halls (St. George's and the White one) were brilliantly illuminated, and the whole had a gay effect; the dancing was in the latter, while the former was laid out with card and chess tables; and in a recess on each side of the throne, there was a grand display of old and massy gold plate, arranged to great advantage, and from behind which refreshments were served to the company by persons who were unseen. One salver, of the age of Peter the Great, was ornamented with anchors and grapnels embossed. The empresses occasionally promenaded till eleven, and conversed with a select few; when supper was announced, and we found it most tastefully arranged, as if in an orangery or conservatory, for we approached the table through alleys of orange trees, bearing fruit, and found the tables ornamented with the choicest exotic flowers. Two tables, forming a T, but separated, occupied the centre; at the upper one were the imperial family, chief officers of state, full ambassadors, and their ladies. At the lower one sat the *corps diplomatique*, and the strangers who had been introduced; the latter were only four in number.

"The natives were at different tables, placed to the greatest advantage for effect. There was a great display of plate, the supper was good, and the wines excellent. The dowager empress came round, and spoke to every person at our table. She asked me, if I was pleased with it, and thought it magnificent. After we had been about forty minutes at table, the empress retired, when a most unexpected, extraordinary, but amusing scene took place—a general scramble for the good things that were left, particularly at the imperial table; generals, counts, and subs, with their gold laced coats, pocketing without mercy, and struggling to outdo the domestics, who did not appear to pay them much respect, or to be willing to allow them to carry off the spoils quietly; and in five minutes there was a perfect scene of devastation; even the very candles were carried off by the attendants, and to the blaze of splendour which we had just witnessed, succeeded darkness scarcely visible.

"It is too common to form a judgment of, and condemn a whole nation, from local circumstances; and, without reflection, one might be led to judge harshly of the state of society in this country, from the above scene; but upon mature reflection and inquiry, this would not be justified. By the custom of the country, what has once been put upon the tables at an imperial *fête*, can never be brought into use again for the family, and consequently the fragments become the perquisites of the attendants.

"Dancing recommenced in the ball-room; but precisely at midnight the empresses retired, and the company separated as fast as they could case themselves in their furs (the thermometer being at eleven degrees) and find their carriages. Upon the whole, it was a most pleasant and gratifying evening. The gentlemen preponderated in a striking degree over the ladies, there not being more than a hundred of the latter; it not appearing to follow at all as a matter of course, that because the husband is eligible to be invited, or to attend at court, his wife is also admissible. The dancing was extremely elegant; but I cannot say much for the display of beauty, whatever I may do for that of diamonds, the profusion of which on the persons of the two empresses, particularly the dowager, exceeded any thing it is possible to imagine. We were particularly struck by the miniature of Paul, encircled with large diamonds, which his widow wore at her neck, and appeared to take particular pains to expose to view, as if she gloried in doing honour to his memory, and delighted to confront his enemies.

"The deposed Georgian royal family was present; it consists of the queen, the widow of the Tzar George Heraclievitch, her two daughters and two sons. The former are said to have been pretty; but if so, time, that destroyer of all sublunary things, has made dreadful ravages on them. They wore small round coifs on their heads, which, as well as the rest of their dress, were by no means becoming.

"The princes were in a sort of Russo-Georgian costume, and wearing daggers richly mounted. The whole of the family appeared melancholy and unhappy;

they have precedence next to the imperial family; but, deprived of liberty, where can happiness be found? Bondage is still bondage, however highly the chains may be gilt.

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and consequently of all tones, (les Chantres de la Cour,) singing sacred music of rich, full, and expressive beauty, is capable of exciting in the bosom of the spectator. One feels, for a moment, transported with ecstasy at the sublime effect of such heavenly strains, the very heart-strings seem touched by them, and sensibility is awakened to a degree which operatic music cannot produce. The whole is a most masterly performance, and the result may be quoted as the triumph of the human voice over every other instrument. From the most delightful *soprano*, down to the gravest *baritone*, every key note is here sung by a chorus of thirty, and at the Imperial Chapel, of one hundred and twenty performers, educated from the age of five years for this sole and sacred choral service. A fugue usually sung in the Russian churches at the Resurrection, accompanied by full choruses, was performed among other pieces, and displayed such skill in the composition, as well as execution, that I felt riveted to the spot. One of the finest tenor voices I ever heard, bore a conspicuous part in it; and the loud swell of the bass, contrasting with the flexible and silvery voices of the children, all singing with a degree of precision that could scarcely be equalled by a mechanical instrument, formed such a "concord of sweet sounds," that no persons present could help being affected. Towards the conclusion, the whole chorus burst out into a "*Gloria in excelsis*," another of Bortniansky's splendid compositions, and the effect of it was beyond conception fine. Certainly, until I heard this unique performance, I was not aware of all the harmony of which the human voice is capable. In this opinion I was still more confirmed by a second opportunity afforded me through the kindness of Madame Benkendorff, of hearing one hundred and ten of these same performers on the following day, at their own *conservatorio*, or school; where, as in the evening before, they sang without any instrument. The most renowned chorus singers of church music in Europe (and I believe I have heard the best of them), really sink into insignificance, compared to these minstrels. A *pater noster* was sung by them on this occasion, which struck me as by far the most affecting composition I had ever heard; there was a *crescendo* toward the end which was quite irresistible, and the effect of it on the audience was plainly visible on all that were in the room. I certainly had not the slightest notion of the existence of such a superior class of music as that which the orthodox Greco-Russian seems to be, particularly that of the composer whom I just mentioned, and who has since paid the great debt of nature. When Madame Catalani heard the *Chantres de la Cour*, she was affected to tears, and confessed to those near her, "Que jusqu'alors elle n'avait aucune idée de l'effet que peut produire un chœur de voix, quoiqu'elle eut entendu les Chantres de la célèbre Chapelle du Pape." In cathedral-music, that celebrated songstress preferred the writings of Bortniansky to any other with which she was acquainted."

"But the Russians, or rather the Imperial Family, have another extraordinary and striking species of music, which deserves to be mentioned in this place. They call it the hunting, or horn music; but it might with more propriety be styled an organ on a new construction. A band of from twenty to forty performers, equally skilled in blowing a short straight horn, are brought to execute what the keys of an organ are made to perform under the hands of an able master, namely, the simplest as well as the most complicated pieces of music, in all keys, and by every measure of time required; each performer never sounding more than one and the same note as set down for him; just as each key of an organ always produces the same note. As in that instrument, the most eloquent music is generally the result of such a disposition in its keys; and thus also the horn music of St. Petersburg, produces a most enchanting effect. This band occasionally performs in public, particularly during the summer, at the *parties de chasse* of the court, and at the time of the public promenades which take place on the smaller islands at that season. This species of music, which is peculiar to Russia, was invented by a Bohemian, named Maresch, a performer at the Court of the Empress Elizabeth; and a treatise was published about thirty years ago, by Heinrichs, of St. Petersburg, with specimens of the manner in which the notes are set down for each performer."

In enumerating the popular sports, Dr. Granville specifies one, which, he thinks, every other traveller has omitted to mention. The Russians, it seems, have no cock-pit, but they have a *goose-pit*. Fighting birds of that tribe are systematically trained, and this practice prevails to a great extent among the hemp-merchants. They are taught to peck at each other's shoulders so as to draw blood. The ganders of the militant order have been sold as high as five hundred roubles, and betting upon them is pushed to a great extreme. *Bears* approach the vicinity of St. Petersburg, and draw out parties of huntsmen who track them in the snow, and kill them with ball. The Doctor illustrates the great number of these animals, in some of the central parts of Russia, and the facility of despatching them, by relating that a patient of his, a count, having learnt that he intended to go to Moscow, and wishing to have him provided with a bear skin for his feet in the carriage, wrote to the steward of one of the estates by which he was to pass, a note worded thus—"The bearer will wait at the post-station for an hour—kill a bear, and take to him the skin and the paws."

Our traveller explored the winter markets, which would seem to be objects of just curiosity. He walked through wide alleys lined with sledges, on which were piled, "mountains high," frozen flesh and frozen *fish* from every lake and every river in Russia, and even from Archangel. Captain Jones counted one thousand four hundred sledges,—a much smaller number than usual—in which the various frozen meats were disposed with regularity and taste. The exuberance of provisions brought in this manner, renders them exceedingly cheap in the winter, during which, they keep without the least deterioration. The carriers of them form a class of people "entirely apart from the rest of the population, in many striking respects." They travel in caravans, consisting of a hundred carts each, and journey from sixty to eighty versts a day. The *bird* market exhibits several thousand large and small red cages, containing "a vast variety of live birds of almost every description," brought by these conveyances.

The 13th chapter of Dr. Granville's second volume, is devoted to the forms of society in St. Petersburg, the dinners, balls, *soirées*, of which his connexion with Count Woronzow enabled him to see the best. He depicts them generally *coulour de rose*, conformably to impressions which a petted guest and a *bon vivant* could not fail to receive, in the midst of high-bred dames, resplendent with diamonds, and cavaliers in brocaded uniforms, on finely-polished *parquets* of differently coloured woods, and at dinner and supper tables, groaning under the delicacies of every clime and under dazzling *plateaux*, "surrounded by vases of flowers,—groups of fruit, and baskets of dry comfi-

tures." The minute imagery of this chapter comprehends all that the chief upholsterer, and chief restaurateur, of Paris or London, could furnish from their several inventories, of the grand, the beautiful, and the palatable. Among the festivities to which he was invited, were those of a marriage between the son and daughter of wealthy Russian hemp commission-agents. On the embossed border of his card, "delicately edged with rose-colour, the emblematic figure of Hymen was represented on the one side, standing under a palm tree, between the sleeping dogs of fidelity, and inviting from the other side, the figures of the bride and bridegroom." He accompanied the happy pair to the church, where the ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Greek religion. On their return to the house of the bride's father, they were welcomed by that person in his Russian costume, with a flowing beard; and were escorted by a band of musicians to the banqueting-room, where matrons and damsels of the genuine Russia stock were assembled to partake of a most luxurious repast. In the evening, at a late hour, the *Pas-sujonaiatetz* took the bride by the hand, and conducted her into the bed-chamber, where he consigned her to the care of all the married ladies of the group, who then disrobed her of her bridal vestments, and substituted a more simple garb. When this was done, the doors of the bed-chamber were thrown open, and all the guests walked in, in procession, quaffing goblets of champagne to the health of the parties; kissed the bride's hands, who returned the salutations on their cheeks, and finally embraced the bridegroom. Dinners and dancing continued for three successive days; and on the eighth day, the husband and wife attended once more at the church for a new ceremonial.

Captain Jones witnessed similar weddings, both at St. Petersburg and Moscow. In the latter city, at the supper, "the only thing which offended against perfect gentility," may have been, he says, "the introduction of a whole fish, which required four men to place it on the table." He represents society in Moscow as more general, and the ladies as much more fascinating, than in the other capital. We are amused, not a little, by the naiveté of some of the Captain's anecdotes of his social intercourse. At the dinner-table of the Governor of Revel, his Excellency's daughter, "a very nice young lady," sat opposite to a colonel to whom she was affianced; and they interchanged so many fond glances and attentions, that the nautical stranger, "not being aware of the custom," and being near them, "felt extremely awkward." Upon inquiry, he learned that after an engagement, six months must elapse before the knot is tied,—a probationary term, during which the strength of the attachment or flame is judged of, by the endearing proofs which are given in public. It is said, he adds, to be no uncommon thing, for a lady

France. It is asserted, that upwards of two thousand persons habitually reside in the *Winter Palace*, and even a larger number, when the emperor is in St. Petersburg. Every writer on the domestic habits of the Russians, has cited the populousness of their households. Dr. Granville experienced astonishment at the number of the servants in the great families;—generally ten times more than can be properly occupied. He complains, however, that during his apparition in St. Petersburg, he never once cast his eye on that useful being ycleped a housemaid; and a Russian officer of distinction emphatically remarked to him—“with all these regiments of domestics, there is not a woman any where to make your bed, or dust your room, both operations being performed by men, than which nothing can be more odious in my sight.” Assuredly, there is no ground for a similar lamentation in Great Britain, especially in the country inns. Earlier travellers in Russia, had the most florid stories to relate, of the princely, oriental style of living and thronged assemblages among the *grandees*, many of whom vied even with the sovereigns, in the pomp and extent of their establishments. Our doctor states that the practice of keeping house on a scale of such magnitude, is completely abolished in St. Petersburg, where a change has been wrought, as in every other capital of Europe, “from show, number, and noise, to a tasty arrangement of chaste ornaments and useful furniture, the selection of a few persons, and quiet conversation.” The quantity of champagne which he saw quaffed in the Russian metropolis, astounded him; but he witnessed much less of inebriety among the multitude, than he expected to see. His review of the national dishes, or favourite food, must destroy the appetite of all fastidious readers, with other than Slavonian or Teutonic palates. No national cookery can boast of a greater variety of dishes and sauces; but the renowned Kitchener, as a declared enemy to ascendent fermentation, would, we think, have rejected the whole. Captain Jones relates of the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Moscow, that they now eat *potatoes* with avidity, but at first would neither plant nor touch them, “saying that they were the devil’s fruit, given to him on the occasion of his complaining to God that he had no fruit, when he was desired to search in the earth for some, which he did, and found *potatoes*.”

At the beginning of his second volume, Dr. Granville adventures upon the topics of the Imperial family, and the Imperial government, “with great diffidence and hesitation.” Captain Jones also handles the Royal personages, in the most civil and grateful manner, but not with the delicate touches and fine flourishes which distinguish the Doctor’s management. The present Emperor—Nicholas, appeared to the Captain, to possess every

the emperor, and removable at pleasure. Any person, having, or fancying that he has, the least smattering of the law, can practise as a lawyer. There are no regular lawyers brought up under solicitors, or in inns of court; none called to the bar, after a competent education. Such is the proneness of the people generally to chicanery and litigation, that all the pettifoggers find employment. In the course of the year 1826, upwards of 2,850,000 causes came before the different tribunals of the empire. The number of persons confined in prison, in the same year, was one hundred and twenty thousand. The *knout* is still inflicted on females. These facts are communicated by Dr. Granville, on the authority of a Russian *procureur*.

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"The *serfs*," observed the Russian, "are a remnant of the feudal system of the Germans; they form part of the glebe—*ancti glebe*; they can only be made over to another as part of the estate; serfs are not sold in Russia, with the consent of the law, as slaves are sold in the West Indies, and in that free republic, *par excellence*, the United States of America. As part of my estate, my own serfs have a right to be allowed to cultivate three days in the week on their own account, that part of my estate which the law assigns for them. During the other three days in the week, they are to work for me, and cultivate my land. With respect to corporal punishment, to which they are liable, and which the master or his agents have the power of inflicting, much misrepresentation has gone abroad. Every proprietor may have a serf flogged on the back, but the serf has a right to complain to the police of an unjust or excessive punishment. In no country, are the peasantry better lodged, fed, and clothed."

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to get up in a large company, walk across the room, kiss her *intended*, and return without a blush on her cheek! He describes the Admiral at Revel, as a little, old man, whose hair and beard were perfectly white, and both, when too long, clipped with scissors; "his whole dress being in unison." The admiral may pass, but the portrait of his *cara sposa* is unique.—"Figure to yourself," says the Captain, "a fat, squat person, with almost as much beard as her husband; added to which were moles, with hair longer than on her head, which was cut short all round, and covered with a man's round hat; her address, too, was extremely *gauche*. However much we may have been prepared, from our knowledge of the admiral, to expect something eccentric in his better half, our astonishment at her appearance almost got the better of our politeness." Both the lord and the lady, if they have read these delineations, must regret, we think, that they gave the Captain "the very good dinner" which he acknowledges. There is a blunt frankness about him that operates on almost every occasion. We shall adduce, as an additional specimen, the following pithy comments on the devoutness of a part of the Russian naval corps, in the church of St. Nicholas, on the anniversary of that patron saint of the marine:—

"Every body connected with the marine attended in the course of the day, to pay their devotions, with an earnestness and humility with which we were much struck, as being so very different from the conduct of our own rough tars, as different perhaps as their conduct would be in the hour of danger in a gale of wind, or on a lee shore. For my own part, I do not believe our sailors are worse Christians, or worse men than other people; but I do think, if ever they are brought to be constantly praying and looking out for the best course to heaven, they will lose that carelessness of self-preservation, which so peculiarly fits them for their most uncertain profession, in which they are exposed to so many risks, that can only be parried or avoided by instantly rushing to what is so emphatically termed on shore, neck or nothing."

Dr. Granville is of opinion that the constitution of the imperial government of Russia is not easily to be defined. The principles on which it is founded, are those of absolute monarchy. The head of the government being himself the only law-giver, it follows that the rest of its machinery must be wholly executive. This machinery is very extensive—immense, indeed, owing to the immensity of the empire. Dr. Granville confesses that the system of multiplied *bureaucracy*, works great inconvenience and wrong to individuals. The senate, according to Captain Jones, is not a deliberative body, except in cases laid before it by the emperor, and then the senators are merely to advise. The members are nominated and paid by the emperor, and removable at pleasure. Our captain presents in a very unfavourable light, the ministers in general, who, for the most part, are the effective rulers; and the many foreigners who hold high places in the government. The judges are appointed by

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sovereign,—if he can be said to become *free*, who exchanges one species of toil and subjection, for another more perilous and oppressive, and whose back is liable to any number of *coups de baton*, which any of his superior officers may please to order. The actual pay of a Russian soldier is not more than half a crown a month. Dr. Lyall says, in his “Travels in Russia, &c.”

“I have seen the recruits, upon *talgas* and sledges, drawn at a solemn pace, and surrounded by their relations and friends, who bewailed their fate in the most lamentable manner; whilst they, dejected and absorbed in grief, sat like statues, or lay extended like corpses. In fact, a stranger would assuredly have imagined that he saw a funeral procession, and heard the lamentations and the wild shrieks, which, in Russia, are uttered for the dead. Now, indeed, would the mistake be great, according to the ideas of the peasants, who take an everlasting farewell of their children, brothers, relations, and friends, and consider their entrance into the army as their *moral death*. They seldom indulge the hope of seeing them, or of hearing from them again, especially in the distant governments of the empire, and but too often their anticipations prove correct. Few furloughs are given to Russian soldiers, the distance from their homes rendering visits impossible; and seldom can a correspondence be kept up by those who can neither read nor write, and who must trust to the precarious chance of sending verbal messages. The chances of falling in battle, or by natural death, before the expiration of twenty-five years’ servitude, present but a gloomy and doubtful perspective of the soldier’s ever again beholding his native home, and justify the grief and lamentation of his friends.”

Dr. Granville states, that in 1818, the regular army was one million of men, but was to be gradually reduced afterwards, one third. Captain Jones “ventures to estimate it, from the best sources of information, at eight hundred thousand men, of all arms, of whom, perhaps, not more than one half are positively efficient for field duties.” In time of war, the Cossacks usually send forty or fifty thousand cavalry into the field. The Imperial guard consists of forty thousand picked men. Military titles are the standard of rank in Russia. Many civil officers are generals, captains, &c., who never have been in the military or naval service. The army, and the establishments connected with it, form the chief care of the rulers. There are but few of our readers, we presume, who have not heard of the *military colonization* which the Russian government instituted some years ago. It has been developed and traced in all its details, by Dr. Lyall, in his pamphlet, entitled “An Account of the Organization, Administration, and present state of the Military Colonies in Russia.” Captain Jones, after having traversed the empire, declares that the system has produced “a most marked feeling of hatred and opposition.” Colonel De Lacy Evans treats it as a scheme ambitiously devised, which eventually is to place at the disposal of the government, three millions of males trained from the earliest age to military exercises, and held constantly in readiness to re-enforce the embodied army. Seventy thousand is the number now available from this source. The consequence, he insists, if not the intention, is plainly the foundation of an immense mili-

tary *caste*, disposed and qualified to rivet the chains of their countrymen, and ever prepared to co-operate in aggression on foreign states.

According to Dr. Granville, the Russians have in commission, twenty-five sail of the line, thirty frigates, nine hundred small vessels and craft of every description, with eighty thousand seamen of all classes and ranks. While he was at, or approaching St. Petersburg, within the short space of three weeks, three ships of the line were launched in that capital, one of them a first rate, and all built on the most approved principles. He "bears witness" that in point of cleanliness and order, as well as discipline, the navy of Russia has made within the last twenty years, such progress as to keep pace with the improvements that have taken place in every other department. The oak timber, for the ships, according to Captain Jones, comes from Kasan; it runs large, but is of bad quality, and by no means durable. The chief naval architect, a Frenchman, who had been employed for a considerable time in the same capacity, at Constantinople, told that officer, that the oak of Asia Minor, on the southern coast of the Black Sea, is by far the best he had ever met with, being even superior to the English. Russia mans her fleet by conscription in the interior. Jones thinks that as much is made of her sailors as possible under every disadvantage, and that they are clever imitators. At Odessa, he holds the following language:—

"The two seas, the Black Sea, and that of Azof, present an amazing extent of coast, when it is considered that the former is six hundred miles in length, and three hundred and thirty broad in the widest part, and one hundred and forty-two in the narrowest; while the latter is one hundred and eighty-six miles in length, and ninety in breadth. Both possess that which renders them invaluable, as a nursery for good seamen, namely, every description of coast, depth of water, and variety of currents. It has been well observed by an intelligent author, that the country which possesses the greatest line of coast, must ever prove superior in point of seamen; now, including the seven hundred and eighty-six miles, the length of the Black Sea, and that of Azof, it must be remembered that the extent of coast, without regarding sinuosities, is at least one thousand six hundred miles, nearly all the trade of which would soon fall into the hands of Russia,—for the Turks, from indolence and natural aversion to the sea, would soon abandon it to them. No other nation, supposing all restrictions were abolished, would ever be able to compete with them, on account of the easy rate at which the Russians could build, fit, and sail their vessels, the empire producing within itself every necessary article for both building and equipment, at an extraordinarily low price, and in the greatest abundance, while the natives are accustomed to live on the hardest fare. But should they become refined, still all ordinary provisions are extremely reasonable, and there is little doubt that Russian ships could be built and navigated at nearly half the expense of those of any other nation, particularly in the Black Sea.

"Indeed, when I survey the maritime resources of this great empire, I cannot persuade myself that Russia is not destined to become a great naval and commercial power. However, from the existing prejudices on the part of the natives to any thing connected with the sea, there cannot be a doubt that much time will elapse before such a material change can be produced in their habits, as to verify my prediction. But should the present or a future sovereign be duly impressed with the importance of the subject, it is impossible to say how

soon such an alteration might be effected, particularly when we consider the acknowledged docility of temper, which all the common natives possess."

Colonel Evans, in the hypothesis of the conquest of Constantinople by the Russians, anticipates a new era in naval affairs. That port, he is sure, cannot fail, from its resources and location, to become in a very short time, the most formidable arsenal in the world. "The forests of Asia Minor, the iron of Caucasus, the copper of Calcedon, the hemp of Synope and Trebisonde, celebrated for its long staple, all will flow to the provisioning of the depots of the Bosphorus." Upon the same supposition, he proceeds to prophesy that no great number of years will elapse before the Czar will have a hundred sail of the line in construction, or exercising in the Marmora and Euxine, manned by the expert Greek, and docile Russian, and possibly "*under the severe and skilful direction of North American officers.*" The Colonel casts several glances of apprehension, distrust, or jealousy, to this side of the Atlantic. There is another, besides the two to which we have referred. In his sketch of the foreign policy of Russia, after she shall have gained Constantinople, he assures his countrymen that "the Russian Alliance with the United States of North America, will be one of the most intimate, and that a community of object, the subversion of British naval and commercial supremacy, will induce and cement this incongruous and disingenuous union."

In Russia, there is but little gold in circulation; the larger sort of silver coinage is somewhat general; the smaller pieces are more so; but copper money is "the standard currency of the country, and very abundant." The whole capital in circulation in bank notes, throughout the empire, in January 1827, amounted to 595,776,310 roubles,\* (120,000,000 dollars.) The total revenue of Russia is 450,000,000 roubles (90,000,000 dollars) paper money value. The public debt, in January 1827, was, to Holland, 16,100,000 florins, (18,400,000 dollars) national—14,220 roubles in gold; 83,143,731, in silver; (63,200,000 dollars,) 264,496,304

\* The present silver ruble of Russia, is intrinsically equal in value to seventy-six cents American money. It was assayed at our mint, by Mr. Gallatin's orders, when he was Secretary of the Treasury. The paper ruble has become depreciated about seventy-five per cent. ; so that in common traffic in Russia, for small amounts, the fourth part of a silver ruble is always taken for one ruble paper. The general value of the silver ruble on the exchange, is not quite so great, however; it has ranged for several years at about rubles 3.70 paper, and the government receives the paper money in payment of duties, (which are calculated in silver,) at the rate of rubles 3.60 for one.

In exchange with other countries, the value of the paper ruble fluctuates continually. We have known it since 1811, as high as 26 pence sterling, and as low as 9 1-8 pence. Its present rate in exchange on London, is 10 1-2 pence sterling. Commercial transactions are in paper money, and, for all the purposes of general estimates, the paper ruble may be taken at twenty cents our money. The only gold coin of Russia is called the "Imperial," and is equal to ten silver rubles in value; but the Imperial is now very rarely to be seen.

(53,000,000 dollars) in Bank notes. According to Dr. Granville, the punctuality of the government towards its public creditors is universally acknowledged. He heard "a diplomatic character of the first respectability, unconnected with Russia, say that the Russian funds were to be considered equal in security to those of England, and superior to them in the advantages of a larger interest." Each landholder contributes to the treasury a tenth part of the income which he derives from his serfs. Ten millions sterling were raised in London, for the Russian government, not long since; and Colonel Evans does not doubt that if it were to obtain Constantinople, the gambling *millionaires* of the stock exchange would advance all the funds necessary to provide the materials of fleets and munitions of war against Great Britain herself. Captain Jones accuses it of parsimony towards its best servants, alleging that officers of every description, civil, military, and naval, are most miserably paid, and thus, from necessity, obliged to have recourse to many means for subsistence, which, under any other circumstances, would be deemed highly derogatory.

Dr. Lyall stigmatizes the administration and judicial officers, as almost universally venal, quoting their own aphorism—*Il faut vivre ; et en Russie—pour vivre il faut voler*. It is impossible to doubt—so uniform is the testimony of travellers on this subject—that flagrant abuses of authority and trust are common throughout the empire in every department. The central despotism, however disposed, cannot be effectual to enforce rights or prevent wrongs over so vast a theatre. Subordinate power must be more or less arbitrary and irresponsible; independently of the influences of bad example at the seat of supreme government, and a system of personal servitude so comprehensive. In the second volume of Captain Jones, there are some sensible views of the state of Russia in this respect, ~~as he had~~ contemplated it even under the mild and beneficent sway of Alexander.

As to religious denominations, the empire comprises—of Orthodox Greco-Russians, 37,000,000; Roman Catholics, United Greeks, and Armenians, 9,500,000; Protestants, Evangelicals, Lutherans, and Calvinists, 3,000,000; Mahometans, 2,000,000; Pagans, or idolaters of different titles, 1,500,000; besides nearly a million and a half of wandering tribes, whose creed is unknown. Dr. Granville allows no more than two hundred and twenty or thirty thousand ecclesiastics altogether, of whom about two thirds profess the Greek religion. The monastic are much better educated than the secular priesthood. The *papas* are certainly in bad odour abroad. We may presume that the religious illumination and habits of the people, are about co-ordinate with their general intellectual improvement. Until they shall be further educated, or raised from barbarism, they will remain addi-



ed to gross superstitions, and infatuated with pastors nearly as illiterate and truculent as themselves. All creeds and forms of worship are tolerated, and the absence of religious rancour is generally acknowledged by travellers. Captain Jones, (not an imposing authority on this head,) mentions, that at the present day, the monasteries and nunneries of the empire seem utterly deserted, in comparison with what they formerly were; for, in three hundred and eighty-seven monasteries, there are no more than 4901 monks, and in ninety-one nunneries, only 1696 nuns.

Dr. Granville believes it must be admitted, that the Russians, as well as those foreign residents who have in a manner become Russians, possess scientific institutions, and men capable of instructing them in almost every branch of science, equal to those of any other country. This may be the case in the metropolis; but the admission would not, we apprehend, be extended, by any inquirer, to the other parts, or any other part of the empire. Sciolists, and mere pretenders have gone thither in crowds, from Germany, England, France, and Italy, to assume the functions of instructors, and could only mar good intellects, or make smatterers and empirics like themselves. Captain Jones, even, was scandalized by the specimens of English governesses, and periodical literati, whom he met at Moscow, in the houses of some of the affluent gentry. Dr. Lyall asserts that one half or three fourths of the British governesses in Russia, have been cooks, chamber-maids, and so forth: he extends the observation to most of the Germans and French who are entrusted with the education of the female youth, and treats as notorious "the extraordinary personages who frequently have the male youth committed to their guidance." It is not to be disputed, indeed, that the large institutions for the female children of the rich and noble, which are specially patronised by the imperial family, may furnish the more brilliant accomplishments. Elementary education, however, is yet far from being sound or diffusive for either sex. The mass of the nation is still wholly untaught. The scores of millions of bondsmen lack the first rudiments. Many private libraries in the two capitals, and some of the public, are large, and not ill-provided. The principal, or only public one, of St. Petersburg, contains about two hundred and fifty thousand volumes. In a particular compartment, are deposited copies of all the Russian works published from the earliest period of Russian typography, on subjects of every description,—to the number of fifteen thousand. The press in Russia is obnoxious to a board of censors;—it could not be free. All that Dr. Granville can utter in favour of the periodical works issued in St. Petersburg and Moscow, is, that they are not so totally devoid of interest, or so insignificant, as some recent travellers have pretended. He regards the progress of the modern Russians as

greatest in poetry, and generally greater in polite literature, than in the other branches of knowledge which they cultivate. The world has heard of Karamsin, the able historian, and of the poets, Lomonosoff, Pouschnine, Soumarokoff, Kriloff, and Joukovsky. Our Doctor expounds their respective merits. Eighty thousand volumes in the Slavonic Russian languages, were published between 1551 and 1813;—and that number, he surmises, has been nearly doubled since.

We would gladly cull a small portion of the facts or statements which this traveller has accumulated in his chapters concerning the several branches and edifices of the public administration; the industry and commerce of the Russians; their prison-discipline; the science and practice of medicine and surgery; the jurisprudence, bench, and bar; the charitable foundations; the collections of pictures: and with still more satisfaction would we attend him through the imperial palaces and princely mansions, town and country, the contents of which he appears to have conned;—were it not that we could scarcely rely upon the sympathy or patience of our readers, and might very far transcend those bounds which every prudent American bookseller assigns to all domestic “Quarterlies.” We must, therefore, now depart with him on his rapid return to London, through Poland, Silesia, the Federated States, and France; a journey, the record of which occupies one hundred and sixty pages, or more, of his second volume, and which embraces, eminently, full length pictures of Warsaw and Dresden. That he is not to be envied through the first grand division of his route, may be understood by the following passage of his first postliminous chapter:—

“To a person sitting quietly in his *chaise longue*, by a good fireside at home, or in one of the ample chairs in a snug corner of the library at “The Travellers,” the peevishness of our complaints about roads, horses, and postillions, may appear ridiculous, and only worthy to excite a smile; but were he to find himself, at the end of nine or ten days and nights, without once having doffed his clothes, approaching an intended resting-place by roads which oblige him to go at a snail’s pace, and knee-deep through sands, or ascending steep hills glazed over with ice, and refusing a hold to the feet of six poor meagre animals; were he to find, under such circumstances, that his carriage slips backwards, and drags the whole team along with it; if he were, about the middle of a dark pitch night, lamps out, snow hills high on each side of the road, and the track of that road lost, to be suddenly roused from his slumbers to lend a hand in clearing the carriage from impediments and danger, he might then, peradventure, read our querulous accounts with more sympathy than contempt. At all events, it is fit that travellers, who are likely to direct their course that way, should know beforehand what they are to expect, and how they should be prepared to meet such difficulties. Nothing that I have seen any where else in Europe, can give an idea of the wretched state and condition of from thirty to forty towns and villages of the country through which we passed. Well might the French soldier of Napoleon, who had heard his Polish comrades talk highly of their country, which he had come to assist in regenerating, exclaim, after he had seen its wretched condition: “Et ces gueux là appellent cette terre une patrie!”

The Doctor was pleased with the general appearance of Warsaw—its showy palaces, its noble churches and towering spires, and its picturesque disposition on a hill of considerable elevation. He saw no semi-Asiatic costumes, as at St. Petersburg; but a uniform attire and homogeneous body of citizens—Poles, who are habitually more merry than their masters—loud chatters, fond of amusement; addicted to living in the open air and doing nothing. The only very busy people were the Jews, who are not fewer than twenty-eight thousand in the Polish capital, enjoying entire freedom of religious worship, and unmolested in the fruition of great wealth. Ten thousand foreign manufacturers are settled in the different cities of Poland. The army is clothed in homespun. The peasantry are in a wretched condition. In general, national prosperity is a phrase which does not apply to the kingdom. Anarchy, war, and Russian and French protection, have destroyed the dignity, wasted the resources, and crippled every interest, of a numerous people abundantly gifted by Providence.

In the Prussian dominions, our traveller found the line of road crossing two-thirds of the kingdom from east to west, passing through two cities of importance, leading from one considerable town to another, to the number of eighteen, as far as the capital of Saxony, in a worse state than the cross-roads in European Turkey, which are among the worst imaginable. *Dresden*, the “Florence of Germany,” is full of beauties and points of interest, and to be extolled as a place of residence for a man of taste, above any other capital north of Paris. It has, like Paris, Brussels, and Rome, an English colony, whose splendid equipages and exuberant eccentricities “give to the Saxon metropolis a greater degree of eclat and animation.” Every one has heard of its china-ware, picture galleries, armouries, royal château, and diamond treasure, and the rich and picturesque scenery of its environs. The Doctor has spread the whole before his readers. He made an excursion to *Halle*, in order to confer with the eminent professors of anatomy, zoology, and botany, each of whom is revolved and depicted. We learn from him that the University of Halle seldom boasts of more than *sixty* pupils, notwithstanding the celebrity of its teachers and museums. He then hastened to Weimar, in order to pay homage to the Patriarch of German Literature. *Goethe* gave him an appointment at half past ten in the morning. As that transcendent genius of our era is an object of lively interest for all the votaries of the pen, we shall transcribe our author’s relation of the interview, bidding adieu, at the same time, to his massive miscellany:—

“There are forms which one must go through to see the great Patriarch. He likes not being taken by surprise; and whenever he has been so intruded upon, he has not appeared to advantage; has seemed confused, not much pleased, and niggard of his answers. He is, on the contrary, most amiable, all affability and

playfulness, as when in his younger days, if visited by appointment. At his advanced age, which has now reached its seventy-ninth year, exposed to be stared at as a lion, and made frequently to pay the forfeit of his celebrity, by submitting to the impertinent intrusions of the idle and the curious, it is no matter of surprise that Goethe should appear to have some *bizarrie* in his manners.

"At half past ten precisely, Goethe made his appearance in one of his classically withdrawing-rooms, into which I had been but the moment before introduced. He advanced towards me with the countenance of one who seems not to go through the ceremony of a first greeting *à contre cœur*; and I felt thankful to him for that first impression on my mind. His person was erect, and denoted not the advance of age. His open and well-arched eyebrows, which give effect to the undimmed lustre of the most brilliant eye I have ever beheld; his fresh look and mild expression of countenance, at once captivated my whole attention, and when he extended his friendly hand to welcome me to his dwelling, I stood absorbed in the contemplation of the most literary character of the age. The sound of his voice, which bespeaks peculiar affability, and the first questions he addressed to me respecting my journey, however, recalled me from my reverie, and I entered at once into the spirit which presided at the interview, alike free from frivolity and haughty reserve. I found him in his conversation ready, rather than fluent; following, rather than leading; unaffected, yet gentlemanly; earnest, yet entertaining; and manifesting no desire to display how much he deserved the reputation, which not only Germany, but Europe in general, had simultaneously acknowledged to be his due. He conversed in French, and occasionally in English, particularly when desirous to make me understand the force of his observations on some recent translations of one or two of his works into that language. Faustus was one of these. The translation, by the present noble Secretary for Ireland, of that singular dramatic composition, which for beauty of style, and ingenuity of contrivance, leaves the old play of the same name, by Marlowe, far behind, seemed not to have given satisfaction to the veteran author. He observed to me, that most assuredly it was not a translation, but an imitation of what he had written. 'Whole sentences of the original,' added he, 'have been omitted, and chasms left in the translation, where the most affecting passages should have been inserted to complete the picture. There were probably difficulties in the original which the noble translator might not be able to overcome; few foreigners, indeed, can boast of such mastery of our prodigal idiom, as to be able to convey its meaning with equal richness of expression, and strength of conception, in their own native language; but in the case of the translation to which I allude, that excuse for imperfection does not exist in many of the parts which Lord Francis Gower has thought proper to omit. No doubt, the choice of expressions in the English translation, the versification, and talent displayed in what is *original composition* of his lordship's own well-gifted mind, may be deserving of his countrymen's applause, but it is as the author of Faustus *travesti*, and not as the translator of Goethe's Faustus, that the popular applause has been obtained.'

"The patriarch poet seemed far more satisfied with the translation of another of his beautiful dramas, the Tasso, by Mr. Devaux. He said, 'I understand English *à ma manière*, quite sufficient to discover in that gentleman's recent translation, that he has rendered all my ideas faithfully, *Je me lisois moi-même dans la traduction*. It is for the English to determine, if, in adhering faithfully to the ideas of the German original, Mr. Devaux *a conservé les règles et n'a pas trahi le génie de sa langue*. *Je n'en suis pas juge; peut-être le trouvera-t-on un peu trop Allemand*.'

"Throughout this interview, which lasted upwards of an hour, Goethe manifested great eagerness after general information, particularly respecting England and her numerous institutions; and also on the subject of St. Petersburg, which he looked upon as a city that was fast rising to the rank of the first capital on the Continent, according to the opinion of many intelligent travellers, whom he had seen and conversed with on the subject. In taking leave of him, at length, Goethe put into my hands a small red morocco case, which he hoped I would accept as a *souvenir* of our meeting; after which I withdrew, with sentiments of

increased admiration for this celebrated man. The case contained two bronze medals, the one executed by Brandt of Berlin, the other by Bovy, and both represent the bust of the poet in bold relief, particularly the latter, which is decidedly of superior execution. The former, which bears on one side the portraits of the late Grand-duke and his consort, with the inscription "Carl August and Luise Goeth en Zum VII Novem. 1825." was struck by order of that prince, to commemorate the fiftieth year of Goethe's residence at his court, and was presented to the poet, a Counsellor and Minister of state, on the day mentioned in the inscription, accompanied by a letter addressed to him by the Grand-duke, which is flattering to the distinguished individual to whom it is indited, and honourable to the feelings of the writer, the excellent prince whose recent loss Weimar deploraes."

# INDEX.

## A.

*African Colonization*, 395—Slow progress of abolition in Great Britain, *ib.*—efforts for colonization in Virginia legislature, 397—formation of the Colonization Society, 398—first expedition under Bacon, Bankson, and Crozier, unfortunate, 399—also, second, under Messrs. Andrus, Wiltberger, Winn and E. Bacon, 400—Dr. Ayres appointed agent, and purchases Cape Mesurado, *ib.*—threatening danger to the colony averted by him, 401—Mr. and Mrs. Ashmun arrive, and in the absence of the agents he acts, 402—the settlement assaulted, and his judicious efforts, 402–404—law established in the colony, 405—moral and religious character of the colonists, schools, &c. 406—their resources, 407—failure of an attempt to establish a colony under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, 409—settlement at Jamestown and the privations of the colonists, 409, 410—sufferings of emigrants to New-England, 411—question considered, can the colony at Liberia be maintained? 411–416—effect of the colony as respects this country, 416–421—benefits likely to accrue to Africa, 421—by abolishing the trade in slaves, 422—by introducing Christianity, 423—death of the agent, 423—appointment of Dr. Richard Randall, 425.

*Animal Magnetism*, 426—the mania of, lately revived, 427—credulity of mankind, 427, 428—belief in animal magnetism may be traced back to a very early period, 429—sympathies and antipathies of our nature referred to it, 430—marvellous cures by magnetism related by Sir Kenelm Digby, 431—Van Helmont's method, *ib.*—persons at a distance made to converse by this fluid, 432—corns and warts cured by it, 433—Mesmer first reduced the science to order, 434—French government appoints a com-

mittee, with Dr. Franklin at its head, who report against it, 435—Deaon replies to the committee, *ib.*—the study for a while abandoned in France, 436—Graham, Manneduke, and Count Cagliostro practised it profitably, 437—Dr. Perkins, his tractors and Perkinian Institution, 438—magnetism in China, 439—Marquis de Puységur discovers that somnambulism is excited by it, 440—latest plan of magnetising, 441—abbé Faria's manner, 443—the spiritualists, *ib.*—Miss Rachel Baker, 444—second sight in somnambulists, 445—marvellous cases, 445, 446—all the effects produced by the influence of imagination, 447.

*Ashmun*, Mr. and Mrs. their efforts at Liberia for the benefit of the colonists, notice of, 402, &c.

*Ayres*, Dr. notice of, as agent of American Colonization Society, 400, &c.

## B.

*Back*, Lieut. his excursion with Capt. Franklin, 221, &c. See *Franklin's Second Expedition*.

*Bermudes*, Geronimo, works of, 314.

*Bertrand*, A. Du Magnétisme animal en France, reviewed, 426, &c.

*Bhumenbach*, anecdote of, 163.

*Bouterwek*, Frederick, his history of German poetry and eloquence, reviewed, 157, &c.

*Bravo*, general, anecdote of, 101.

*Brown*, Thomas D. D. his Lectures on the Philosophy of the human mind, reviewed, 1–27. See *Philosophy of the Human Mind*.

*Bull*, Marcus, controversy respecting pretensions of, to the Rumford premium, 266, &c.—objection of the Rumford committee to his theory, 267—Professor Silliman's opinion of his experiments, 270.

*Bullock*, Mr. his six months in Mexico, notice of, 86.

*Burger*, criticism on by Schiller, notice of, 179.

*Burke*, Edmund, and John Walker, anecdote of, 203.

## C.

*Castro*, Guillen de, plays of, 333-336.

*Cervantes*, dramatic works of, 315-330.

*Champollion*, M. le Jeune, his *Aperçu des Resultats Historiques de la découverte de l'Alphabet Hieroglyphique Egyptien*, 27, &c. See *Egyptian History*.

*Chastenet*, J. De, Du Magnétisme animal, considéré dans ses rapports avec diverses branches de la Physique générale, par, reviewed, 426, &c.

*Crawford*, John, Esq. his *Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China*, reviewed, 448, &c.—the author advantageously known, 449—deputed by the governor-general of British India, to further commercial intercourse, 450—Chinese junk, 451—reception at Siam, 451-456—ten commandments of the Siamese, 457—Louis XIV's attempt for the civil and religious conquest of Siam, 458, 459—Catholic bishop at Siam, 459—Pascal Ribeiro de Alvergarias, 460—Siamese negotiators suspicious and wary, *ib.*—the king absolute, 461—diseases, area and productions, *ib.*—reception at Cochin-China, 463—labour of the women, 464—embassy to Hué, 465—bamboo the universal panacea for offences, 466—fondness for dramatic entertainments, *ib.*—description of Hué, 467-469—dread of British designs of aggrandizement, 470—territory, population, and products, 472—literature, 473—government, 474—religion, and manner of burial, 475—Count Adran, apostolic vicar of Cochin-China, his treaty with Louis, XVI., 476—King Gia-Long, *ib.*—treaty with France inert, 477—MM. Chaigneau and Vanier, French mandarins, account of, 478—English embassy quit Hué without gaining any thing, *ib.*

## D.

*Deleuze*, J. P. F., *Histoire critique du Magnétisme animal*, reviewed, 426, &c.—*Instruction pratique sur le Magnétisme animal*, *ib.*

*Depping*, C. P., his history of the maritime expeditions of the Normans, &c. reviewed, 350, &c. See *Normans*, Maritime expeditions of.

*De Sacy*, Silvestre, notice of, 166.

*Dubourg*, Bishop, anecdote of, 260.

*Dupotel*, J., *Expériences publiques sur le Magnétisme animal faites à l'Hotel Dieu de Paris*, reviewed, 426. &c.

## E.

*Egyptian History*, 27—Euphrates and the Nile, saw the first formations of civil society, 29—four magnificent collections of Egyptian antiquities, viz. at Turin, in the Vatican, the British Museum, and the French collection, 31—description of French collection, 31-33—Menes or Menas first king of Egypt, a descendant of, if not Ham himself, succeeded by Thoth or Athetaes to whom is ascribed the invention of writing, 34—all Egyptian history, prior to the 17th dynasty of Manetho, fabulous, 35—the conquest of Egypt by the Shepherd kings, 36—Amenophtheph founder of the 18th dynasty of Manetho at Thebes, consisting of Thoutmosis I., Thoutmosis II., his daughter Amensi, Thoutmosis III., the Meris of the Greeks, Amenoph I., Thoutmosis, IV., Amenophis, II., Thorus, Achencheres, Ramses, I., Mandouel, and Ousirei (brothers) Ramses II., Ramses, III., Ramses, IV., Ramses, V., surnamed Amenophis, 37, 38—public works and monuments of these kings; some of their acts written upon Papyrus, still in existence, 38—19th dynasty eclipsed their glory, consisting of six kings of the name of Ramses, the last, the Polybus of Homer, 39—20th dynasty of Manetho but little known of, *ib.*—21st dynasty derived its name from Tanis and was composed of seven kings, the first of whom built the labyrinth, *ib.*—ruins of Bubastis furnish memorial of the Bubastite kings, 40—their connexion with Judea, *ib.*—Sesonchis, the head of this dynasty, the Sesak of the scriptures, *ib.*—new race of kings from Ethiopia, *ib.*—on their departure the civil discord which succeeded, composed by Psammiticus, I., *ib.*—Nechao, II., who took Jehoahaz into captivity, *ib.*—Psammiticus, II., Apries, (the Hophra of scripture), 41—with Psammiticus, the last of this dynasty, fell the splendour of Egypt, *ib.*—commemorations found of Cambysea, Da-

rius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Amyrtæus, Nephereus, Achoria, Nephertites, Nec-tanebi, *ib.*—the name of Darius Oclius, no where to be found among the ruins, *ib.*—Ptolemy Soter and his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, Euergetes, Ptolemy Philopator, Arsinoë, Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra, Philometer, Eupator, Euergetes, II. and his two wives both Cleopatra, Tryphæne, Ptolemy Soter, II., Alexander, Ptolemy Dionysius, Cleopatra and her son by Julius Cæsar have left their names inscribed in hieroglyphics, 42, 43—the names of the Roman emperors, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Commodus, with their titles, are inscribed, 43—worship of the Egyptian deities, publicly exercised down to 180, A. D., *ib.*—accidental discovery of the name of Ptolemy on a Rosetta stone, laid the foundation for the discovery of a key to the hieroglyphic alphabet, 44—Christianity put a stop to the exercise of these Egyptian arts, 46—Egypt conquered by the followers of Mahomet, 47—the Arabs extended the rule of the Koran, from the Atlantic shores to the banks of the Indus, *ib.*—the crusaders, 49—Egypt conquered by the Ottomans, *ib.*—object of ambition to the French republic., 50.

*English. Orthoepey*, 191, &c.—Worcester's edition of Johnson and Walker to be consulted as authority, *ib.*—inaccuracy of pronunciation illustrated in the word legislature, *ib.*—etymologies of Johnson, 192—Horne Tooke's attack on them, 193, 194—Johnson's improvements on English lexicography, 195—dictionary of the French Academy, 196—German dictionary of Adelung, *ib.*—advantages possessed by the French academicians, 197,—Johnson superior in classical authorities to all others, 199—ludicrous instance of etymologizing, 200—pronunciation; labours of Walker, 201—inconvenience of two standards of English, 202—London the metropolis of English literature, and Walker's locality gives him advantages, 203—anecdote of Burke and Walker, *ib.*—Webster *vs.* Walker, 204—206—merits of Walker and Jones,

206—Dr. Witherspoon's relation of the difference between English literary men's speaking in public and private, 207—Walker a standard for public speaking only, *ib.*—the Scotch unable to master the distinction between *shall* and *will*, and *would* and *should*, 208—all orthoepeists' systems of notation incomplete, 210—on the pronunciation of the vowel *u*, 211—Perry's dictionary has given the Scottish pronunciation to the Northern states, 212—Sheridan and Walker's pronunciation not new, *ib.*—the irregularity of our orthography a principal cause of the irregularity of our pronunciation, *ib.*—they mutually act upon, and corrupt each other, 213—opinion of Duponceau, 214—advantages of Worcester's edition, *ib.*

*Esquimaux Indians*, Captain Franklin's observations on, 233-236.

*Evans*, Colonel De Lacy, his Designs of Russia, notice of, 509, &c.—dread of General Jackson and the United States forming a coalition with Russia, and aiding the disaffected in Ireland, 510.

## F.

*Franklin, Captain, his Second Expedition* to the shores of the Polar Sea, &c., reviewed—215, &c.—advantages to be derived from a survey of the Polar Sea, 215-218—arrangements of the expedition, 218-220—construction of Captain Franklin's boats, 220—Captain Franklin, Dr. Richardson, and Lieutenant Back's passage from Liverpool to Slave lake, 221—gaiety and vivacity of the Canadian voyagers, *ib.*—anecdote of the Copper Indian chiefs, 222—voyage to Bear lake, *ib.*—Richardson left to explore Slave lake; Back, to prepare a residence for winter quarters; Franklin pushes on to the sea, 223—ceremony on reaching the ocean, *ib.*—return to Bear lake, and winter occupations, 224—anecdote of a Dog-rib girl, 225—infanticide, *ib.*—interesting anecdote of a Dog-rib mother, *ib.*—amusements of the party, 226—the company divides, *ib.*—attack of the Esquimaux on Captain Franklin's party, 227-230—Captain Franklin's return to Bear lake, 232—Richardson and Kendall's expedition, *ib.*—Esquimaux, 233—description of



dwelling houses on Atkinson's island, 234—successful return to Bear lake, 236—anecdote of a woman warrior, 237—practicability of a north-west passage, 238—geological notices, 240—temperature and season, 241—shallowness of the ocean around the pole, 242—higher northern than southern latitudes reached, and the reason, 242, 243.

## G.

*Gauss*, German mathematician, notice of, 161.

*German Literature*, 157—general remarks on the devotedness of German literary characters, 158–163—Pestalozzi, 159—Herschel, *ib.*—Copernicus, Kepler, 160—Luther, Euler, Kästner, Olbers, Gauss, La Place, 161—Blumenbach, anecdote of, 163—Heyne, 163–165—Wolf, 165—De Sacy, 166—Von Hammer, 166, 167, Pufendorf, Spittler, Heeren, 168—Schlozer, 169—Von Müller, 169–171—Heeren, first living historian of Germany, 171—Schiller, Eichhorn, 172—German Theology, *ib.*—Schelling and Hegel, 173—Jacobi, 174—writers of taste and invention, *ib.*—Herder, 174–177—Richter, 177—Hoffman, 178—Bürger, 179—Stolbergs, Voss, Schlegels, Fand, A. W., Tieck, 180—Novalis, 181—Schiller, 181–185—Kotzebue, Schulze, Körner, Mullner, Pichler, and La Mothe Fouqué, Hardenburg, 186—Goethe, 187–190.

*Granville*, Dr. A. B. his St. Petersburg. A Journal of Travels to and from, &c., reviewed, 507, &c.—his egotism, 507, 508—sleeping in Germany, 511—knowledge of diseases in Germany, 512—description of St. Petersburg, 512–514—character of the inhabitants, 515—diseases of St. Petersburg, 516—Captain Jones's account of the Russian bath, 516, 517—winter palace, 517, 518—cookery, *ib.*—Captain Jones's description of the imperial family, 519—Dr. Granville's, *ib.*—Colonel Evans's, 520, 521—ball and supper, 522, 523—drama, 524—music of the Russians, 524, 525—winter markets, 526—wedding, 527—government, 528—peasantry of Russia, 529—army, 530—navy, 531—circulation, 532, 533—religious denominations, 533—edu-

cation and literature, 534—return to London through Poland, Silesia, the Federated States, and France, 535, 536—interview with Goethe, 536–538.

*Guerrero*, Vicente, general notice and commendation of, 94.

## H.

*Hardenburg*, Prince, notice of his history of his times, 186.

*Hare*, Julius Charles, his translation of Niebuhr's Rome, 367, &c. See *Roman History*.

*Heber*, Right Rev. Reginald, D. D. Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, &c. by, reviewed, 115—a singular accident, the occasion of the settlement in Bombay, *ib.*—British dominion precarious and unique, 116—talents and active virtue of the chief men, in the administration of India, 117—of all books on India, Heber's destined to become most popular, *ib.*—his various qualifications, 118—observations on American sailors, 119—extract from diary at sea, 120, 121—translation of an ode by Koodrut, 121—colour of the natives, 122—the prelate's first ride on an elephant, 124—Calcutta, *ib.*—native female schools instituted by Mrs. Wilson, 125—surly national pride of the English, 126—Suttees, *ib.*—old man burning his wife, 127—idolatries and austerities, 127, 128—Mussulman Saint, 129—gypsies in India, *ib.*—scenery of the Ganges, 130, 131—ascend of the Ganges, 131–134—cinnamon fields, 135—Benares, 136, 137—British rule not popular in India, 138—equipment on his journey from Allahabad to Cawnpore, 139—Himalaya mountains, 141–143—tiger hunt, 143–145—murder of female infants, 148—death of Heber, 148, 149—excerpts from his Narrative, 150–156—his Palestine and other Poems, reviewed, 271, &c.—Palestine, analysis of, and extracts from, 278–282—lines to his wife, 282—Hymns, 283–286.

*Heeren*, A. H. L. his notices relating to German historians, reviewed, 157, &c.

*Hegel*, German author, notice of, 173.

*Herder*, German poet, notice of, 174.

*Herschel*, notice of, 159.

*Heyne*, a German poet, notice of, 163—165.

*Hoffman*, German author, character of, 178.

*Horn*, Francis, his *Sketches of the Literature of Germany*, 157, &c.

## I.

*India*, observations on the history of Christianity in, 272—college de Propaganda Fide, 273—Frederic IV. of Denmark sends to coast of Coromandel Bartholomew Zeigenbalgrus and Henry Plutche, 274—Christian Frederick Swartz's labours, *ib.*—Claudius Buchanan's, 275—bishoprick established in, 276—T. F. Middleton first bishop, 277—succeeded by Heber, *ib.*—See *Heber's Journal*.

*Ithurbe*, Gen. Bravo's opposition to, 101.

## J.

*Jones*, Capt., his travels in Russia, notice of, 509, &c.—account of a Russian bath, 516, 517.

*Jurisprudence of Louisiana*, 53—adherence of this state to the civil jurisprudence of France and Spain, 54—different laws formerly in different provinces of France, *ib.*—local usages directed to be held in respect by ordinance of Louis XII., *ib.*—the custom of Paris brought with the colonists to Louisiana, *ib.*—the Revolution prostrated all the different institutions of the jurists and statesmen of France, and produced the existing equitable system, 55—Louisiana taken possession of for Spain by Don Alexandro O'Reilly, in 1769, and a change of jurisprudence followed, drawn up by Don Manuel de Urustia, 56—analysis of the Spanish laws, 56—58—cession of Louisiana to the United States introduced trial by jury and habeas corpus, but in adjudication of suits between individuals, Spanish jurisprudence the sole guide, 58—in 1806, two able juriconsults appointed by the legislature to prepare a civil code, which was adopted 1808, 59—Spanish law still considered the *unwritten*, the Code the *written* law, *ib.*—its arrangement taken from the code Napoleon, *ib.*—in 1819 the *Partidas* translated and published in English, 60—the code of Loui-

siana divided into three books, 61—I. of persons, 61—63—II. of things, and the different modifications of property, 63—65—III. of the different modes of acquiring the property of things, 63—78—in 1822, Messrs. Derbigny, Livingston, and Moreau Lislet appointed to prepare a civil code, which was adopted and promulgated in 1824, 79—examination of it, 81—85.

## K.

*Kästner*, German epigrammatist, notice of, 161.

*Keating*, Professor W. H. compliment to his disinterested economy in Mexico, 87.

*Kendall*, Lieut. his excursion from Point Separation, 232.

*Kepler*, character of, 160.

*Körner*, German poet, notice of, 186.

*Kotzebue*, notice of, 186.

## L.

*Louisiana*, Civil Code of, 53, &c.—Term Reports of, *ib.*—See *Jurisprudence of Louisiana*.

*Luden*, Henry, editor of *Saxe-Weimar's Travels*, notice of his editorial labours, 249, &c.

*Lyons*, Capt. his *Journal of a residence in Mexico*, notice of, 87, 88.

## M.

*Malaria*, its effects, and the utility of knowledge relating to it, 287—289—nature of evidences respecting its production, 289—291—soils and situations that most commonly produce it, 291, 292—changes from natural and artificial causes, 294—298—seasons and climates favourable to its production, 298—its geography, 300—its nature, 301—its effects and the diseases produced by it, 306.

*M'Culloch*, John, M. D., F. R. S., his *Essay on Malaria*, &c. reviewed, 286, &c.—See *Malaria*.

*Mexico*, Bullock's six months in, 86—Poinsett's notes on, 87—Captain Lyon's *Journal of residence in some parts of*, 87, 88—Ward's the best work of the kind since Humboldt, 89—Ward charge des affaires to Mexico from England, *ib.*—state of the country on his arrival, 90—revolution there, *ib.*—military men of Mexico, 92

—occurrences at the Island of Mescala, *ib.*—suffering of General Victoria, 93—Vicente Guerrero, 94—governors of Mexico military, 95—standing army, 96—two great parties in Mexico, 97–100—anecdote of General Bravo, 101—his opposition to Iturbide, *ib.*—persecution of the old Spaniards, 102—Mexican trade, 104–106—anecdote of the burial of an English protestant, 106—clergy at Guadalajara, 107—revenues of the country, 107, 108—English capital employed at Mexico, 109—annual festival at San Augustin de las Cuevas, 111, 112—description of Mexico, 112–115.  
*Middleton*, T. F. first bishop of India, notice of, 277.

## N.

*Naharro*, Bartolomé de Torres, dramatic works of, 312.

*New Maritime Force*, &c. by H. I. Paixhans, reviewed, 480—improvements in land artillery while marine remained stationary, 481—the belief that the British navy was the best possible dispelled by the war with the United States, 482—M. Paixhans' plan of a new armament; bomb cannons, 482, 483—carronades, 484–486—travellers' account of American steam batteries, *ib.*—rockets, *ib.*—new invented case shot, 487—improvements proposed in the armament of ships, 488—author's new method of destruction, 489, 490—tremendous effect of bombs, 491, 492—opinion of Napoleon, 492—experiments with carronades, 493—new guns proposed, 494, &c.—incendiary matter used in charging the bombs, 491—M. P. meets the objections which may be brought against his system, 497, 498—proposal to arm merchant vessels, 500—changes that will be necessary from the introduction of the system, 501—the most important point the adaptation of the plan to steam navigation, 502–507.

*Niebuhr*, B. G. his History of Rome, reviewed, 367, &c.

*Normans*, Maritime Expeditions of, &c. by C. P. Depping, reviewed, 350, &c.—materials from which the history of the Normans must be drawn, 351, 352—Eddas and Sagas, 352—poets the historians of the north, *ib.*

—their poetry less fictitious than that of the south, 353—the Sckalds, *ib.*—Are-Trode, Snorro Sturleson, and Saxo Grammaticus, remarks on the writings of, 354—Dudon dean of St. Quentin; William, a monk of Jumièges; Robert Vace, canon of Caen; and Benedict de Saint-Maur, writings of, 355—origin of the Normans, 356—causes of their predatory excursions, 356—customs of the Scandinavians, 357—national character, 358—women frequently became pirates, 359—anecdote of one, *ib.*—their ship-building and navy, 359, 360—battle of Bravalla, 360—Normans' first invasion of France, 361—their contests with the Mahometans, 362—Harold the Fair-haired, his endeavours to reclaim his people, *ib.*—banishes Rolla who seizes on Normandy, 363—Rolla's dream, 364—Charles the Simple cedes Normandy to him, *ib.*—Rolla becomes a Christian, 365—customs of Normandy analogous to the Scandinavian, *ib.*—subsequent incursions of the northern adventurers into France, 366.

## O.

*Ollers* of Bremen, notice of, 161.

*Owen's* settlement at New Harmony, Saxe-Weimar's account of, 256–258.

## P.

*Paixhans*, H. I. his *New Maritime Force*, &c. reviewed, 480–507.—See *New Maritime Force*.

*Pestulozzi*, notice of, 159.

*Philosophy of the Human Mind*, state of science respecting, 1—reasons for its disrepute, 2—its rapid advancement under the rules of Bacon, 3—deplorable waste of intellect from the maxim that nothing is to be believed which cannot be proved, 4—valuable additions to this science in our time by Reid and Stewart, 5—Brown's Lectures, 5–27—importance and practicability of the study, 7—no evidence of substance distinct from properties or qualities, 8—the study of the causes of the variety of states of the mind highly useful to the philosopher, 10—consciousness and identity, *ib.*—on the arrangement of the phenomena of the mind, 11—divided into exter-

